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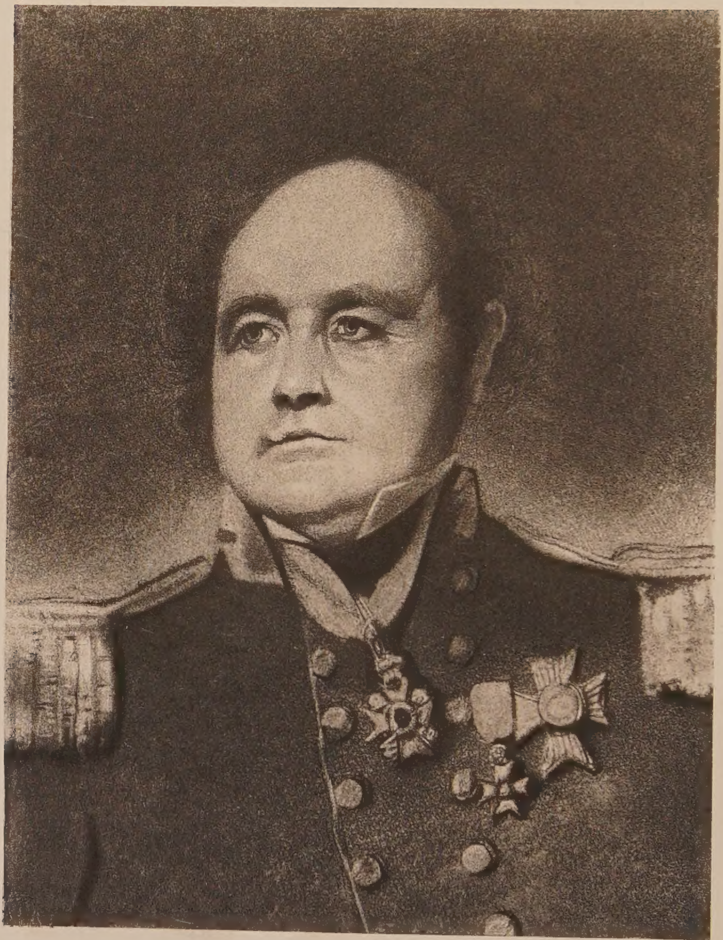

Rt. Admiral Sir John Franklin

Winsor's History of America

THE LATER HISTORY OF BRITISH, SPANISH, AND PORTUGUESE AMERICA

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CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[*The portrait of Sir John Franklin, the frontispiece to this volume, is reproduced from the drawing by Negelin. The cut on the title represents the arms of Brazil.*]

CHAPTER I.

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY. *George E. Ellis* 1

ILLUSTRATIONS: Tabula Nautica (1612), 2; Hudson's Straits and Bay (1662), 3; Prince Rupert, 4; Attack on Fort Nelson, 8; Sir George Simpson, 14; Plans of York and Prince of Wales Forts, 16; Maps of Hudson Bay (1722), 26; (1748), 27; View of Douglas Harbor, 28; Map of Nelson and Hayes Rivers, 29; View of Prince of Wales Fort, 30; Map of the Fort and Vicinity, 31; Alexander Mackenzie, 34; Thomas Simpson, 35; Fort Garry and Neighborhood, 38; Fort Garry, 39; Red River Settlement (1816) Map, 40; Plan of Semple's Massacre, 41; Selkirk, Portrait and Autograph, 42; View of Confluence of the Red and Assiniboin Rivers, 44; Fort Douglas, Red River, 45; Plan of Winnipeg, 46.

CRITICAL ESSAY 65

ILLUSTRATION: View of Prince of Wales Fort, 71.

EDITORIAL NOTE 77

CHAPTER II.

ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES. *Charles C. Smith* 81

ILLUSTRATIONS: James Cook, 82; Sir John Ross, 88; John Franklin, with Autograph, 90; Henry Grinnell, 99; The Discovered Record (1859), 103.

CRITICAL NOTES. *The Editor* 104

ILLUSTRATIONS: Maps of the Arctic Regions, by Sanson (1666), 105; by Delisle (1700, 1703), 106, 107; by Ravenstein (1873), 109; by Phil. Buache (1752), 110; by Jefferys (1768), 112; An Arctic Fleet (1600), 111; Towing through the Ice (1600), 113; Behring's Straits (1772), 113; Arctic Phenomena (1600), 114; Map in Cluny's *American Traveller* (1769), 114; Arctic Regions, by Vaugondy (1772), 115; by Phipps (1774), 116; from a German source (1782), 117; by J. R. Forster (1783), 118; Discoveries of Dease and Simpson (1838–39), 119; by Black (1833–34), 120; Condition of Explorations (1844), 121; Franklin's Track, 122; O'Reilly's Map (1818), 123; Map from Osborn's *Discovery of a Northwest Passage* (1865), 124; Smith's Sound (1856–1861), 125; Hayes's Map (1860), 126; Franklin's Supposed Route, 127; Markham's Circumpolar Map (1879), 128; Circumpolar Map in Mrs. De Long's *Voyage of the Jeannette* (1883), 130.

CHAPTER III.

CANADA FROM 1763 TO 1867. *George Bryce* 131

ILLUSTRATIONS: Map of Canada (1763), 132; French Engineers' Map of the Isles of Montreal (1761), 133; General Haldimand, 136; Statue of Brant at Brantford, 137; Governor Simcoe, 141; The Brock Monument at Queenston, 144, 145; The Salaberry Statue, 146; Sir John Beverly Robinson, 150; Bishop Strachan, 153; Sir Francis Hincks, 155; Louis Joseph Papineau, 156; William L. Mackenzie, 160; Sir Francis B. Head, 159; Macleod, 158; Lord Sydenham, 164; Sir John Harvey, 165; Joseph Howe, 166; Statue of George Brown at Toronto, 168; Statue of Sir George Cartier, 169.

CRITICAL ESSAY 170

ILLUSTRATIONS: Jonathan Sewell, 174; Map of Nova Scotia (1823), 176; View of Halifax (1837), 177; Map of Prince Edward Island (1806), 178; Basin of Quebec, 182; Plan of Quebec (1813), 183; Views of Quebec (1816), 184; (1837), 185.

EDITORIAL NOTE ON NEWFOUNDLAND 188

ILLUSTRATION: Map of Newfoundland (1626), 189.

CHAPTER IV.

SPANISH NORTH AMERICA. *Justin Winsor* 191

ILLUSTRATIONS: Champlain's View of a Silver Mine, 192; Mining View, 193; Punishment of Indians, 194; Burning Indians, 195; Sir John Hawkins, 196; Acapulco, 197; Map of the Valley of Mexico (1748), 199; of Mexico and Vicinity (1800), 201; Humboldt's Map of same, 202; Adriano Boot's Map, 203; Maps of Vera Cruz and the Castle of S. Juan de Uluá, 204, 205; West India Vessels, Seventeenth Century, 206; View of Juan Fernandez (1655), 207; Porto Bello Fair, 207; Chart of Acapulco Harbor, 208; View of the Harbor, 209; George Anson, 210; Capture of a Galleon, 211; Map of San Francisco Harbor, 212; Ruins of San Carlos, 213; Father Junipero Serra, 214; José de Iturrigaray, 215; Francisco Javier de Lizana, 216; Miguel Hidalgo, 217; Plan of the Battle of Las Cruces, 218; Calleja, 218; Ignacio Lopez Rayon, 219; Plan of the Battle of Calderon, 220; José Maria Morelos, 221, 222; Francisco Javier Mina, 223; Ferdinand VII. of Spain, 224; Augustin de Iturbide, 225; Nicolas Bravo, 226; Santa Anna, 227, 228; Samuel Houston, 230; Native Dance, 233; Map of St. Kitts, 234; Chateau of General de Poincy, 235; Sir Henry Morgan, 236; Haven en Rivier van Chagres, 237; De Stad en Haven van Porto Bello, 238; Map of the Isthmus of Darien, 239; Pirogue Espagnole, 240; Maps of the Isthmus of Darien and Bay of Panama, 241, 242; Map of the Attack on Cartagena (1697), 243; View in Guatemala (1720), 245; Juan de Solorzano Pereira, 247; Consag's Gulf of California, 255; Venegas' Gulf of California, 256; Map of Yucatan (1506–1700), 261; Map of Tabasco, Chiapa, Verapaz, Guatimala, Honduras, and Yucatan (1754), 262; Port Royal et ses Environs, 263; Map of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, 264; Lúcas Alaman, 267.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH MAIN. *The Editor* 270

ILLUSTRATIONS: Jean Pierre Labat, 271; Alexander von Humboldt, 272; Havana in 1720, 273; Plan of the Siege of Havana (1762), 274; Baye et Ville de la Havana, 275; Bellin's Map of the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico, 276; Leonard Parkinson, a Captain of Maroons, 277; View of Kingston, Jamaica, 278; Champlain's Sketch of a Harbor in San Domingo, 280; Fort de la Tortue, 281; Toussaint L'Overture, 282, 284; Ville de St. Domingue, 283; Autograph of Toussaint, 285; Dessalines, 287; Map of the Harbor of Porto Rico, 288; De Poincy Chateau in Guadaloupe, 289; Cartagena and its Forts, 291; Admiral Vernon, 292; Map of Attack on Cartagena (1741), 293; Plan of Cartagena, 294.

CHAPTER V.

COLONIAL HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA, AND THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE. *Clements R. Markham* 295

ILLUSTRATIONS: View of Callao, 298; Attack on Callao, 299; Map of Guayaquil and Puna, 300; Plan of Guayaquil, 301; Figures of Luis Fernandez de Cordova, Marques de Baydes, and Francisco Laso della Vega, 302; Map of the West Indies (1740), 308; Procession of the Inquisition, 310; View of Valparaiso, 312; Plan of Lima, 313; Map of Peru (1792), 320; Plan of Santiago de Chile, 321; Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, 322; Miranda, 325; José Miguel de Carrera, 326; Belgrano, 327; Plan of the Battle of Huaqui, 328; Statue of San Martin, 329; Bernardo O'Higgins, 330; Plan of the Battle of Maypu, 331; Lord Cochrane's House at Quintero, 332; Lord Cochrane, 333; Bolivar, 335; General Miller, 336; Plan of the Battle of Ayacucho, 338; Bolivar, 339; Valparaiso Fort, 340.

CRITICAL ESSAY 342

ILLUSTRATIONS: Juan Ignacio Molina, 345; Diego Barras Arana, 348.

EDITORIAL NOTE ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRAZIL 349

ILLUSTRATIONS: Count of Nassau, 352; Map of "Mauritiopolis, Reciffa et Circumjacentia Castra," 353; Map of the Attack on Rio Janeiro (1711), 355; René du Guay-Trouin, 357.

EDITORIAL NOTES 358

The Valley of the La Plata River, 358. Guiana, 363. The Revolution in the North-west, 366. Peru and Chile, 367.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Map of the La Plata Country, 359; Plan of Auchmuty's Attack on Montevideo, 361; Sir Samuel Auchmuty, 362; Map of the Island of Cayenne, 364; Plan of the Town of Cayenne, 365; Father Toribio, 368.

THE HISTORICAL CHOROGRAPHY OF SOUTH AMERICA. *The Editor* 369

ILLUSTRATIONS: Sketch Map of South América, 370; Monte Pascoal, 371; Map of the Brazil Coast (1504) by Lorenz Friess, 373; View of Cape Frio, 376; Schöner's Globe-map (1515) of South America, compared with the actual outline, 378; Sixteenth-century Gore-map, 379; An Antwerp Ship, 381; Bordone's Northern Coast of South America (1521), 382; Pigafetta's Magellan's Straits, 383; Recent Survey of the Straits, 383; Cabot's South America (1544), 385; Ribero's Magellan's Straits (1529), 386; Martines' Brazil (1578), 386; Finæus' Southern Hemisphere (1531), 387; Schöner's Southern Hemisphere (1533), 388; French Map of South America (1540?), 389; South America by Joannes à Doetechum (1585), 390; De Léry's View of the Brazil Coast, 392; Juan Freire's Map of South America (1546), 393; Nicolas Vallard's Map (1547) of Magellan's Straits, 394; Medina's America (1549), 395; The Carta Marina of the Ptolemy of 1548, 396; Bellero's America (1554), 397; Homem's Valley of the Amazon (1558), 398; Gutierrez's South America (1562), 399; Forlani's South America (1570?), 400; View of Du Noort's Fleet at Rotterdam (1598), 401; Brazil in Wolfe's Linschoten (1598), 401; Oliverius a Nort, 402; Bay of Rio Janeiro (1599), 402; View of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro (1722), 403; Map of the West Indies and Peru in Wolfe's Linschoten (1598), 404; Patagonia (1599), 405; Magellan's Straits and adjacent lands in Wolfe's Linschoten (1598), 406; Map of Brazil in Hulsius' Schmidel (1599), 408; Frontispiece of Hulsius' Schmidel, 409; Schouten's Track round Cape Horn, 410; Bougainville's Map of Magellan's Straits (1766), 411.

APPENDIX.

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. *Justin Winsor* 413

I. The Federal Archives, 413.
II. State and Personal Archives, 426; Massachusetts, 426; New Hampshire, 438; Vermont, 440; Rhode Island, 440; Connecticut, 442; New York, 444; New Jersey, 448; Pennsylvania, 450; Delaware, 452; Maryland, 452; Virginia, 454; North Carolina, 456; South Carolina, 457; Georgia, 458; West of the Alleghanies, 458.
III. Foreign Archives, 459; English and Canadian, 459; French, 465; Dutch, 468; German, 468; Spanish, 468; Italian, 468.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Lord Mahon, 418; Jared Sparks, with Autograph, 419, 421; James Bowdoin, 430; Autograph of Timothy Pickering, 434; James Warren and Autograph, 436; Autograph of Stephen Hopkins, 441; of Jonathan Trumbull, 443; of Henry Moore, with Seal, 445; of Gouverneur Morris, 447; of Baron Steuben, 448; of Frederick Haldimand, 461.

COMPREHENSIVE PRINTED AUTHORITIES UPON THE GENERAL AND UPON SOME SPECIAL PHASES OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1776–1850. *Justin Winsor* 469
I. American, 469.
II. English, 498.
III. French, 505.
IV. German and Italian, 507.

ILLUSTRATIONS: William Gordon, 470; David Ramsay, 472; Mrs. Mercy Warren, 473; Autograph of Abiel Holmes, 474; George Bancroft and his Autograph, 476; Washington's Book-plate, 483; Phillis Wheatley, 495.

THE EDITOR'S FINAL STATEMENT 509

CHRONOLOGICAL CONSPECTUS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. *The Editor* 511

GENERAL INDEX 557

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL
HISTORY OF AMERICA

CHAPTER I.

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY.[1]

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS, D. D., LL. D.,

President Massachusetts Historical Society.

THE most lavish liberality or generosity exhibited in this world of men is shown in the bestowal of a gift which does not belong to the donor of it. In such cases there is generally a very slight knowledge, if not an absolute ignorance, of the quality and value of the gift; so the terms of it are likely to be not only very general but very loose and vague. Indeed, part of the charm of such a gift will consist in the undefined possibilities, the imagined revelations, which may go with it. The burdens and responsibilities attending the acceptance of it, and the trespasses upon the rights of others, the injuries likely to be inflicted upon them, and the struggles, animosities, and controversies, with the risk of final discomfiture, in the maintenance of such a possession, are either not taken into account, or are winked out of sight.

These familiar truths were signally illustrated, on a very grand scale too, in the gifts made by ecclesiastics and monarchs of the old world of expanses of territory on this western hemisphere, when opened by the early navigators. Under the latest advances of astronomical science, spaces in the moon might now be almost as definitely assigned to claimants for them as were the regions of this new world. Before it was known whether what had been discovered here were an island, an archipelago, or a continent, it was made over in a lump by the Pope to the monarchs of Spain. It was under the famous Bull of Demarcation that Spain was shortly after, by a convention with Portugal, forced to divide to a small extent with that power. Notwithstanding such papal partiality,[2] Francis of France soon claimed his

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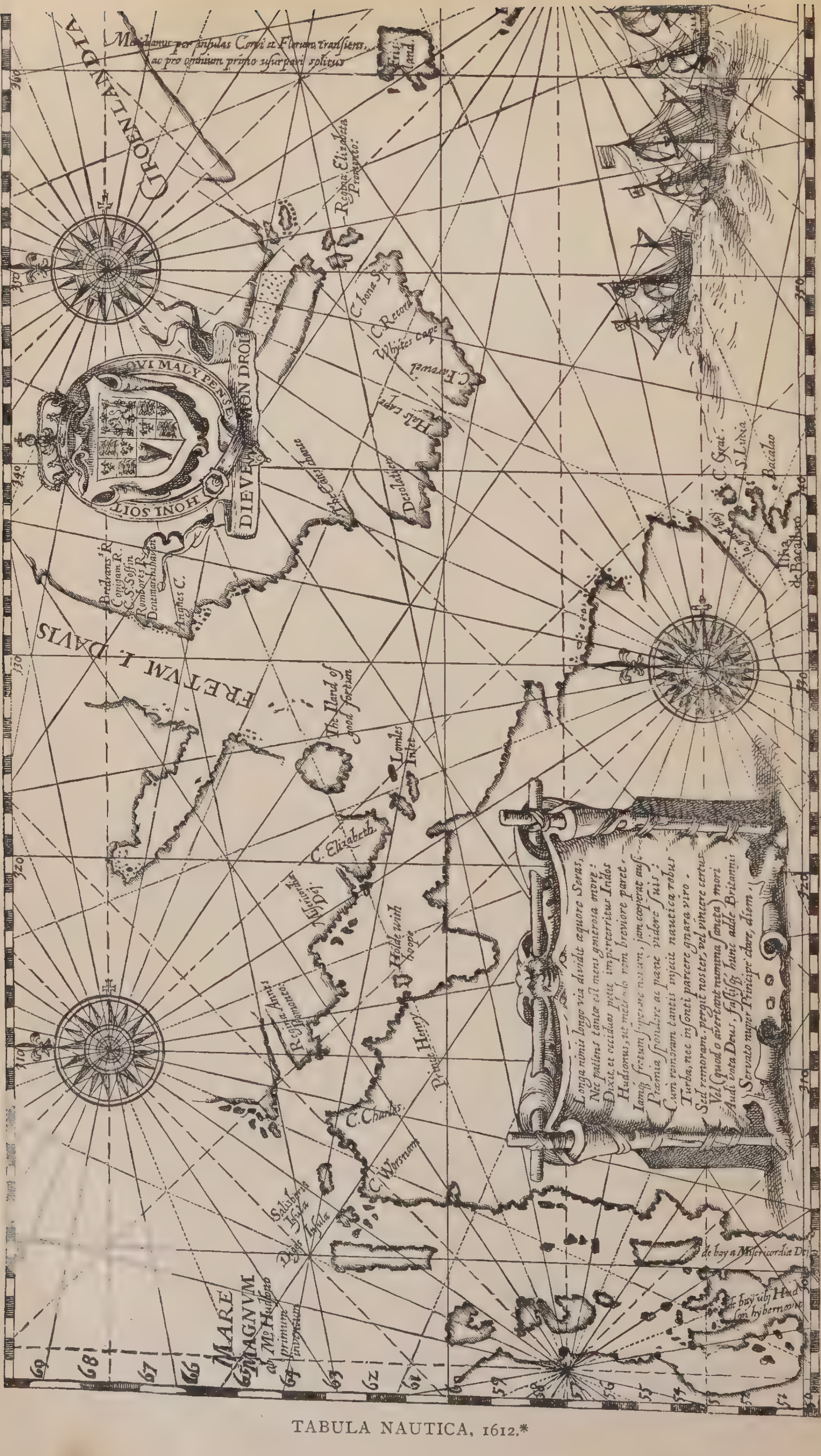
[1] [Dr. Ellis has given a summary of this chapter in the *Bulletin of the Amer. Geog. Soc.*, 1886, No. 2, pp. 127–136. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. — Ed]


GROENLANDIA
Meridianus per insulas Corvi et Florum transiens, ac pro omnium primo usurpari solitus
Frisland
Regina Elizabeta Promontorio
C. bona Spei
C. Record
Whites cape
C. Farewel
Hals cape
Desolation
HONI SOIT QUI MALY PENSE
DIEU ET MON DROIT
Brelhans R.
Conigham R.
C. S. Joffin
Rumbores R.
Denemarkshaven
Anghes C.
FRETUM I. DAVIS
The Iland of good fortune
Lomles Inlet
C. Elizabeth
Misericordia Dei
Holde with hoope
Regina Annis Promontorio
Prince Henry
C. Charles
C. Worsnam
Salisburys Insula
Digges Insula
MARE MAGNUM ab Mr. Hudsono primum inventum
de bay a Misericordia Dei
de bay ubi Hudson hybernavit
S. Lucia
Bacalao
Ilha de Bacalhao
Longa nimis longo via dividit æquore Seras,
Nec patiens tantæ est mens generosa moræ:
Dixit et occiduos petit imperterritus Indos
Hudsonus, ut melius rem breviore paret.
Iamq; fretum superans nostrum, jam cæperat ausi
Præmia spondere ac pæne videre sui;
Cum remoram tantis injecit nautica rebus
Turba, nec insonti parcere gnara viro.
Sed remoram, pergit noster, vel vincere certus
Vel (quod avertant numina sancta) mori.
Audi vota Deus, fassisq; hunc adde Britannis
Servato nuper Principe clare, diem.
310
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64
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56
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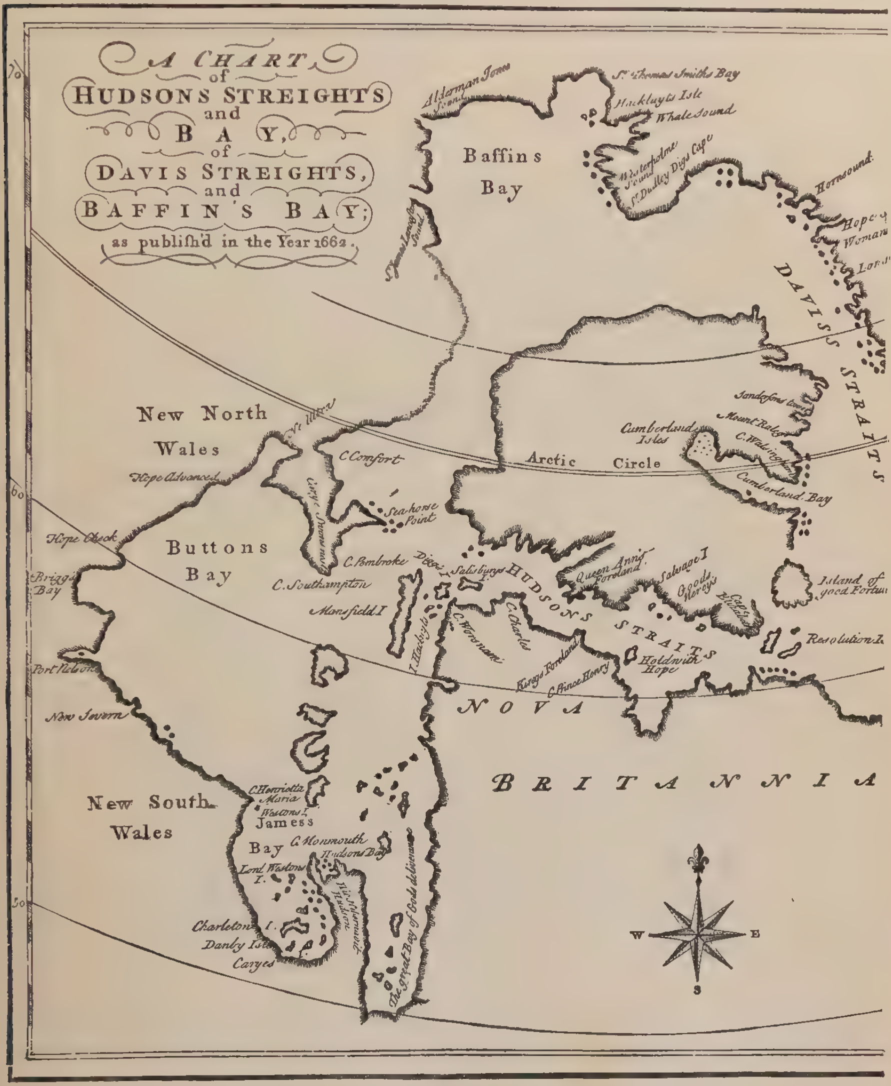
52

TABULA NAUTICA, 1612.*

share in the real estate left by Adam. Then the Henrys and the Charleses of England announced themselves also as heirs. These rival sovereigns all wore the complimentary title of "Christian princes." As such they could take rightful possession of all heathendom, — of territory or of people. The sighting of a space of ocean shore by their respective navigators gave a title to the utmost reaches of land bounding upon it. The gifts bestowed were of princely largeness. Of course the boundaries of



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* [NOTE. — The opposite map is from the *Zwölffte Schiffahrt* of the Hulsius *Sammlung* (Oppenheim, 1614), being Hessel Gerritsz's *Kurtze Beschreibung der Newen Schiffahrt gegen Nord-osten über die Americanische inseln, etc.*, in *Hochteutscher Sprach beschrieben durch M. Gothardam Arthusen.*

The above cut is a fac-simile of a map in Drage's *Account of a Voyage* (London, 1849), vol. ii. — ED.]

these vast donations of territory, on the side where they were measurable, generally overlapped each other, and on the other side they ran off into shadows. When it is considered that these gifts of expanded territory not only transferred all their material contents and resources, but also included the sovereignty and mastership over their human inhabitants, we can somewhat appreciate the lavish liberality of those who gave away what did not belong to them, and recognize the vagueness in the terms of the gifts, which would inevitably bring about rivalry and conflicts attending claims to possession.

PRINCE RUPERT.*

King Charles II of England was one of the most bountiful of these lavish donors. But with a single notable exception, in favor of William Penn, who received a province in discharge of a crown debt due to his father, the king's generosity was exercised exclusively towards members of his own family. He gave to his brother, the Duke of York, the rich expanses from Pemaquid to the St. Croix, and from the Connecticut to the Delaware. Another of his gifts furnishes the fruitful and engaging theme — for history, if not in the present treatment of it — of this chapter. To his cousin, Prince Rupert — covering with his name a few associates, the king gave over the icy confines and the rich interiors of what from that time onward has been known as "Prince Rupert's Land." Under a charter dated May 2, 1670, by his own "especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion," without advice or confirmation by council or Parliament, Charles gave "to his beloved cousin, Prince Rupert," the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, Lord Arlington, Lord Ashley, several baronets, knights and citizens — less than twenty named in all — the territory which was henceforward to be the property of the Hudson Bay Company.

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* [Reproduced from S. Freeman's engraving of Sir Peter Lely's picture, as given in Eliot Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert* (London, 1849). — Ed.]

Passing notice may here be taken of the high rank as nobles and gentlemen of those associated with a prince of the royal blood in this mercantile company. This aristocratic character of the members, with its power and privileges, was perpetuated through the succession of the company in the admission of partners and the transfer of shares. The fact is recognized here, at the start, as doubtless having a vast influence subsequently, as we shall see, in protecting and sheltering the company, in enabling it to conceal its secrets and to parry the vigorous assaults made upon its monopoly and management in after years.

The motive assigned for the royal gift was the plea that the corporators "have at their own great cost and charges undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay, for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities, and by such, their undertaking, have already made such discoveries as do encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of their said design, by means whereof there may probably arise very great advantage to us and our kingdom." It does not, however, appear what were "the discoveries already made" by these corporators or their agents, which furnished a reason for the generous grant.

The charter assured to the company "the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds lying within the entrance of Hudson's Straits, with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines" of the above seas, etc. It was stipulated that the territory thus granted should include only such as was not then "possessed by the subjects of any other christian prince or state." The parties named and such others as they shall admit to their society are incorporated as "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," with a seal, etc. They are to choose a committee of seven of their number, any three of whom, with the governor or deputy-governor, may have the direction, management, and handling of all voyages, ships, merchandise, etc. Prince Rupert was to be the first governor; the first seven were named for the committee; a general court was to be held in November of each year, to choose officers and the committee, who were to be removable for reasons. The territory was to be reputed as a British colony, and to be called "Rupert's Land." All fisheries, mines, traffic and trade of every kind, were assured to the company, which was to pay annually as a royalty "two elks and two black beavers." The members of the company were absolute proprietors and lords. It was empowered to make laws and ordinances, to impose penalties and punishments. No English subject was to visit, frequent, or haunt, or adventure, or trade in the territory without leave in writing under the company's seal, under penalty of forfeiture of all goods, of punishment, and of being seized and sent to England. Nor could the king grant any such privilege without leave of the company. Liberty is given to admit servants and factors into the company. Votes are to be according to stock. All the territory and its occupants are to be under the jurisdiction of the company, which shall either send all offenders to England or judge them according to its laws. The company may employ commanders and an armed force, and may erect castles, forts, garrisons, plantations, and towns. Such were the terms, rights, privileges, and immunities bestowed by royal grant and a piece of parchment. Two elks and two black beavers rendered annually to royalty, were the consideration for this lavish gift of territory, jurisdiction, and monopoly.

And what did King Charles know of the regions which he thus bestowed, to say nothing of his right of bestowal? The compass and value of the gift were then as vaguely apprehended as the terms and assurance of it were positive and comprehensive. The flow of water in straits, bays, lakes, rivers, and streams was made to decide the reachings of unbounded spaces of land. Hudson's Bay extends from longitude 78° to 95° west, and from latitude 52° to 68° north. Its area is nearly 300,000 square miles, its length from north to south 1,000 miles, its breadth 800 miles. Of the land surface, whose various waters and drippings find their way into the bay, we hardly even now know the exact measurements, though a part of our national boundary line assumes such measurements.[1]

Before proceeding farther with the administration of the company under the patent, it may be well here, by anticipation, to fix attention upon some of the terms of the charter which furnished the grounds of the long-continued and embittered opposition to the company, and which were urged from time to time for two hundred years before the Colonial Office and in Parliament, till the monopoly rights of the company were extinguished by arbitration and purchase. These grounds of complaint will be more fully noted further on. They are here presented summarily in connection with what has been copied from the charter, and are as follows: 1. That the charter was granted by royal prerogative without ratification. 2. That it was illegal for the Crown to grant a monopoly of trade to a favored company of subjects. 3. That the obligations imposed by the professed objects of the company, to search for a passage to the South Sea, and also to explore for mineral wealth, had been wholly neglected by the company, which sternly discountenanced and withstood all such enterprises when prompted by others. 4. That a part, at least, of the territories claimed by the company was really exempted from the grant made to it which recognized a possible possession by the subjects of some other "Christian prince." For at least a portion of the region had been patented in 1598, by Henry IV of France, to the Sieur de la Roche.[1] It was on the ground of this claim, antedating Prince Rupert's charter, that in 1684 the Chevalier de Troyes had taken and destroyed the posts of the company on Hudson and James bays, on the plea that the territory belonged to his sovereign.

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[1] The limit of the grant by Charles II, as the company claimed, is given by dotted lines on the map, in the parliamentary *Accounts and Papers* (1850), xxxviii. Cf. Douglas Brymner's *Report for 1883*, p. 6, on maps of the bounds of this territory.

There is a noticeable map of Hudson's Bay and the surrounding country in Sanson's *Introduction à la Géographie* (Amsterdam, 1696).

In the long and sharp contest which the opponents of the company made to its monopoly and its administration, it was also complained that the company had been utterly neglectful of its duty in having made no efforts to humanize, civilize, and advance religion and education among the native Indians. It was hastily and erroneously assumed that the charter had imposed this duty upon the company, while in fact no reference whatever is made to it in that instrument. It was abundantly proved, however, that the company had made no efforts of that character such as might have been reasonably expected of Christian people drawing enormous wealth from savages, who, on the contrary, had greatly deteriorated under the company. Most effective and pointed were the charges against it, that it had so greedily devoted itself to the traffic in furs as to keep the whole country in its wilderness condition as a preserve for peltry, making the natives wholly dependent upon the traffic with the company for their subsistence. This consuming interest made the company jealous of any intrusion upon its domains, and all inquiry into its management, while it resolutely resisted every attempt at exploration, civilized settlement, and even agriculture.

The connection of Prince Rupert with this vast enterprise was a very natural one. He was known to be a most earnest and generous patron of all promising adventures. There is evidence that a master mariner from Boston, in New England, had been concerned with a M. Groselliers,[2] from Canada, in making a settlement at Port Nelson, at the mouth of the river, where a little stone fortress was erected by this captain, Zachary Gillam, and called Fort Charles. Rupert had given his countenance to this enterprise in connection with the work of discovery, and the "Nonsuch," one of the king's ships, was obtained for the venture.[3]

We are to trace for the full period of two centuries the fortunes, the mercantile operations, and the disputed rights and policy of this chartered company on the field of its activity and in the councils of government. One might naturally pause upon the almost grotesque disparity of proportions between the vast spaces of territory over which the privileges of the company extended and the smallness of its own representation. But another and a much more striking suggestion presents itself, which will be before us through the whole historical review of our subject. The territory which finally came under the jurisdiction of the company embraced substantially half of the continent of North America. During the period to be reviewed, we have set before us a contrast of events, uses, and experiences as happening upon the two respective halves of this continent, — that which is under the jurisdiction of the United States and that under the British crown, — a contrast which in sum and detail may well astound us. On the lower side of the boundary line the whole scene has been one of advance in enterprise, a steady, vigorous pushing forwards over mountains, plains, and valleys, of tilled fields, of thriving settlements, of sumptuous cities, and of millions of toiling, prosperous peoples. On the upper side a narrow, jealous, obstructive policy had shut out all intrusion upon a wilderness by any but stealthy trappers and the desolate wintering agents of a monopoly in the peltry traffic.

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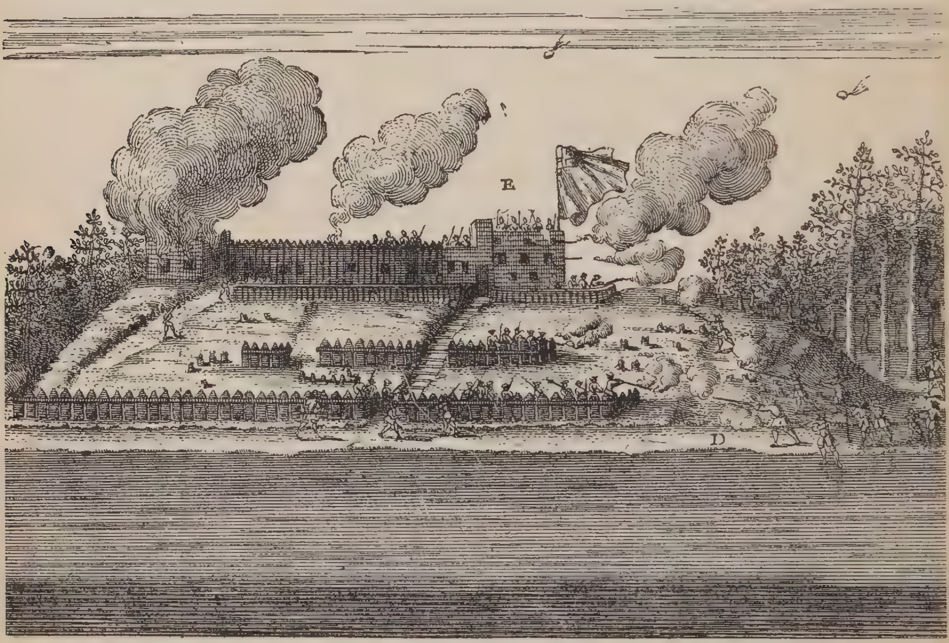
[1] [See Vol. IV. 56, 61, 136. — ED.]

[2] The name is variously spelled, as Grosseliez, Des Grozeliers, De Grossiliers, De Groselie, etc.

[3] A contemporary reference is made to this affair in a letter from Oldenburgh, the first secretary of the Royal Society, to Robert Boyle, Ellis's *Hudson's Bay*, p. 75. [See also Vol. IV. p. 172, and the *Hutchinson Papers*, iii. 57, 59, 89, 97, 103, 111. — ED.] As Hudson's and Sir Joseph Button's journals are not extant [see Vol. III. p. 93. — ED.], the first trustworthy account which we have of any vessel wintering in the bay is that of Captain James, in Charlton Island, in 1632. [See Vol. III. p. 96, for James's map. — ED.] The next is that of Capt. Gillam, in the "Nonsuch," in 1668, though Jean Bourbon is reputed to have trafficked there in 1656.



FORT NELSON.*

It may well be said that in addition to all the questions which might be raised as to the validity of the charter and the administration of affairs under it, there was a most serious and perplexing vagueness and uncertainty as to the limits of the territory which it covered. There were at the time French half-breed voyageurs who had some faint conception of the interior of the northern parts of our continent, and of the general disposition of land and water in it. But when the king made over to this company all the inland reaches whose waters drained into Hudson's Bay, no Englishman had the slightest knowledge of the interior of the territory. It certainly proved to be, under its claimants, a wellnigh unbounded expanse. We shall see further on that in the sharpest and most bitter contest which the company had to meet, it asked successfully of Parliament a grant, limited for a term of years, and renewed for another term, of an exclusive right of trade in and over the so-called "Indian Territory." This included the whole unknown and unexplored region of the Northwest; and when, in 1848, the company secured a right to plant a colony in Vancouver's Island, its privileges and range extended over a space of territory one third larger than the whole area of Europe, embracing more than four millions of square miles, and hiding in its unknown depths, as afterwards revealed, fifty wild native tribes of men, who, as before intimated, substantially were made over for mastery with the territory, because the company always stoutly maintained that the Indians should trade only with its agents.

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* [Part of an engraving in La Potherie's *Hist. de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1722), i. p. 105. The "Camp de Bourbon" was along the shore to the right. The bomb-shells seen in the air are from its mortars. — Ed.]

The charter of the company, with such validity as it had, retained its vitality for full two centuries, and became the sanction of a giant monopoly, dividing enormous profits to a favored few who did their utmost to shroud their own affairs in secrecy, and to ward off all attempts at interference with its claimed rights and privileges. We shall have to note, however, a continued series of assaults upon the validity of the charter, of grievous complaints against proceedings and practices under it, and of efforts to ensure its abrogation. Each of these grievances and efforts was pressed with increased zeal and determination. We shall have also to recognize the agencies and influences which kept the charter in force. It should be mentioned here that in one of the warmly contested issues of this sort, in 1847, there first appeared in print a document, of which it is said, very strangely, that its "existence had been not even suspected by the British government," but yet it was found in the Rolls of Chancery.[1] This document was a confirmation by Act of Parliament, given to the charter in 1690, under William and Mary. The ground on which this Act was applied for by the company was, that it needed the authority of Parliament beyond that of the Royal Grant, in order to ensure the full benefit of the latter, and to enable the company to keep off French and English interlopers. By seeking and accepting this act, the company certainly indicated a misgiving as to the fullness and assurance of its supposed rights under the charter. Parliament strictly limited its confirmation to a period of seven years. The company shrewdly refrained from seeking a renewal of it.

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[1] *British Documents, Accounts and Papers*, vol. xxxv. p. 95.

Let us pause for a moment to bring before us those then wild regions. Once hid in vastness and gloom, they are now disclosing all their secrets, so that we can read them as they were. The whole territory, whatever its length or breadth, had but one worth or use for the small mercantile company, whose office then, as now, was in Fenchurch Street, London. It was simply as a preserve for fur-bearing animals, and for red Indians who might hunt and trap them. Marvellously well adapted and occupied was the region for that purpose. Its conditions and surroundings could not have been better disposed for just such a use as was made of it; or rather we should say, that under the selfish aims and the mean policy pursued in it no region could have been more rich and facile for the ends to which it was put. We must first view it through the means and methods for entering, penetrating, traversing, and carrying into and bringing out from it supplies and products.

We may imagine that we have before us for study and thought two very large skeleton maps of our northern continent, giving simply the undivided stretches of territory, without boundaries or names. Let one of those maps represent the surface of the country just as it was waiting to be entered upon by Europeans. It will present the general features of the land, plain, hilly, or mountainous, barren or fertile; and it will show the deposits and courses of water in lakes, in confluent or single streams, of every breadth, of river or rill, their sources and outlets. Let the other map represent the same territory with the same delineation, but with the added feature of the lines of our railways at the present stage of the system, supplemented by the projected and probable lines of trunk and branch required and expected to perfect it.

Looking upon those two maps and comparing them in sum and detail, the observer will hardly fail to be impressed with the thought that the country, with its facilities for transit, intercourse, and commerce, was as well adapted by nature for the inhabitants first occupying and using it for their necessities and profit as it is at this day by art, for quite another class of occupants, for quite other uses and advantages. The highways which nature had opened in the wilderness, in the diversified and abounding watercourses, made a perfect reticulation of artery and vein over the whole territory; and there were junctions and branches for divergence in every direction. True, there were obstructions to a continuous passage by these watercourses in heights of land, divides, cataracts, cascades, and rapids. But the Indian could lift his canoe and its burden and carry it over land from water to water, when he could not venture to run the ascending or descending rush; or he could trail his vessel while he walked on the shore. These obstructions or carrying-places of the Indians answer to and were no more annoying to him than are the high grades of our railroads to us. We can see now, as we look upon the land and water map, that any one coming in a ship from Europe, by changing his freight to boats of different size, and occasionally to canoes, may pass through the continent to the Pacific, in spite of breaks or obstructions varying from the length of a few yards to the extreme of ten or twelve miles. The means and facilities for this water transit were especially available and convenient through the regions which were turned to the profit of the Hudson's Bay Company, and it could find junctions and partings of streams and radiations of head-water for dispersing or gathering its supplies or returns. The course from the sea by the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior offered an alternative of routes, either by the Ottawa with its cascades, or by the chain of lakes with its cataract at Niagara and the Falls of St. Mary between Superior and Huron. The Hudson's Bay Company found by experience that, though it kept a firmer hold on its charter, it worked to great disadvantage in conducting its business from the icy coast. Its rivals in the fierce contests for the Indian trade, as we shall have to notice, did better in their choice of routes. From the company's post, York Factory, at the mouth of Hay's River, on the Bay, up the rivers and through Lake Winnipeg to Red River, the distance was about 800 miles, with thirty-six carrying-places. Winnipeg River is full of rapids, as it passes through a rocky country. There are twenty-seven portages in its course, for it descends 360 feet in 160 miles. The rival companies took as their point of departure Fort William, on the northern end of Lake Superior, the route to the Red River being 772 miles, and to Lake Winnipeg 500 miles, through much good territory and hard navigation by canoes, with sixty-six portages varying from a hundred yards to three and a half miles.[1] Crossing Lake Winnipeg, and entering the mouth of the Saskatchewan, with but one formidable rapid in the falls near Cumberland House, one may float on its waters for 1,400 miles up to its source in the Rocky Mountains. There at a few yards' distance he will find a source of the Columbia starting for its discharge into the Pacific. The Columbia and its tributaries drain a region of 400,000 square miles, and the river is navigable, with interruptions, for 725 miles. Its sources on this side are within 450 miles of the deep waters of the Missouri; and lakes, rivers, and brooks will bear canoes through the whole space between. The swamps and marshes and sedges created by all these waters were the chosen and populous homes of the beaver, which had colonized and hibernated here for ages. Unluckily for them, their skins, as most highly prized till the invention of silk hats, set the standard for the money value of all the peltries. Otters, martens, musk-rats, and all the other species of amphibious creatures, with countless herds of buffaloes, moose, bears, deer, foxes, wolves, etc., found here their natural home. As naturally, too, they had multiplied, the aborigines killing only enough of them for their clothing and subsistence till the greed of traffic threatened their complete extirpation. Fish and wild fowl abounded in the wilderness. The treeless plain regions were coursed at intervals by bottom lands and streams whose banks were well wooded, and the primeval forests kept their awful solitudes. The aborigines, adapting themselves to circumstances, found the supply of all their wants in simply skimming the surface of their domains.

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[1] From Lake Superior to the height of land separating the waters which flow into it from those which flow into Hudson's Bay, the rise is 830 feet. The descent to Lake Winnipeg is 853 feet. The further descent from the lake to York Fort on the bay is 830 feet.

Such was the region, in its furnishings and surroundings, which was put to the service of the chartered Hudson's Bay Company, to be used for much or little, as power and will, opportunity and circumstances, might decide. The legality, wisdom, and rectitude of the company as a business corporation were questioned through its whole extended existence. It would perhaps be difficult to pronounce on the question whether or not it fairly and effectively filled its place of enterprise and influence in the series of efforts and struggles which have opened and enriched the new world. Within its own aims and methods the company certainly must be said to have marvellously prospered. Starting with a capital of £10,500, it has been carefully estimated that it has carried from this country furs which have sold for one hundred and twenty million dollars. But of this more by and by.

Immediately on the receipt of the charter the company began its mercantile operations with energy and zeal. Though setting aside for the present the question of the validity of its charter, reasonable strictures have found forcible expression as to the harm which it suffered from its own narrow and selfish policy. Reference has already been made to the fact that the French traders from Canada, entering the country of furs at another point than the Bay, had begun to find vast profit over the whole northwest territory. The company always aimed to have it appear that the straits and Bay offered the best practicable entrance to the fur region, and discouraged the route through Lake Superior. So the company planted its earliest posts on the margins of the icy coast, at the mouths of the principal rivers. The situation from the first precluded all labors and much profits by tillage of the soil, though in peculiarly favorable seasons a few vegetables were cultivated. With seven or eight months of freezing weather, which bound the earth in frost very deep below the surface, the extreme heat of the brief summer availed only to relax the surface, and this became soft, wet, and marshy. Below three feet of thaw there were fifteen feet of frost. The thermometer in the course of the year had a free range of a hundred and fifty degrees, rising a hundred degrees above and sinking fifty degrees below the freezing point. Even had France been willing to admit the right of the English monarch to confer the chartered territory on his subjects, the relations existing between the two powers would not have allowed a transit to the company through Canada. We shall find that all the subsequent rivalries and contests between the opposing fur companies were prompted and embittered by the conditions under which the Bay Company began its operations and continued them for more han half a century, without penetrating any distance into the country by akes and rivers. The French penetrated the interior to open trade with he savages; the English waited to have the peltries brought to them at heir outer posts.

In the first year of the charter the company sent Charles Bayly, as its first resident agent, to set up a factory at Rupert's River. The French had already wintered in the Bay, and the first of the series of collisions, soon to be referred to, occurred. In 1685 there were five posts of the company. The next year De Troyes went by land from Canada and destroyed three of them, and so the posts changed hands till the Treaty of Utrecht. A single English ship annually sufficed for a time to conduct the business. There were never more than two in a year besides a small sloop retained in the Bay. The mariners soon, so to speak, learned to know their way to the inhospitable port, and no other vessels than those belonging to the company were allowed access. The intention was that the ships should arrive within the straits between the 10th and 15th of August, and, after changing cargo, should go out between September 15th and 20th. But the tight or the floating masses of ice did not dispose their movements by the almanac, and patience and seamanship were put to sore trials. Captain Herd, in his testimony before a parliamentary committee in 1857, said that in passing through the straits he had experienced all the difference, in his successive voyages, between four days and five weeks. Of the distance between London and the Bay, which he estimated to be about 3,500 miles, the way through ice was from 800 to 1,000 miles, requiring an average of three weeks to penetrate it. This sturdy seaman seems to have confined himself strictly to the deck of his vessel when in the Bay. He had no curiosity about the country or its people, and could give no information. He said he "was always very glad to get there, and very glad to leave it again." The two annual vessels endeavored to keep together on the outward passage, parting after entering the Bay, the one for York Factory, the other for Moose Factory on James' Bay, — and also to come out of the straits in company.

The organization of the company in London provided for the administration of all its local business affairs within its chartered territory. Of course it had supreme authority, and all that it delegated under it was subject in its exercise to the revision and approval of the company. The charter, as we have seen, constituted a very small body of directors, and made a very small number of these a quorum for the transaction of business. As it was soon found that much reticence about its affairs was considered necessary to guard its secrets and to secure its interests as a monopoly, it became a corporation of the closest sort. It would seem that under the sharpest parliamentary inquisition certain secrets of the company could not be drawn out. It presented only such extracts from its papers and books as it saw fit to make public. And of course its most trusted officials in the Bay were expected to be confidential and loyal in its service. For some years the company sent a superintendent to each of its posts. The method and details of local administration were developed and adjusted by circumstances and the expansion of the business of the company, and appear soon to have resulted in an admirably managed system. A local resident governor was appointed to supervise all the business arrangements in the Bay, and to dispose all offices and trusts, under the approval of the company. It soon naturally became customary to set in this high responsibility, according to the rule for the promotion of its servants, one who had risen from the ranks, and had shown capacity and fidelity. This local governor was to preside at a council which was to be held annually, and oftener if there were occasion, for the purpose of directing all the arrangements of the business down to the most minute details regarding the assignment of posts to all subordinates and servants, the planning of expeditions, the disposal of goods, and every outlay. The territory was a vast one for any

G Simpson

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON.*

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* After a cut in Bryce's *Manitoba*, p. 291.

systematic oversight and for the distribution at long distances of those intrusted with property and business. The company came, under the stress of the assaults made upon it, to assuming and asserting, as if by authority of its charter, that it controlled all the territory whose waters *drained* into the Bay. This, however, was a constructive interpretation, not warranted by the letter of the instrument. But, as so construed, the region extended from the Bay easterly on the coast about 200 miles, on the south towards Canada 300, and on the west to the Rocky Mountains nearly 1,500 miles. And when, as we shall notice, the company, at the period of its greatest energy, had procured a government license for "exclusive trade" over what was called the "Indian Territory," namely, the whole northwest of America, whose waters drained into the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific, the administration of affairs became a task for the highest executive ability. Deferring for the present a statement of the circumstances under which he came into the office, it may be noted here that in 1821 Sir George Simpson was the first person chosen to the great trust of representing the company in America, in its whole domain and in all its business. He, as "Governor of Rupert's Land," thus absorbed all the offices and responsibilities which had heretofore been distributed among petty heads at the various posts After holding the office for nearly forty years, covering some of the most agitating controversies of the company, his failing health required him to leave the country. He died in England in 1860, while still in office.

The council over which the general local governor presided was composed of the highest in rank of the resident business officials of the company, called the "chief factors." If there were not enough of these present for full discussion and disposal of affairs, some of the "chief traders," the second grade of officials, might take part in the council. It would seem, however, that the power of the governor was autocratical and supreme, for his final judgment or decision could not be overruled. When questioned on this point before a parliamentary committee, in 1857, Governor Simpson said that there had never been an occasion in which a direct issue had been raised between him and the council. When fully organized, the resident corps of the company was: 16 chief factors; 29 chief traders; 5 surgeons; 87 apprentice clerks; 67 masters at posts; 1,200 permanent servants, Indians and others, and about 500 voyageurs; 150 officers and crews of vessels: thus employing about 3,000 men. The Indian population of Rupert's Land, over whom the company was supposed to exercise some influence, was estimated in 1857 at 43,000; in the Indian Territory, east of the mountains, at 13,000, and west of them, 80,000.

The council, which generally met in June, had to dispose of the affairs, the transmission of supplies, the return of furs, the oversight of the accounts, the assignment of officials, of clerks, apprentices and servants, and all the minutest details of these operations in the wilderness. Though not held to any one place of meeting, the council usually assembled at Norway House, at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg. This station became the

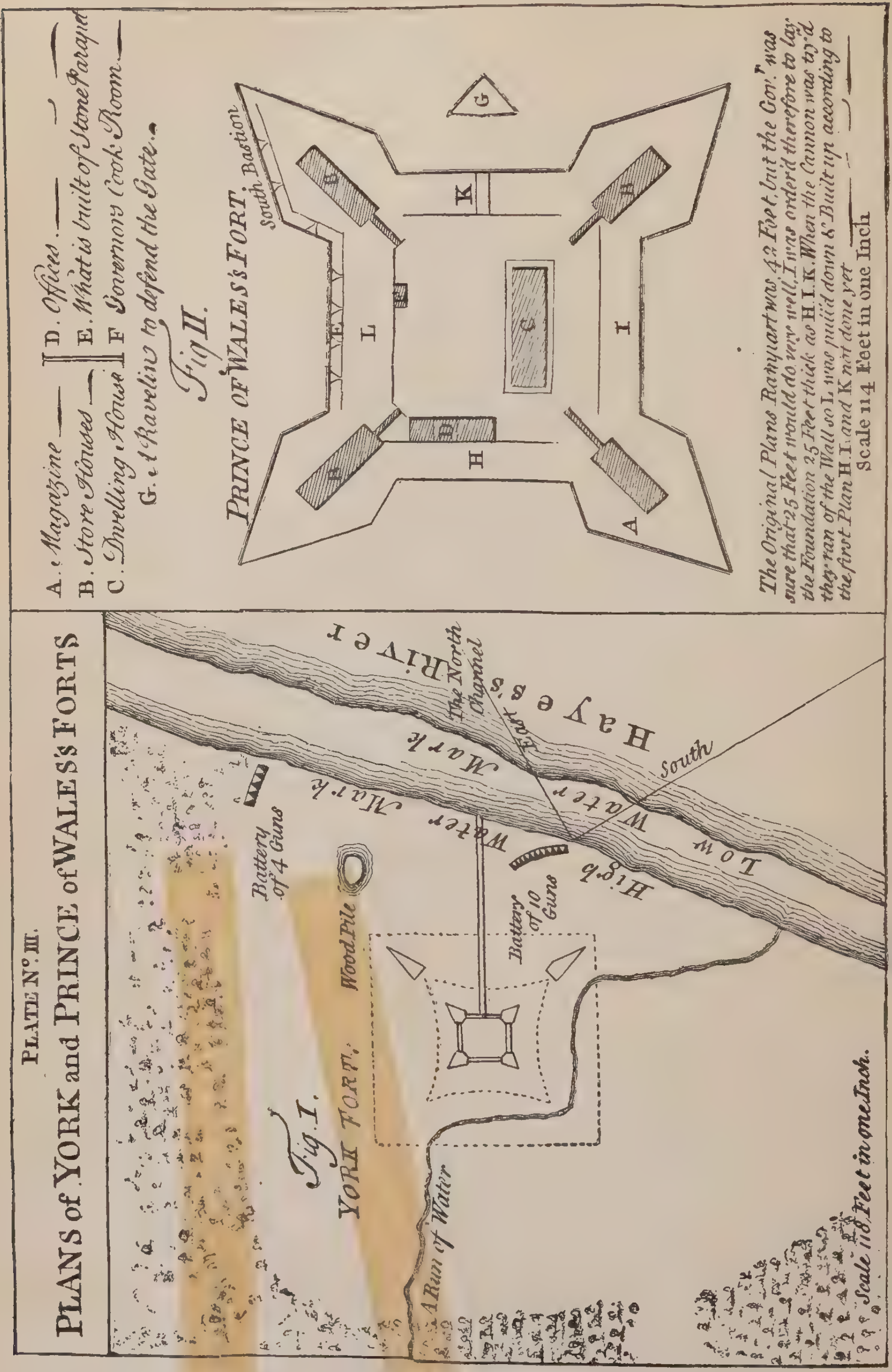
PLATE No. III.
PLANS of YORK and PRINCE of WALES's FORTS
A. Magazine
B. Store Houses
C. Dwelling House
D. Offices.
E. What is built of Stone Parapet
F Governors Cook Room.
G. a Ravelin to defend the Gate.
Fig. II.
PRINCE OF WALES's FORT.
South Bastion
A
B
B
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
The Original Plans Rampart was 42 Feet, but the Govr. was sure that 25 Feet would do very well, I was orderd therefore to lay the Foundation 25 Feet thick as H.I.K. When the Cannon was try'd they ran of the Wall so I. was pulld down & Built up according to the first Plan H.I. and K not done yet
Scale 114 Feet in one Inch
Fig. I.
YORK FORT.
Hayes's River
The North Channel
East
South
Low Water Mark
High Water Mark
Battery of 4 Guns
Battery of 10 Guns
Wood Pile
A Run of Water
Scale 118 Feet in one Inch.

[NOTE.—Fac-simile of a plate in Robson's *Hudson's Bay* (London, 1752).—ED.]

central or distributing depot for the whole country. Brigades, as the several travelling or boating companies were called, started from and returned to this centre, by the Saskatchewan to the Rocky Mountains, to Cumberand, to English River, Athabasca, Mackenzie's River, Swan River, Red River, and Rainy Lake. The posts were separated by distances of from fifty to thrce hundred miles, and the numbers that manned them were from thirty or forty down to only two. Two years' supplies of imported goods were kept in store at York, to guard against the failure of arrival of the annual ships. These goods were a most medley collection for the Indian trade, many of them bought cheaply as poor finery, or as out of fashion in England: guns, powder, shot and balls, fishing tackle, blankets, cloths, gaudy kerchiefs, axes, hatchets, awls, jews-harps, fiddle-strings, knives, kettles, looking and burning glasses, beads, trinkets, and whatever would seize the fancy of buck, squaw, and half-breed, besides articles needed by the resident Europeans.

Every parcel of imported foreign goods and every bundle of furs for exportation was done up in a package not to exceed one hundred pounds. These would be carefully disposed in the canoe or boat, and a strong man would carry two of them over the portage, held by a strap passing either over his forehead or across his chest. The tedium of the way would be relieved by rough jest and song. In crossing a lake in boats or the larger canoes, the wind favoring, a sail would be put to service, and give a grateful change to the voyageurs, who, however, if necessary, could ply their paddles through the whole way, with the allowed intermission for a smoke. The camp at night gave them their substantial meal. Starting before daylight, they generally travelled for two hours, and then rested for breakfast, not having any midday repast. When the ways were frozen and covered with snow, a simple sled, without runners, was substituted. This was drawn, according to its burden, by a train of from two to eight dogs, belled, beaded, and ribboned after a gay fashion, in single file, kept to their task by the whip and imprecations of the driver. When the snow was heavy, soft, and drifted, progress was toilsome; but when its surface was glazed by ice the motion was easy and rapid. One who had become an adept in travelling with the rachette, or snow-shoe, did not suffer as did a novice in its use from the galling of its bands for toes and ankle. The dogs sometimes had to have their feet protected by leather boots from excoriation by rough, broken ice. Thirty miles was considered a good day's travel, under ordinary circumstances, but fifty or sixty miles were often accomplished. The instinct of a native or a half-breed might always be trusted to steer a straight course on the water, or to follow the right line on foot; but the risk for an unskilled European always was that, if left to himself, or lost on the plain or in the forest, he would travel in a circle, and come out where he started on his round. Certain way-marks and guides were well known by those who had once passed by the blindest way. If the canoe sprung a leak or was pierced by a rock, it was but a simple process to draw ashore and gather some bark and resinous material for repairs.

The posts of the company, being planted at the confluence or the parting of streams, offered opportunities in long routes of travel for occasional intercourse and hospitality. In camping at night, whether on the soft earth, on a hard rock, or amid the deep snow, habit fixed the routine of every makeshift and of every preparation for comfort of which the circumstances admitted, though these wilderness travellers soon came to keep their views of comfort within very restricted limits. Proximity to running water, and to dried fallen wood or drift-wood, was desirable, because the fire prepared for the night was heaped in size and quantity as if a view was had to warming all out-doors. Where bushes could be found, they were planted like a fence or shield round a circle, leaving an open space for the fire. Sometimes this fence was necessarily made of the snow scooped up by the snow-shoes from the spot which was to form the couches. Pine boughs, when they could be had, served for bedding. The kettle was put upon the fire, and its miscellaneous contents distributed in tin cups or platters. Often a travelling party might rely wholly or largely upon the game — animal, bird, or fish — to be found on the route. The staple food at the posts and in travel was the pemmican, of which the company gathered in its storehouses thousands of bags. Most usually prepared from the buffalo, pemmican might be made also of moose meat, deer, or mountain sheep. The two yearly hunts of the natives were busily turned to the account of the manufacture of pemmican. When hundreds or even thousands of the animals had been dropped on the plains, the buck-hunter had done his work. The squaws came to do their share. The carcasses were skinned, that the hides might pass through the processes of drying, tanning, and softening for very many uses. The meat was torn into strips, dried by the sun or a fire, pounded into crumbs, and then packed in a close bag made of the hide. A quantity of hot fat, in proportion of about four to five of the lean, was turned into the bag, stirred into a mixture, and then carefully closed from the air. Sometimes berries or condiments, if to be had, were combined with the compound. This food was the main-stay, and was transported at wide distances for men and dogs. It was very satisfying, and hunger qualified its repulsiveness till its taste and even relish was acquired.[1] One buffalo carcass would make at least a hundred-pound bag of pemmican. As prepared by the uncleanly squaws, the hair of the animal mingled in the compound, and was a needless addition to the revulsion of a fastidious appetite.

One of the most natural and yet most difficult and unavailing of the efforts of the whites in their intercourse with the natives was to overcome their habits of wanton wastefulness and utter improvidence. Their life vas spent between alternations of gluttonous gorgings of food, when it vas abundant, and protracted sufferings by various stages and the full eality of starvation. The natives held firmly to a belief that the more game they slaughtered the more rapidly would the animals multiply; so n a rich hunt they would leave the plains strewn with carcasses far exceeding their needs or means of transportation, thus providing a harvest or packs of wolves, which were always well repaid as gleaners. True, he wandering habits of the natives did not favor household economies, and the utmost of their providence was shown either in packing surplus provisions upon stagings, or depositing them in *caches* under rocks and ogs; in either case exercising all their wits to circumvent the arts of volves, or that most cunning of prowlers, the wolverine, or glutton. The stoicism of the Indian was exhibited in his uncomplaining endurance of hunger in the frequent failure not only of what we call food, but in the lack of those pitiful substitutes for it, the boiling of his own robes or moccasins, or the sered and glutinous moss stripped from the rocks. The narrations of the servants of the Bay Company report many instances of the last dread emergencies in which, by the casting of the lot or a desperate and treacherous stratagem, one or more survivors, the husband or the father, relieved his own pangs by cannibalism. In the vocabulary of the natives there was a word — a dreaded one for such as rightfully bore it — designating one who had eaten of human flesh. There were cases in which white men at lonely posts, or in the desolation of winter travel on plain or in forest, came to the direst extremities. The food of which mariners grow most weary on long voyages was often most grateful to men in the wilderness. Happy were they who could add a relish to their dry repasts of game or fish from the stores of the pork-barrels in the warehouses of the Bay.

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[1] The article which, under the name "pemmican," is prepared in England for arctic expeditions is a richer and more palatable condiment, being compounded of the best of beef with fruits and sugar.

The rations of food dealt out to the voyageurs and to those at the posts varied according to the nature of the supplies. On the shores of the Bay a wild goose was a day's ration, — so were ten pounds of buffalo meat; at Athabasca, eight pounds of moose meat; on English River, three large white-fish; higher to the north, reindeer; west of the Rocky Mountains, eight rabbits or a salmon. One of the most niggard regions for food was on the route between Lake Superior and Winnipeg. There fish were scarce, and though rabbits were sometimes innumerable, they were most nnutritive. The most faithful companions of these wilderness travellers, their own horses and dogs, were necessarily put to the uses of the kettle when there was no alternative resource. No article figures on the invoices of the Hudson's Bay vessels in greater proportionate quantities to other stores than Schouschong tea. The Indians became passionately fond of this gentle stimulant, and shared with the whites the freest use of the beverage so long as any of it was left in the outfit. After passing a threatened peril, or accomplishing some extreme effort of daring or endurance, a full solace was always found in starting a blaze, putting on the kettle, and drinking the effusion almost at the boiling point. The extended hand of some red stroller, met on the way, would accompany the begging words, "The," "Suga." The company imported vast quantities of tobacco in plug and twists. It was available alike for barter and for presents. The natives used some indigenous herbs, roots, and barks to supplement a limited portion of tobacco, or as an unwelcome substitute for it. There were large reaches of travel over the plains, and woodless regions which yielded no fuel. Generally its place could be supplied by "buffalo chips," which were abundantly scattered, and which gave forth, in burning, a not unpleasant aroma.

In many pages of many volumes, written by servants of the company, we have full details of the experience of the "winterers" in solitary posts. To one who had had no training by degrees of adventure or responsibilities that dismal isolation must have had some appalling features, with scarce any relieving or compensating resources. Yet we find that all the exactions of the situation were met patiently and faithfully by vigorous young men; that habit made them at first so tolerable, and then even so attractive, that, as men grew old in the service, they found their solace in such seclusion, with the occasional interruptions which came upon it in the course of a year. Once, at least, in each year a mail was sent by the company to all its posts. In a through line of far travel, canoe men or dog teams would be the carriers, and on side branches a voyageur or a native runner would be the welcome messenger. The company's office in London was the receiving depot of all letters, papers, or parcels passing between its servants and their friends at home. Much systematic method was used in this service. The clerks and apprentices took care to be well supplied at their posts with materials for correspondence. Some of them, blessed with several correspondents, from each of whom they expected annual letters, naively tell us that, having no news and very little of incident, though with abundance of sentiment for filling a letter, their habit was to take pains in writing a very good one, and then to make as many copies of it as were needful. The few books which could be carried to the outposts were interchanged. A file of the "London Times," a year old when it fell into the possession of a lucky exile, would serve day by day, in course, for a whole year's perusal.

In the chief or central posts of the company, where much routine work was to be done in accounts, or in the unpacking, repacking, and distribution of goods, there were men enough for companionship. Here a so-called "Bachelor's Hall" was turned to good service for preparing and partaking food, and for after-festivities and jollities where such were possible; and they rarely failed. The fiddle and the jews-harp, the dance, with various games, the welcoming of a wayfarer with news from the outside world, or a change in the corps of the clerks, as announced by the mandatory advices of the council, came in to break a dull monotony. When the cold was so intense that a nose would freeze if an eye on either side of it looked out-of-doors, and when the inner walls of the "Hall" were glazed by the congelations from steam and breath, an iron stove, heated red by logs of four-feet wood, made a cheering centre, enhanced by the sound of forest trees exploding like artillery from the nip of winter. When the weather permitted, a party would go forth of the palisading to bore holes through lake or river ice, five or six feet in thickness, in order to make a grateful alteration from the frozen fish stored in their pantries, by spearing or hooking some of their living brethren. The opening spring brought with it fine sport among varieties of wild fowl. The swamps and thickets sent forth in clouds a venomous breed of mosquitoes, which inflicted fierce tortures upon humanity, and not infrequently stung to death the largest animals, wild and domestic.

The busy and the gala times would come together at the larger gathering and distributing posts, on the arrival or departure of brigades of voyageurs, or of bands of the natives, with the spoils of the hunt or chase. These exciting scenes occurred at least twice in each year. The summer was the season for hunting the buffalo on the plains by large companies of natives and half-breeds ; the winter saw the trappers for precious furs scattered in solitary lodges at wide distances in the forest and by the beaver marshes. Some two or three forerunners, just while they were waited for, would present themselves with heraldic formalities at the post, announcing the coming of a well-laden party, and discharging some diplomatic duties by obtaining information as to the prospects of a good trade.

In nearly every volume written by resident servants of the company, the free use of ardent spirits, with scenes of wild riot, debauchery, and even bloodshed, make often a hideous episode in the description of what took place on these occasions. Here, then, may be a fitting place for trying to define, if possible, the policy and responsibility of the Bay Company as to the introduction and distribution of intoxicating liquors in their territories. Of course, the opponents and rivals of the company brought against them the most unsparing charges and invectives for their culpability and inhumanity in this matter. And whenever the affairs of the company were brought under official investigation the inquisition was very sharp and searching, if possible to reveal the real facts in the case. But any one who patiently and candidly follows out those inquisitions, with the testimony disclosed, will at least be puzzled in attempting to draw a clear conclusion about it. At times the witnesses on the side of the company, when challenged, appeared to admit that though the company, at an early period of its operations and in ignorance, had imported and distributed large quantities of spirits, yet that at the time of the present questioning they had imposed rigid restrictions upon the export, and stated the small number of puncheons or gallons which had gone in the last vessels. Again it was pleaded that spirits were never used by them in barter for the Indians' furs, but were bestowed after the way of presents. And once more, the excuse was offered that the company, after having once prohibited and prevented the distribution of spirits, had been compelled to allow them again, at least with some parties of natives, because their rivals, French and Americans, used them unstintedly to advance their trade. But, on the whole, the facts and the testimony bear hard against the company, even from those best informed in its affairs. A poor kind of spirit was manufactured in England for the company. Before it reached the natives it was diluted from a single part in ten up to even seven parts of water, for use among different tribes according to ascertained facts as to the relative susceptibility of their brains. The Indians were quick to learn about this reduction of the stimulating quality, and the term "fire-water" indicated their test by flame.

The heralds who announced the proximity of the fur-laden natives were dismissed with a present and the much-coveted dram. And then would soon appear on the scene a motley rush and grouping of wild crowds of Indians, all panting to meet the full reality of the fruition of the prospects which had cheered them through long months of solitary tramping. When the natives moved in companies for a visit to a post with their furs, they had to bring with them their food and all their household goods, — their lodge-poles and coverings, their pans and kettles, and their whole families. The proud buck would carry no other burden than his gun. If they had dogs, these were put to the utmost service for drawing the laden sledge, if there was snow, or by an ingenious arrangement of two long poles fastened to their collars, and trailing behind them, with a pack attached. Failing help from brutes, the squaws bore all the impedimenta, and in the same pouch on their backs the pappoose would share his nestling-place with the puppy-dog, too young to travel on his legs. The picturesque or hideous spectacle — whichever epithet may meet our imagination of it — presented itself in all the bedizenment of Indian finery, with boisterous shouts, greetings, and yells. The visitors were required to keep at a respectful distance from the precincts of the post, so a considerable time was busily spent in settling an encampment after their own taste and fashion, while, during the interval, the employees of the post were carefully attending to their own securities and arrangements for meeting all the excitements and turbulences of the occasion, and for carrying out the well-prepared methods of profitable barter or traffic. Many all too faithful narrators have described to us in vivid pictures the scenes of the wild orgies and drinking bout which preceded the serious business negotiations. As much spirituous liquor as would on the one hand be thought not excessive, and on the other not meanly stinted, was sent out to the encampment. The squaws, well knowing what would follow, gathered up from the braves all their weapons and hid them away. Then for two or three days were enacted scenes of turbulence, of maudlin folly, and of demoniac passion and bestiality, which need no detail of description beyond the word pandemonium. When exhaustion and sleep had brought back shame and the reassertion of such manhood as these humbled victims of the white man's greed might retain, the actual business began. The natives were admitted singly within the guarded precincts of the trading-room. No specie or paper currency was used. The convenient medium of exchange was found in bundles of little sticks, held by the clerk. A beaver represented the unit of value, and the tariff of other skins rose or fell by a fixed estimate. The native would open his pack, and, after the careful examination of its contents by the clerks, he would receive an answering number of these sticks. When all the natives had singly passed through this process, another apartment was in the same manner made accessible to them, one by one. Here were displayed goods and wares in abundance, — supplies of all the articles attractive to native men and women, for uses of necessity or fancy. These, too, had their fixed prices by the tariff. The purchaser, dazed by the display, was allowed full time to make his selection, and, as his choice fell, the clerk took from him the answering value represented by the sticks which he had received for his peltries. A system of credit by advances to the natives was found by the officers of the company to work well in practice. By this system large numbers of the natives were kept in its debt, and the general testimony is that the creditors were faithful. On the general principle that a purchaser may fairly be left to accept the estimated worth of anything by its value to himself, under his own circumstances, there might be two sides to the question whether the white men cheated the natives. Axes, knives, hatchets, kettles, blankets, cloths, guns, and ammunition were articles of high use and value to an Indian, and after his intercourse with the Europeans they became necessities to him. Trinkets and gewgaws and fancy-colored stuffs also had to the squaws a worth compensatory to them for the drudgery of their hard life. Unfortunately, the wandering and reckless habits of these natives, who became all the more poor as their dependence upon the whites increased, made even articles of the highest value to be soon worthless in their possession, and they had no resources for their repair or preservation. Something will need to be said by and by of the profits drawn by the whites from this traffic, and we may see reason to approve the judgment that the advantage was, on the side of conscience, with the natives.

The trade being closed, the encampment was broken, and the party, laden with its return goods, took its way into the wilds. Then the clerks at the posts had their own well-defined task before them, to sort out the peltries which had been gathered in, and arrange them in packages for transfer by the ocean to the London warehouse. This was a process which required trained skill. Some of the very choicest skins needed to be treated with great care, as a trifling blemish would much reduce their value. The natives themselves, or rather the squaws, when they had the time to give to it, had a curious facility beyond even that of the whites in all the processes of scraping the flesh from the skin, softening, drying, and tanning it. These precious bales, for their ocean passage, needed to be guarded from heats and damps, and from gathering foul odors. But the requisite art seems to have been perfected.

Such, as selected and condensed from many thousands of pages, written amid the scenes above described, and by narrators whose whole range of life and activity was filled by occupations of steady labor and by incidents of romance, is a representation of service in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company.

We have now to present in historical statement and review that continuous series of agitations, controversies, and discussions, with appeals to government and hearings before parliamentary committees, extending through the whole of two centuries, which brought under question the chartered rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and its administration. We may say at the start that, in view of this protracted struggle, one who follows out its stages with a fair recognition of the various and powerful agencies engaged against the monopolists will have cause to wonder at the tenacity of life in the company, the policy and skill with which it thwarted opposition, and its ingenuity in covering its most important secrets; while, through all the period of its existence, with but few interruptions of its pecuniary thrift, it yielded such magnificent profits. The truth is, the company was shielded by powerful patronage. It had friends in high places. Its rights of possession had acquired by lapse of time those prerogatives and immunities which have for Englishmen so attractive and efficient an influence in sanctioning questionable claims, if not even abuses. It was more than once admitted, under official processes concerning the charter, that while neither crown nor Parliament would in modern times confer or concede any such rights or privileges as it bestowed, yet that this wiser lesson of experience could not be carried so far back as 1670 for its application. It was evident that a strong prestige of authority ran down with the charter attaching to it from the royal and princely titles connected with the original and gracious donation. For a long period we find the names of the successive sovereigns leading the lists of the shareholders, as substitutes for the name of Prince Rupert. Not that any one of them had ever paid the price of stock, but the object evidently was to secure a royal dignity for the corporation. The covenanted annual consideration enjoined by the charter of "two elks and two black beavers" to be returned to the sovereign may have been duly rendered. It would, however, have been generously commuted by the annual douceurs of much higher value which were sure to reach the court. Doubtless many a rich marten or sable, the most precious of all the spoils of the wilderness, passed from the little creatures which had worn the skin to the shoulders of royalty. Tentative steps of inquisition as to the owners and value of the company's stock, at any given time, were baffled by pleas of unsettled accounts of profit and debt, and the assertion that some of the shares had passed by inheritance to women and children, thus involving processes of chancery.

There was much significance in the fact already stated, that so early as only twenty years after the sealing of the charter the company, under the prompting of some misgivings as to its validity, as it had only the sanction of the crown, had sought and obtained for it a parliamentary confirmation. The draft of the act of confirmation had limited the grant to ten years. The period was reduced by the committee to seven years. A perfect silence is observable as to any measures taken by the company to secure a renewal of this sanction by extension of time or by an indefinite term. We are left to imagine an explanation of this course pursued by the company. By appealing to Parliament it had confessed a consciousness of insecurity, and it must have recognized that the termination of the limited period might bring with it some form of a crisis. We can well understand that the company, in its close councils, under the caution of some shrewd adviser, judged it safest not to invite upon itself any further official attention or scrutiny.

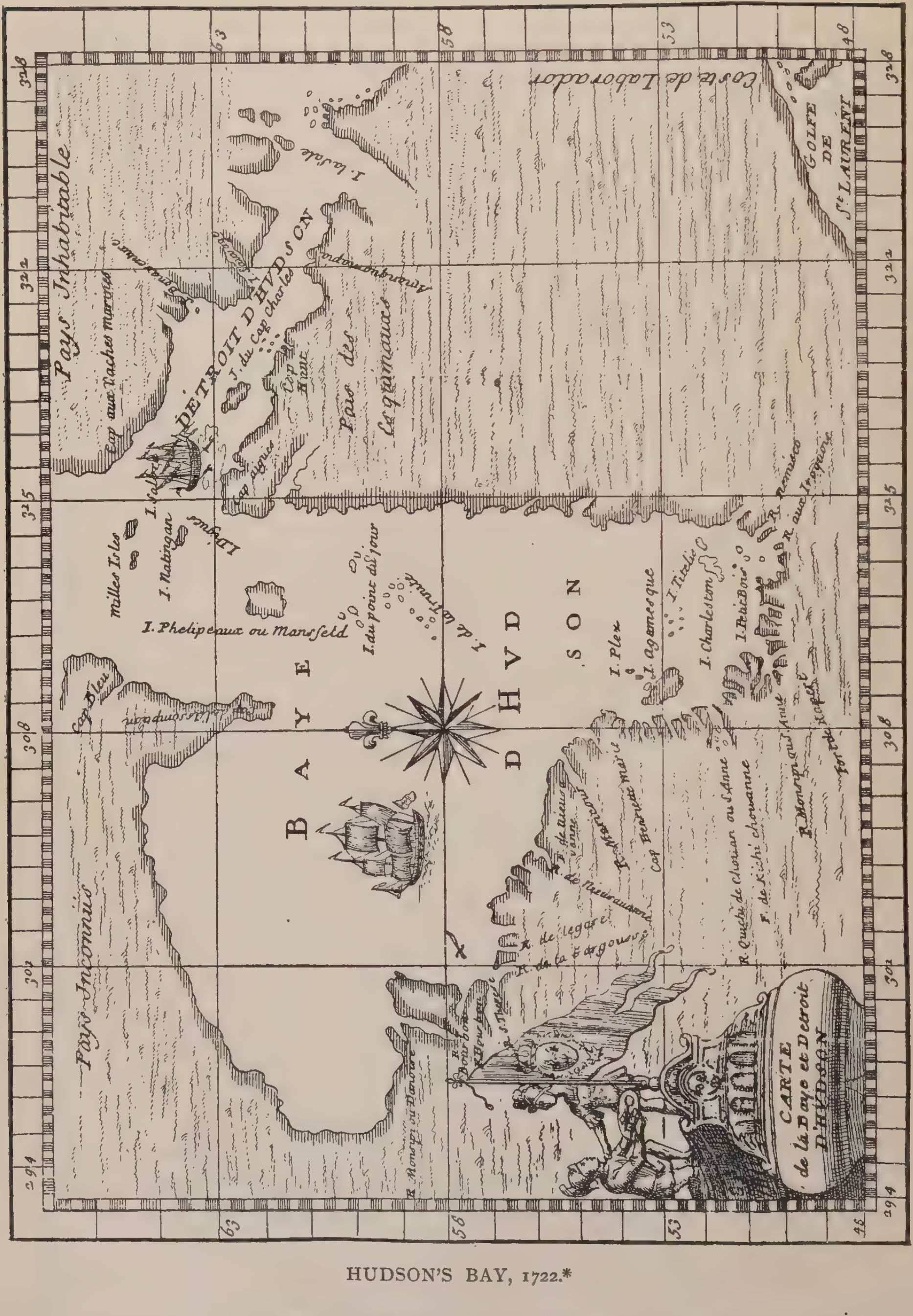
The occasions and incidents which through the whole two centuries of the chartered existence and administration of the company kept it under conflict of open and aggressive warfare, jealousy, rival opposition, business and mercantile antagonism, and official processes by government, may be disposed and treated under three divisions. It may be premised that all these matters of strife were more or less directly the mischievous results of the fact intimated in the opening of this chapter, namely, that that spasmodically generous monarch, Charles II, who made many other similar gifts, in the charter which he granted to Prince Rupert and his associates bestowed lavishly what did not belong to him.

1. The first and the most serious collisions of the company, involving measures of warfare, havoc, and large pecuniary losses, were encountered in consequence of its trespass upon rights claimed by France and French subjects under recognized principles of public law.

2. A second class of vexatious and forcible annoyances and controversies met by the company, sprang from the sturdy and uncompromising opposition of other British subjects to its illegal and grasping monopoly, its utter neglect of the primary object of exploration recognized in its charter, and its policy of intrigue and jealousy.

3. The last series of controversies, which in their resolute and effective agitations brought about a surrender of the charter, were incident to an attempt to plant a resident colony on a portion of its territory.

In dealing with the first of these classifications, we remind ourselves that Charles II restricted the terms of the gift in his charter of "Rupert's Land" to such territory as should not be held by any other Christian prince or his subjects. By the complacent usage of titles at the time, Louis XIII of France was a "Christian prince," and he had precisely the same claim and rights of possession to the territory of Hudson's Bay as the English monarchs had to regions farther south on the Atlantic coast, — the rights obtained by sighting the coast and entrance upon the shores. The king of France had by a charter in 1626, forty-four years previous to that of Rupert's Land, conveyed to the Company of New France the region now known as Canada, and the whole region of Hudson's Bay, which had been entered by French navigators. The first European that ever coursed the continent to the Rocky Mountains was a Frenchman, M. Varennes de la



HUDSON'S BAY, 1722.*

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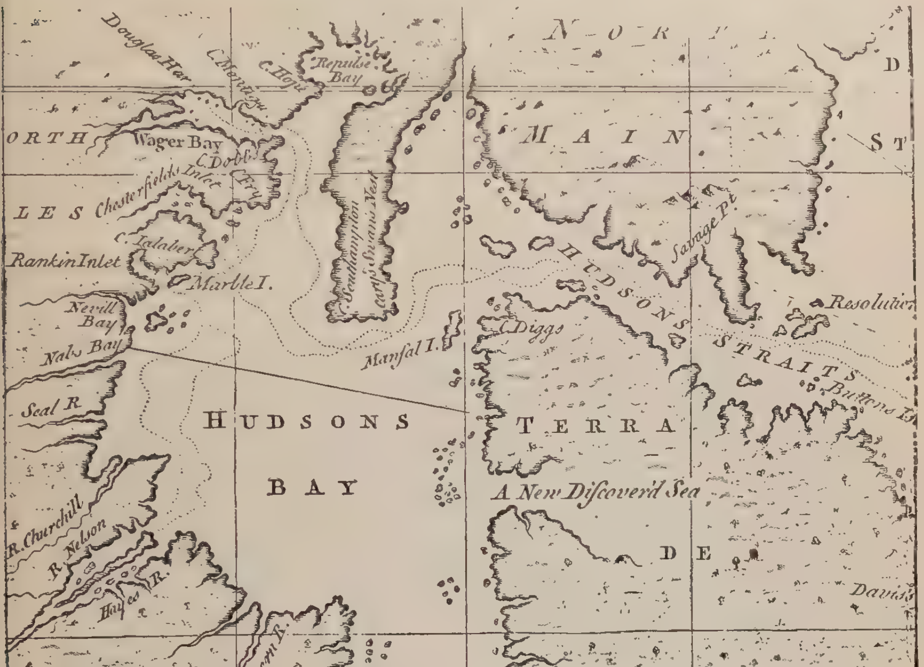
* [From *Bacqueville de la Potherie.* Bellin's map of 1744 is in Charlevoix. Other maps are in Prevost's *Voyages*, xiv. and xv.; and in the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, vols. xiv. (1756), xvi. (1756), and xvii. (1759). — ED.]

Verenderye,[1] in 1731. The country was also confirmed to France by the treaty at St. Germain's-en-Laye, thirty-eight years before Prince Rupert's charter. From the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 to the Peace of Paris in 1763,



ELLIS'S MAP, 1748.*

there had been no distinct boundary drawn between territory claimed by the French in Canada and territory claimed by England in the Bay. But in maps of the time authorized by both parties, the Red and the Saskatchewan rivers were alike recognized as belonging to France, though both rivers drained into the Bay. In the cession of Canada by France in 1763, there was no western boundary assigned to Canada, but the French had claimed to the Pacific. By the eighth article of the Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, the whole of Hudson's Bay was recognized as belonging to the crown of France, no allusion being made to the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company. By the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, a portion of the shores of the Bay was ceded to England, which only then for the first time could claim undisputed possession. The treaty also protected the rights of the Company of New France. As the English crown did not acquire any of the territory till long after the death of Charles II, of course a charter from him was null. Not only is there abundant documentary and official evidence of the prior and the never abandoned possession of the territory by France, but French subjects invariably took for granted their rights of exploration, hunting, and occupancy over the whole region. The grant of any exclusive privilege in the western territory by the crown of England was a breach of the articles of capitulation with France in 1763. The valleys of the Saskatchewan and the Assiniboin were not entered by the Bay Company till long after the cession of Canada. The French traders had a hundred years the start in many of the company's interior posts. Nor did the French, after they had come to the knowledge of the presence of Englishmen in the Bay, under pretended charter rights, confine themselves to peaceful protests against the intrusion. While the company had as yet planted its posts only on the shores of James' Bay and at the mouth of Churchill and Hayes rivers, the French, by assaults in 1682 and 1686, and again under M. Jeremie, destroyed all the posts except Albany on the former bay, and held posses-

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[1] [See Vol. IV. — Ed.]

* [A section of the *New chart of the parts where a northwest passage was sought in the years 1746 and 1747, exhibiting the track of the ships throughout that expedition*, which appeared in Henry Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1748). — Ed.]

DOUGLAS HARBOR.*

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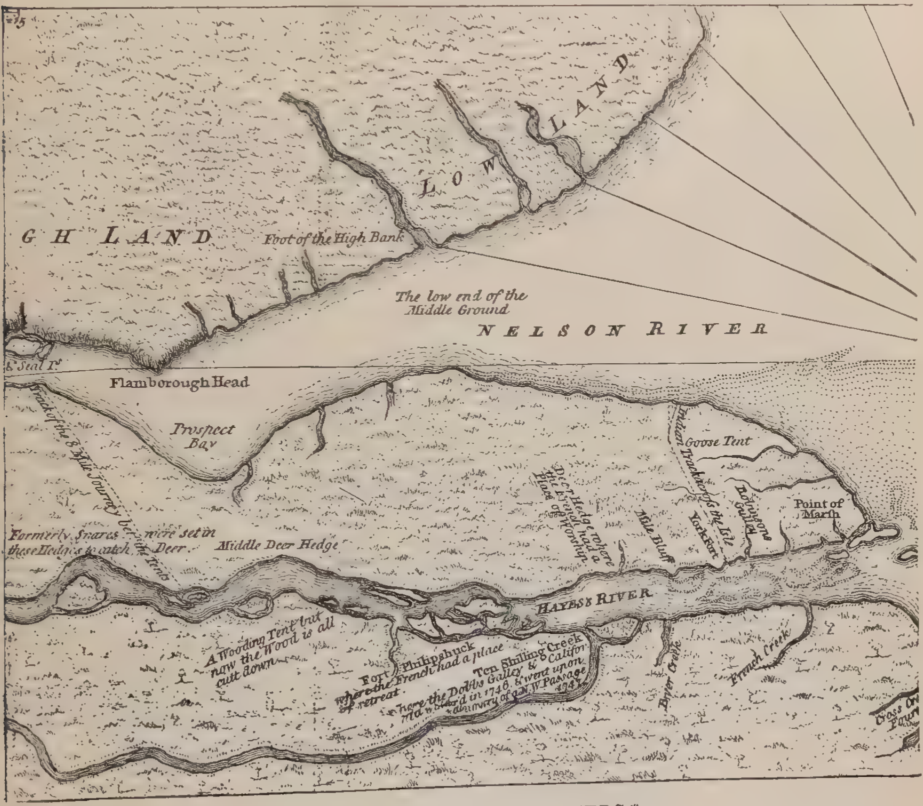
* [Fac-simile from a plate in Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1748). — Ed.]

sion of York Fort, which they called Fort Bourbon, from 1697 to 1714.[1] In a petition of the company to Charles II in 1682, protection had been asked against a threat of the governor of Canada, De la Barre, of an assault upon its posts. In petitions by the company to the Lords Commissioners of Trade in 1697 and 1698, it asks that the French may not be allowed to travel or trade "beyond the midway betwixt Canada and Albany Fort, which we reckon to be within the bounds of our charter." The French ambassador, in answer to a memorial in 1699, asserted the claims of his sovereign to the whole bay on the north, which he insisted was comprehended within the limits of the grants to his subjects. In the previous expeditions of the French, with Indian allies, against the early bay posts, the assailants had crossed the height of land between Canada and James' Bay. The expedition of Admiral la Perouse against the two principal forts of the company in 1782, was a bold and effective blow, which there seems to have been not even an attempt to parry or to avenge. It was a year in which


LOW LAND
G H LAND
Foot of the High Bank
The low end of the Middle Ground
NELSON RIVER
& Seal Is.
Flamborough Head
Prospect Bay
Track of the 8 Mile Journey between the Tents
Formerly Snares were set in these Hedges to catch Deer.
Middle Deer Hedge
Deer Hedge where the French had a Place of Worship
Mile Bluff
Indian Track from the Isle to York Fort
Goose Tent
Point of Marsh
HAYES'S RIVER
A Wooding Tent but now the Wood is all cut down
Fort Philipshuck where the French had a place of retreat.
Ten Shilling Creek
where the Dobbs Galley & Californ... laid in 1746, & went upon discovery of a N. W. Passage 1747
Beaver Creek
French Creek

NELSON AND HAYES RIVERS.*

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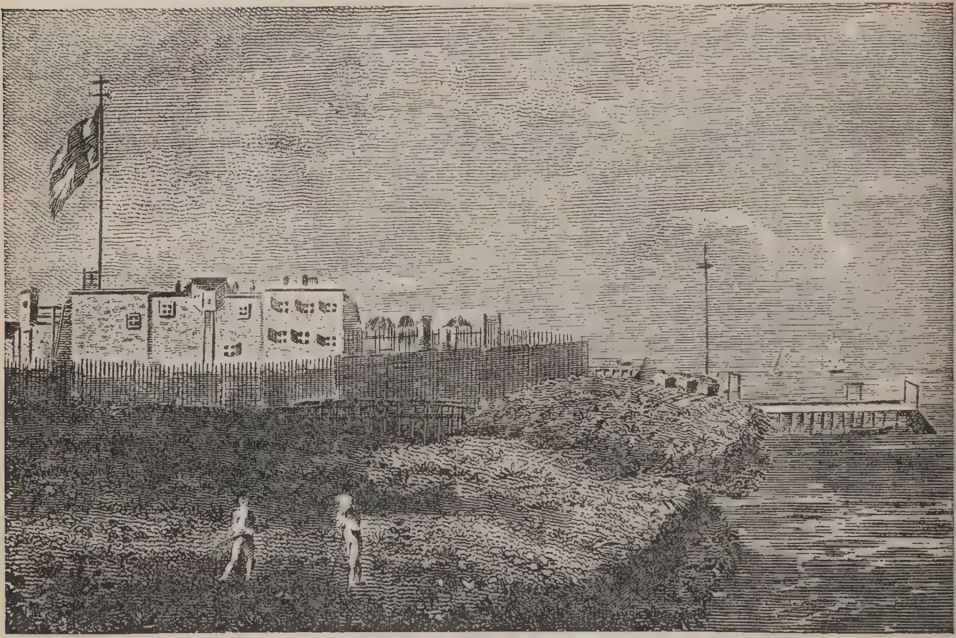
[1] Papers relating to the claims of France, in *British Documents, Reports of Committees*, vol. xv. pp. 374 *et seq.*

* [Fac-simile of a part of the map in Joseph Robson's *Hudson's Bay* (London, 1752). — Ed.]

the smallpox was making most devastating havoc among the Indians of the interior. Perouse appeared off York Fort with a fleet of three ships on the 8th of August. The fort was a strong one, of stone, and had been forty years in building, at very heavy expense, having been planned and superintended by Robson, in 1742.[1] It had forty cannon, and abundant ammunition and provision. But it was held by only thirty-nine men, when its complement would have been four hundred. Not the slightest resistance was offered to the fleet. The officer at the post at once surrendered. The commander pulled down the British flag and held out one of his own tablecloths. The fort was sacked, plundered, and devastated, a vast quantity of valuable peltry being carried off by the fleet. On the 21st of August the same unresisted capture was made of Churchill Fort. This had sixty men and twelve Indians, thirteen cannon, twelve swivel-guns, all sorts of small arms, abundant provisions, and a fresh-water rivulet running through it. The commander went out with a white flag, and the French officer waved his handkerchief. The fort was plundered and burned, the inmates surrendering as prisoners. It had been held by the English unmolested since the peace of Utrecht. This, however, was the last time that a French flag waved from an English fort at the north.



PRINCE OF WALES FORT, HUDSON'S BAY.*

Such, without mention of many other acts of hostility, was the assured and defiant spirit of the subjects of one "Christian prince," as shown in repeated bold and successful acts of opposition to what were regarded as trespasses of Englishmen on territory which was not admitted to be the property of the monarch who had generously made a gift of it. The martial method of dealing with the matter was as fully conformed to the "law of nations" as were the charter ways of disposing of other people's property.

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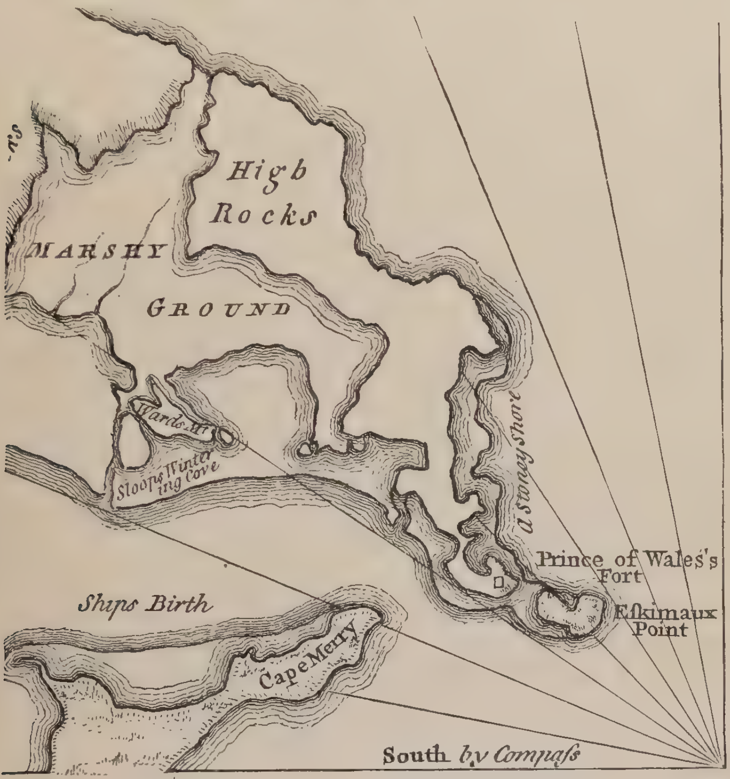
[1] See Critical Essay.

* [This view of the company's chief factory follows a print in the *European Mag.*, vol. xxxi. (June, 1797). It stood on Churchill River, near its mouth. — Ed.]

One very great, perhaps we might on the whole call it an almost compensating, advantage accrued in the long run to the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company after the close of its warlike collisions with the French. It was under the methods and training pursued by the French fur hunters and traders that there was provided for their English successors a breed of men most essential to the skilful and profitable conduct of the fur trade, whose characteristic aptitudes for the service will be again referred to. From the first coming of different European nationalities to this continent, and all along through their presence and their rivalries here, it was very evident that the qualities of Frenchmen secured to them in various ways the attachment, alliance, and intimate confidence of the Indians, while the relations of the English with the natives were always cold and distant, seldom friendly, never cordial. The voyageurs and bushrangers, whose services were indis-



PRINCE OF WALES FORT AND VICINITY.*

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* [Fac-simile of a part of *A draught of Churchill River*, in Robson's *Hudson's Bay* (London, 1752). — ED.]

pensable for such enterprises as the Bay Company pursued, were trained entirely by the Canadians. It was only after they had become thoroughly skilled in their needful work, throwing into it all their woodcraft, their wild impulses, and their reckless enthusiasm, that they were ready to enter into the employ of the Bay Company. Its youthful servants from the Orkneys, however ardent, athletic, or courageous, would have been no substitute for French half-breeds.

The second series of agitations and conflicts which involved the Hudson's Bay Company in vexatious and intense hostilities were substantially an entail or consequence of the primary wrong, the workings of which have just been discussed. The root of the difficulty was the grant by a charter from the king of England, with rights of monopoly for possession and traffic, over a vast and vaguely defined territory, encumbered, at least, by prior claims of French monarchs and their subjects. We have seen that the French in Canada asserted their rights, assured by a half century's earlier occupancy and improvement of the territory, and never relinquished. The French consequently had always dealt with the agents of the Bay Company as trespassers and intruders, and had plundered and destroyed its posts. On the cession of Canada by France to England, in 1763, its inhabitants became British subjects. These new British subjects very naturally believed that they acceded to certain rights of the soil and of opportunities and means for obtaining a livelihood which had been enjoyed and improved by them while they were French subjects. As a matter of course, therefore, they plied with increased vigor the only lucrative trade which their wilderness surroundings opened to them. Only a slight capital was necessary to conduct it as operated by individual enterprise; but associated means and efforts largely increased its facilities, and enabled partners to operate at extended distances. As will soon appear, a very energetic company was formed in Canada for the fur traffic, which speedily was met by rivalry from a similar company, while both alike, with all individual traders, were brought into direct and bitter antagonism with the chartered monopolists. Before a summary statement is given of these rival operations and of the method by which they were compromised, reference must be made to other hostile movements against the company in resistance of its monopoly and its secret policy, which were set in action also by British subjects, but of another class, residing in England, and having in view other objects than simply that of the fur trade.

We must remind ourselves of that alluring aim and passion of all the earliest as well as of the most recent navigators to this hemisphere, and of their royal patrons, to find a water-way through this island, archipelago, or continent, whichever it might prove to be, to Cathay in India. Columbus died in the belief that he had reached the coast of Asia without passing intervening lands; but it was not long before the presence of such intervening lands was patent, and the great problem of a navigable water-way through them demanded a solution. In 1540 the king of France made a grant of Canada to Cartier as "un des bouts de l'Asie." Lachine, on the St. Lawrence, near Montreal, perpetuates by its name the fond hope of La Salle, that that place was the starting-point by the Ottawa for entering the coveted water-way to China.[1] Prince Rupert and his associates had obtained their charter as the "Governor and Company of Adventurers in England," under the plea that their object was "the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea." Many Englishmen, from motives of gain of various kinds, and from higher motives, were eager to have that discovery made, and even to venture their own property and lives in the enterprise. Joint-stock companies were formed to advance it. Parliament had offered a reward of £20,000 for the verification of the belief that such a passage was a reality. But soon the surprising and astounding fact came to the knowledge of the generous adventurers, that the privileged company, holding its royal patent, instead of seeking to advance its avowed and pledged object, neglected all effort and enterprise in that direction, and, worse than that, opposed, obstructed, and thwarted every independent movement to effect an object which in honor and obligation it should have been foremost to advance. The company was likewise pledged "to find some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities." It stayed by the furs. Hudson's Straits were believed to open to rich mineral regions, and were known to hold treasures of the sea. The whole zeal of the company, not given to its own traffic, was spent upon warning off all adventurers from risking themselves in such barren, desolate, and inhospitable regions. The meanness and rapacity of the company aroused against it an intense hostility among English mariners and merchants. This resulted in a petition to the lords in council in 1749, exposing the mischievous monopoly and policy of the company as having used its privileges to obstruct the noble objects it was intended to advance. The petitioners sought to be incorporated, with similar rights of land and water over the regions adjacent to those of the company for advancing discovery and trade. An explanation is given on a later page of the means by which this, like all the other public impeachments of the company, failed of its object.[2]

The policy of prohibiting exploration and settlement was in the case of the Hudson Bay Company pursued by a breach in their covenanted obligations and in the interest of their own monopoly. The company may be said to have been goaded and shamed into patronage of its first enterprise of exploration one hundred years after the date of its charter. Reports had been circulated by some wandering Indians from the north, near the Arctic circle, of a vast and navigable river in a region rich with furs and with minerals. The resident governor of the company was moved to address the managers in England with the proposal of an expedition for discovery, and Samuel Hearne, an officer of the company, was sent forth under its auspices. He left Churchill, the most northern post, in November, 1769. Midway on his errand he returned twice, being deserted by some of his Indians, and some of his instruments having become unserviceable. Starting a third time, in December, 1770, he traced the Coppermine River to its mouth, and was the first of Europeans to look into the Arctic circle. His own scientific skill, as well as his instruments, were insufficient for making trustworthy observations, and his enterprise was hardly satisfactory.

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[1] [The history of the search for the Straits of Anian, as this supposed passage was called, is given in Vol. II. — ED.]

[2] See the reference in the Critical Essay to the work of Arthur Dobbs.

T. Lawrence R.A. pinxt.
P. Condé sculpt.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.*

The rival North West Company, not to be outdone in this exacting service, sent Alexander Mackenzie in 1789. He followed the river, which received his name, in an unimpeded course for eight hundred miles. He too saw the Arctic Sea, and was the first Englishman to pass the Rocky

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* [After Sir Thomas Lawrence's picture as engraved by P. Condé in Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific oceans, 1789 and 1793* (Philad., 1802). There is another portrait and a map of his route in the *Allg. Geog. Ephemeriden* (1802), vol. ix. — Ed.]

Mountains, being followed by Findlay, Fraser, and Thompson. The third expedition, the first that was undertaken by the British government, was that of Sir John Franklin in 1820. He advanced the exploration, but met with terrible disaster and suffering on his return, making a second expedition in 1825.

THOMAS SIMPSON.*

The British government commissioned Sir John Ross on an expedition in 1829, and in 1832, aided by a private subscription, it sent Captain Sir George Back to search for him. The Hudson Bay Company now again takes up the work at its own charges. It sent one of its officers, Thomas Simpson, and Peter W. Dease, in 1836; and in 1838–9 it was supposed that the longed-for water-opening had been seen. Government thought itself generous in its rewards. It conferred a baronetcy on the London governor of the company, J. H. Pelly, and knighthood on the local resident governor, George Simpson. A pension of £100 was settled upon Messrs. Dease and T. Simpson. The mysterious death of the latter, by murder or suicide,[1] when on his way through the prairies, on his return to England in 1840, closed his account. His brother, in a Life of him,[1] tells us how he sought in vain to secure the pension for needy heirs. No advantage in the special object to which the company restricted its aims accrued to it from any successes gained by itself or others in these explorations.

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[1] The biographer accepted the alternative that his brother was vengefully murdered through the cherished malice of the half-breeds who were attending him, and with a view to purloining his papers. But Mr. Alexander Ross, in his *Red River Settlement*, candidly reviewing the facts of the case, leaves it probable that Mr. Simpson fell by his own hand, he having previously given signs of an unsettled mind (pp. 225–233).

* [Copied from J. Cook's engraving of S. P. Green's portrait of Simpson in Alexander Simpson's *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson* (London, 1845). — Ed.]

Returning to the subject of the collisions of the Hudson Bay Company with rivals in its special enterprise, we have to note a different method of business pursued by British fur traders from that which had been followed by the French before the cession of Canada. The French had traded under "licenses" granted by the authorities, accompanied by attempted prohibitions of the brandy traffic with the natives. But the British merchants in Canada demanded the liberty of free trade, and they exercised it. Single individuals, sometimes two or three in partnership, would furnish an outfit for employés, or go themselves on an expedition for furs. As might have been expected, sharp practices, jealousies, feuds, and sad demoralization among the Indians at once ensued. The latter were enlisted in groups or parties on the sides of the rivals, who would set themselves at watch to waylay, entrap, and barter with those who were in the service of their opponents. Many a dark and tragic scene was veiled in the depths of the wilderness, of which there are only legends, as culprits would keep their own secrets, and all legal proceedings were out of the possibility of enforcement. The effect was disastrous on the interests of traffic. The game was wasted, and in some places exhausted. Only in the winter season were the furs in good keeping, but the animals were slaughtered through the whole year, the cubs with their parents, with no respite for the breeding interval. Many merchants were brought to ruin, and if matters had continued in this course, only quarrels would have survived the occasion of them.

Under these circumstances, policy and self-interest dictated to some shrewd and sagacious men a course which, while it yielded a vast reward in profits to themselves, proved as destructive to the interests of the Hudson Bay Company. That monopoly might rest upon its charter, and make the most of it. Receiving its orders from the warehouse in Fenchurch Street, and clinging close to its dismal posts on the two inner bays, it waited for the natives to bring them the spoils of the hunt and trap. The rivals of the company had learned to adopt from it the strong power of combined capital, but for the rest knew of wiser methods of their own. They would have trained agents, partners in fact, who would go out and live in the wilderness on common terms with the natives, and do a turn of work for themselves. Some Boston and Albany traders had found the way to Montreal and Quebec free to them for business, after the cession of Canada. A strong organization was formed in 1805 of leading merchants in Canada who could furnish capital and the talent for enterprise. Under the name of the North West Company, though without incorporation, this organization soon became a mighty power, most able and efficient in its working. Its chief managers, resident in Montreal and Quebec, were men of the highest consideration and influence. They felt their dignity, and inaugurated operations which inspirited social life around them with vivacious and romantic incidents well set off by scenes and actors.

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[1] See Critical Essay.

In the parliamentary committee of inquiry into the affairs of the Hudson Bay Company, in 1857, — to be subsequently referred to, — the Right Hon. Edward Ellice, who was a member of the committee, also took the stand as a witness. He testified that he first went to Canada in 1803, and that then everybody of consequence was engaged in the fur trade, which, he said, was all the trade there was. As we shall see, he was the son of a great capitalist in Canada, and became a member of the North West Company, as he was also of a company which divided off from it, and finally of the Hudson Bay Company, when all rivalries had been conciliated. This witness had a rich experience in various animosities and rivalries, and showed his acuteness in his reserve as well as in his testimony. The North West Company having a vast warehouse at Montreal from which it sent out goods by the Ottawa and the northern route, had also a great depot at Fort William, northwest of Lake Superior. It had a class of its partners "on shares," who, under the name of "winterers," went off by the streams and lakes to reside deep in the interior among the natives, to instigate business, and to gather in the results of hunting and trapping. These were adventurous men, and soon became skilled in all woodcraft. A class of youths, chiefly Scotch, robust and hardy, were articled as apprentice-clerks for seven years, receiving their subsistence and one hundred pounds. The prospective reward of their toil and fidelity was to become partners and shareholders, men of consequence among peers. So they worked with a will. There was a high zest of life for them in adventure, self-reliance, converse with novel scenes and picturesque companionship. Indian maidens cast in their lot with these "winterers" and the clerks, and the situation with its influences very naturally in most cases resulted in attaching them permanently to a mode of life ventured upon only as an incident. It was of the offspring of these and others, principally Canadians, French fathers and Indian mothers, that there came into the wilderness such a numerous progeny of half-breeds and persons of variously mixed blood, — the stock of these two classes, — the *coureurs de bois* and the *voyageurs*. For reasons which will suggest themselves, these half-breeds of French parentage far outnumbered those of English and Scotch parentage, and from their mixed inherited and transmitted qualities, their abandon, vivacity, recklessness, and ready affiliation with Indian ways, they were held to be superior for the service required. The North West Company had at one time nearly two thousand of this unique class of employés, going and coming, toiling after a rollicking fashion in its service, paddling and rowing the canoe or the boat, threading the reedy marshes, running the cascades, crossing the portage with their burdens, trailing along the cataracts, bearing all the stern severities of winter in the woods, guiding the dog-sledges, camping in snowdrifts, ready on their return for wild carousals and dances, parting with the year's gains for finery and frolic, and then getting an easy shrift from their priests. The sagacity and pluck, the wide field-roving, and the gainful enterprise of the North West Company, though it was only tolerated in its existence and operations, threatened at one time wholly to crush the comparatively stagnant operations of the chartered Bay Company. Indeed, so profitable, for one period at least, was the field of this free associated enterprise that another volunteer company, which took the name of the "X Y Company," appeared on the scene. This was not in all respects in hostile rivalry to the North West Company, as some partners belonged to both of them, though each was complemented by those who were determined to share the spoils either as individuals or in partnership.

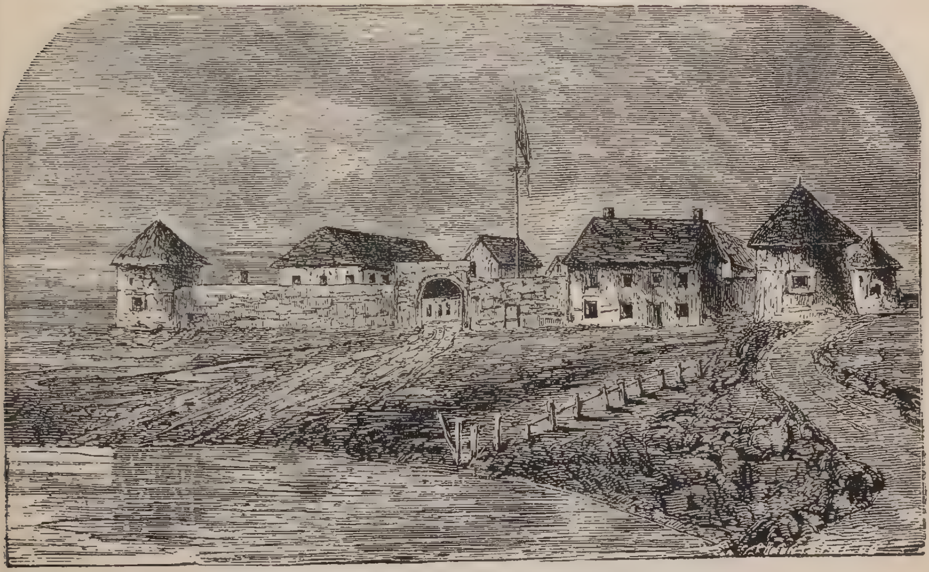
FORT GARRY AND NEIGHBORHOOD.*

It was easy to see, however, what would very soon be the inevitable consequences of this method of action in the fierce rivalry and the exhaustive activity of vigorous parties in the fur trade, enforced by all the resources of combined capital. The buffalo, which was the main dependence for food at the posts and on the tramp, was wholly driven from vast expanses on the plains. The fur-bearing animals were threatened with extermination, and the natives were dangerously demoralized. The North West Company and the X Y Company found it wise for them to form a coalition, peaceable for themselves, but ominous for the Bay Company.

It was at an interval in this long warfare when the strife was fiercest that there came in an episode of historical interest which must briefly engage attention.

* [From a drawing in Alex. J. Russell's *Red River Country* (Montreal, 1870). The fort is at the extreme right. Cf. drawing in Chas. Marshall's *Canadian Dominion* (London, 1871). — Ed.]

Near the beginning of this century the British government had to deal with the problem of providing for large numbers of poor Highlanders, evicted from their rude cottages and lands that the lordly nobles might turn the territory into deer forests. A party of these evicted tenants from Kildonan, in Sutherlandshire, were induced by the Earl of Selkirk to seek a new home in the centre of the American wilderness, in the chartered territory of the Hudson Bay Company. By purchase or by proxy, the earl, himself a large proprietor, had obtained control of the administration of the company in London when its stock was greatly depressed, and received from it in 1811, probably with but nominal compensation, a grant of 116,000 square miles for a settlement. Its central point was at the confluence of the Red and the Assiniboin rivers. A party of the Highlanders, scantily furnished for the rough experiences before them, arrived at York Factory, on the bay, in the autumn, and there they were compelled to winter. Not till the following autumn, 1812, did they reach their destination at Fort Garry. Their route by water and portages had been through four hundred miles of river, with rocky ascents of seven hundred feet and an open lake voyage of three hundred miles. Desolate and piteous were their experiences for many years. In fact, they had actually started on their desperate effort to return to Scotland, when they were met by their patron the earl, in 1816, with a fresh body of settlers and supplies. They had been well-nigh reduced to starvation by the failure of their first crops, by devastating



FORT GARRY.*

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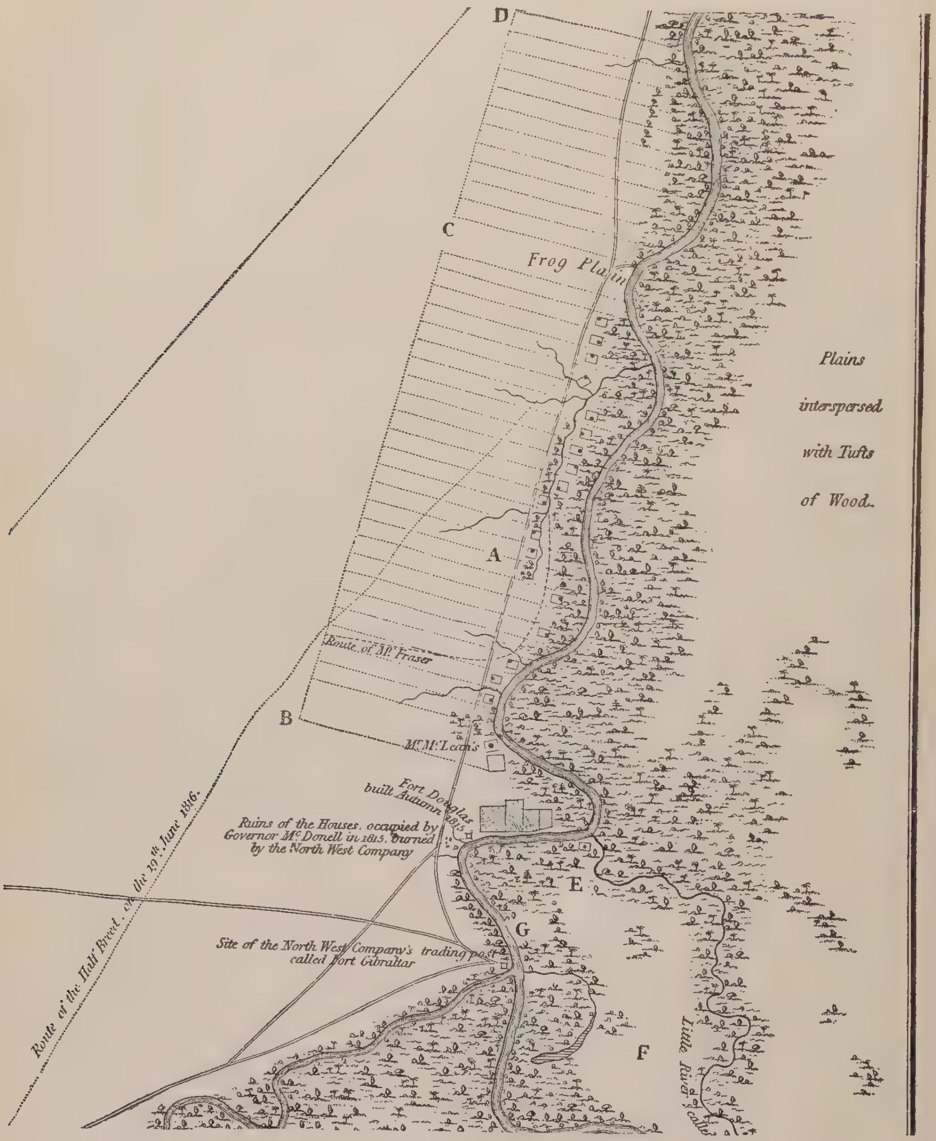
* [Reproduction of a cut in Dent's *Last Forty Years*, following a drawing by the Earl of Dufferin. There are other views in Alexander Ross's *Red River*; in S. H. Scudder's *Winnipeg Country, or Roughing it, with an eclipse Party by A. Rochester Fellow* (Boston, 1886); in Stuart Cumberland's *Queen's Highway from Ocean to Ocean* (London, 1887); in Jas. C. Hamilton's *Prairie Province* (Toronto, 1876). — Ed.]

floods, and by devouring grasshoppers. It seemed as if the accumulations of misfortune had been visited more overwhelmingly and in all forms of ill upon them than upon any other severely tried company of wilderness exiles.


D
C
Frog Plain
Plains interspersed with Tufts of Wood.
A
Route of Mr Fraser
B
Mr. Mc Lean's
Fort Douglas built Autumn 1815
Ruins of the Houses, occupied by Governor Mc Donell in 1815, burned by the North West Company
E
G
Site of the North West Company's trading post called Fort Gibraltar
F
Little River called
Route of the Half Breed. on the 19th June 1816.

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, JUNE, 1816.*

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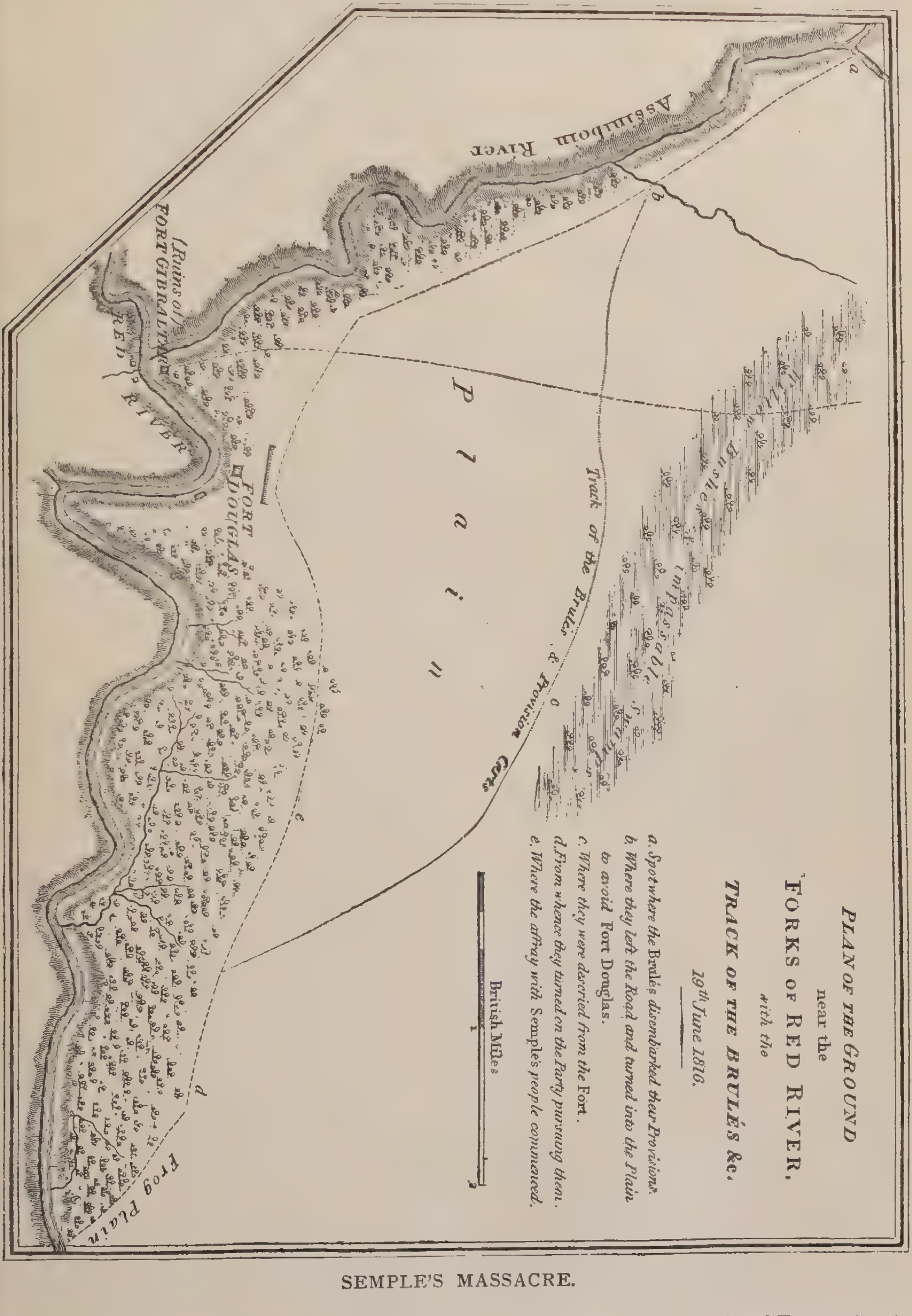
* [Extracted from the map in A. Amos's *Report of the Trials relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement* (London, 1820). — KEY: A, the place where Gov. Semple and his party were massacred, 19th June, 1816. B to C, settlers' lots, established 1814; laid waste by the North West Company, 1815 and 1816; and reëstablished 1817. C to D, lots laid waste in 1815 and not reëstablished. E to F, where the Germans and Swiss of the Regiment de Meuron settled in 1817. G, site of chapel and other buildings, built in 1818 by Catholic missionaries from Quebec. Cf. plan of the Selkirk settlement in H. Y. Hind's *Canadian Red River Exploring Exped. of 1857* (London, 1860), p. 172. — ED.]

But the worst of all their woes, one of which they had no warning, was that they found themselves on a scene which was the centre of a state of


PLAN OF THE GROUND
near the
FORKS OF RED RIVER,
with the
TRACK OF THE BRULÉS &c.
19th June 1816.
a. Spot where the Brulés disembarked their Provisions.
b. Where they left the Road and turned into the Plain to avoid Fort Douglas.
c. Where they were descried from the Fort.
d. From whence they turned on the Party pursuing them.
e. Where the affray with Semple's people commenced.
British Miles
1
2
Assiniboin River
(Ruins of) FORT GIBRALTAR
RED RIVER
FORT DOUGLAS
Plain
Track of the Brulés & Provision Carts
Bois impassable
Frog Plain
a
b
c
d
e

SEMPLE'S MASSACRE.

NOTE. — [A small map contained in the large map in Alexander M'Donell's *Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country* (London, 1819). Fort Gibraltar was a post of the North West Company; Fort Douglas belonged to Selkirk and the Hudson Bay Company. — ED.]

real warfare between the Bay and the North West companies, where their rivalry was the sharpest and the most vindictive in its hostilities. Remote as the scene was from the Bay posts, the North West Company, with its traffic to Canada by its own route of travel, had strongly possessed itself here by its own posts, as a region for most lucrative traffic. Of course, these emigrant Highlanders were regarded as intruders of the most unwelcome and offensive sort, coming to break in upon the wilderness with the stir and noise and restraints of civilization. In a pitched fight on June 19, 1816, Governor Semple, the local governor of the Bay Company, with nearly a score of his supporters, were killed by the defiant forces of the North West Company. The sanguinary strife continued with increasing bitterness till 1820. Then a negotiation was instituted by Mr. Ellice, before referred to, which resulted in the union of the two companies in 1821, on equal terms. The proprietary rights of the chartered company seem to have been offset by the energetic enterprise of the Northwesters. No more European emigrants were sent to Lord Selkirk's settlement after his death in Switzerland in 1820.

Selkirk

Kirkcudbright
October seven
1808*

As this colonial enterprise of Lord Selkirk, known afterwards as the Red River Settlement, became so important and so troublesome an element in the affairs of the Bay Company, — opening, indeed, the controversy which closed only with the extinction of the company, — a few more particulars concerning it will be here in place. The founder of the colony was said to have had a religious object in view. It was not his intention that the colony should grow and be reinforced by further emigrants from Europe. Having been started by a sufficient body, equipped as agriculturists and mechanics, it was intended that retired servants of the Bay Company, half-breeds and converted and, so to speak, civilized savages, should find there a common and congenial residence, making a sort of oasis in the desert for a happy family. It proved a distressing caricature of such a fancy. In 1817 Selkirk obtained a deed of the territory from the chiefs of the Salteaux and Cree tribes, the consideration being the annual payment of one hundred pounds of tobacco. The Crees at once and ever after denied that the Salteaux had any rights in the territory.[1] So here was trouble from the old proprietors. Selkirk, being in Canada at the time of the bloody assault by the employés of the North West Company, in which Governor Semple and twenty of his party were killed, came with a military force by Fort William and partially restored order. For the first twelve years Selkirk managed the affairs of his colony, with lavish outlays and renewed enterprise, against multiplied discouragements. The undertaking was said to have brought his estate under a charge of £85,000. After his death, for about twelve more years, his executors nominally had the colony in charge. But the company really acted for them till, in 1838, it recovered the territory by full purchase.

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* After a cut in Bryce's *Manitoba.*

Probably there was never presented on the face of the earth a stranger medley, nor a more heterogeneous combination of the elements of humanity, than in the Red River Settlement. Planted seven hundred miles away from sea-water, and that mostly bound in ice, it was wholly isolated from the world. Its natural outlet for trade, if such it should ever have, — and it could not prosper without it, — was through the region now Minnesota, in the United States, whose people the Bay Company was resolute to exclude. A whole year was necessary for an answer to an order from Europe. Humanity was represented in the territory by English, French, Scotch, Swiss, and Indian, and before long by the inevitable Yankee. But few of these were permanent settlers, who cast in their lot for fixed residence. Nominally land was free to desirable occupants. But there proved to be annoying conditions imposed by the company; and humanity shaded off into many tints and colors, through English half-breeds and French half-breeds, and their progeny through generation after generation, in many variations. For religion, there was a free choice between paganism, the Roman and the English churches, Scotch Presbyterianism, Wesleyanism, etc. The magnates of the place were the retired servants of the company, with their Indian families, — comfortable, sure of the *otium*, tenacious of the *dignitas*.

The propitious coalition of the two companies gave the now strengthened proprietors under the old charter spirit to apply for, and influence to obtain, through Parliament, what was called an additional grant. It was obtained in the same year as that which ratified the coalition of the two rival companies. This was a grant of the right of "exclusive trade" over the region known as the "Indian Territory." This was an immense expanse of indefinitely bounded and scarcely penetrated wilderness, including the whole northwestern part of the continent, its waters draining into the Arctic and the Pacific. The grant thus made was *restricted* to such parts of North America as do not form a part of any British province, nor lands of the United States nor of any foreign power. The grant was also limited to a period of twenty-one years. Thus the Hudson Bay Company found itself in possession of two covenants, the latter covering territory now estimated to include 2,764,340 square miles, a trifle larger than that held by the original charter. No reference was made to this instrument, either to confirm, extend, or even recognize it, in the later grant. The policy of the company seems to have been to assume that the original charter needed no renewal, not venturing to invite upon it the light of modern legislation.

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[1] When the parliamentary committee of inquiry of 1857 was engaged in investigating the affairs of the Bay Company, Penguis, the aged chief of the Salteaux tribe, wrote a letter complaining of the treatment received by him since this negotiation. His statement was fortified by testimonials, which he had received from Lord Selkirk and Sir George Simpson, of his friendliness, fidelity, and good service. As he was "in the decline of life and poor, Simpson had assured him an annuity for life from the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company of £5 sterling." Penguis charges that the contract with him had never been fulfilled by Selkirk and his successors, though he had saved Selkirk's life, and that the land deeded had been vastly extended. He adds: "We have many things to complain of against the Hudson's Bay Company. They pay us little for our furs, and when we are old we are left to shift for ourselves. We could name many old men who have starved to death in sight of many of the company's principal forts." "The traders have never done anything but rob and keep us poor, but the farmers have taught us how to farm and raise cattle." (*British Documents*, *Reports of Committees*, vol. xv. p. 445.)

CONFLUENCE OF THE RED AND ASSINIBOIN RIVERS, MANITOBA.*

The most active agent in the negotiation for the union of the Bay and the North West companies was the Hon. Edward Ellice, then of London; his two chief partners being Simon McGillivray, also of London, and William McGillivray, of Montreal. The plea on which the grant of the Indian Territory was first asked of George IV was largely urged on the ground that it would benefit and protect the natives. Governor Pelly laid stress upon the hazardous character of the business, requiring unusual enterprise to meet its risks of heavy losses. The government had been deaf to the appeals of the company for protection covenanted to it by its charter. Its profits have been no more than reasonable, considering its service to the mother country, "by a commerce wrested out of the hands of foreigners, subjects of Russia and the United States." The papers at the Colonial Office would show that during a long period of years, applications for protection and redress were made by the company without avail. The trouble continued till the rival parties, both nearly exhausted, were united. It was these considerations that first led to the license for exclusive trade in the Indian territories for a limited period of twenty-one years. The act also extended the jurisdiction of the civil and criminal courts of Canada over the chartered and the licensed territories of the company. A degree of tranquillity and of renewed prosperity followed the harmonizing and the legislative measures just rehearsed. The company, however, by thus concentrating and increasing its power, retained in exercise all the monopolizing and other objectionable features of its policy which had stirred hostility to it; and at the same time it was involved in new controversies. Here we may properly close the review of the troubles encountered by the company from rivals disputing its prerogatives, and may turn to another class of its conflicts.

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* [Reproduced from an engraving in J. C. Dent's *Last Forty Years*, ii. 104, after a drawing by the Earl of Dufferin. — Ed.]

FORT DOUGLAS, RED RIVER.*

The third series of embarrassments and contentions in which the Bay Company was involved, in being challenged as to the validity of its charter and as to its general policy, is connected with its own halting consent to allow, and then in the obstructions which it put in the way of the prosperity of, a colony planted in a portion of its territory. The inquisition and discussion attending this series of contentions finally resulted in the extinction of the monopoly of the company, and the purchase of its proprietary by the Canadian government. The struggle was a hard one. The company availed itself of the utmost ingenuity and of legal resources to parry the assaults of its enemies and to retain its profitable and exclusive right of trade. But the time was felt to have come when such far-reaching expanses of territory, containing unknown wealth, should no longer be held simply as a preserve for fur-bearing animals, and that some two or three hundred British subjects, as shareholders in a mercantile company, might appropriate to themselves all the harvestings and the gleanings. In the full and searching inquisition by a parliamentary committee near the close of the long struggle, we shall have occasion to note how thoroughly the whole process exposed the fact that it was not possible for a permanent settlement to flourish in any portion of the territory controlled by the Bay Company, while it was allowed even the slightest jurisdiction. As its last resource, the company seems to have planted itself upon what, in view of later facts, stands proved as a monstrous fiction, that its territories were wholly unsuitable for settlement. The validity of the charter was brought under question in connection with the grant to Lord Selkirk of territory for a settlement. This was a sub-grant, and its legality was denied by eminent legal

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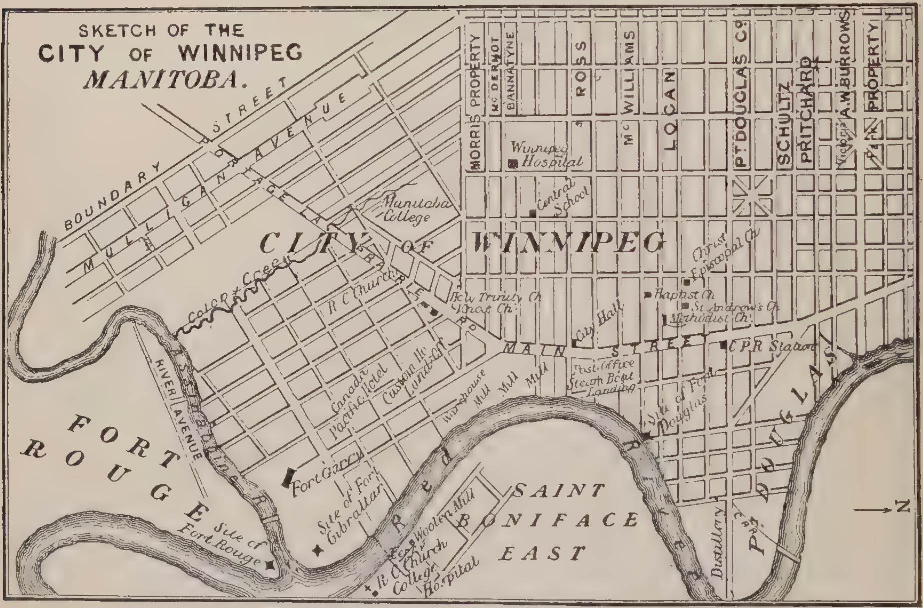
* [Reduced from a cut in Bryce's *Manitoba* (p. 160), which follows a drawing by Selkirk in 1817. — ED.]



CITY OF WINNIPEG.*

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* [After a cut in Bryce's *Manitoba*, showing the position of the early forts in relation to the modern city. There have been five forts within the limits of Winnipeg. (Cf. George Bryce in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada*, and in the *Canadian People*, p. 335.) The first was Fort Rouge, built by Vérandrye about 1736. The second was Fort Gibraltar, built in 1806, after the union of the North West and X Y companies, which was levelled by Semple in 1818. The third was Fort Douglas, built in 1812 by Selkirk, and named after his family. This was later enlarged. The fourth was the first Fort Garry, built in 1822, near the site of Fort Gibraltar, upon the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies, which was succeeded by the fifth, the later Fort Garry, built in 1836, a little west of the earlier fort. — ED.]

counsel in 1816. Recalling the fact that the charter had been granted solely by the king, without the sanction of Parliament, it was pleaded that this royal prerogative had been judicially approved as allowed before the English Revolution, though not afterwards. The question of the validity of a similar royal charter had been raised in the case of the East India Company, and had been decided upon favorably in the King's Bench. Colonial officers, committees, and legal counsel seem on several occasions to have thought it wise not to open the fundamental question. Supposing, however, that the king might have lawfully granted a patent of territory, a vulnerable point was found in other grants conveyed by the charter. It gave a monopoly of trade to some British subjects, excluding all others; and the favored parties were empowered to impose fines and penalties, to arrest interlopers, and to seize and confiscate goods and ships. The charter had been strained to cover illegalities. It granted certain lands and waters "within the straits." These were to be reasonably limited, and not extended to lands two thousand miles distant. Some of those far-off regions were certainly to be left free to other British subjects. The French had laid a claim to the territory prior to that of Britain. Whatever the territorial rights of the French were, on the cession of Canada these rights would go through the king of England equally to all his subjects. Then, too, the sub-grant to Lord Selkirk was illegal, because the region was thus made independent of the company, and assigned to other uses than those of the company. The latter could only insist upon the rightfulness of all the claims which it asserted under the charter; and it urged that though the parliamentary sanction in the act of 1690, limited to seven years, had not been renewed, yet, in a series of acts, in 1708, 1744, 1803, and 1818, when rights of trade in America were secured to British subjects, there were saving clauses which protected the company.

In 1837, when only fifteen of the twenty-one years for which the license for "exclusive trade" with the natives in the Indian Territory had expired, the governor of the London company, J. H. Pelly,[1] asked of the crown a prospective renewal for twenty-one years further. The privilege sought was not to be exercised to the prejudice of any foreign power to the westward of the Rocky Mountains, with which there was a temporary convention. The company made a strong appeal on its claims and merits. Since the coalition with the North West Company there had been no rivalry, but much prosperity. There had been peace on the frontiers. The company had kept off the Russians from trespassing. It had favored explorations and polar expeditions, and hoped to complete the survey of the coast of the Polar Sea. The company had been at great charge to extend its establishments, and had made efforts for "the improvement and civilization of the country." Before the union of the companies the Russians and Americans had plied their enterprise with some success between Behring's Straits and the Mexican frontiers, including Astoria, and the North West Company had been sorely pressed. But now the Bay Company had strengthened itself on the Pacific, having sixteen establishments on the coast and sixteen in the near interior, several migratory and hunting parties, and six armed vessels, one a steamer, in the Pacific. With a view to a large agricultural settlement, Lord Selkirk's Red River colony had been planted, to be peopled by emigrants from Great Britain, and to draw in natives, with an aim to their civil, moral, and religious improvement, and to a large future export trade to the mother country. Selkirk's ownership had been extinguished by the company, and the result had been favorable. The population there was 2,000 whites and 3,000 natives and half-breeds, some of them substituting agriculture for hunting. Legal officers and courts were needed, and the company deserved the encouragement it would receive by a renewal of its privileges in the Indian Territory.

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[1] There is a singular coincidence in the name of this governor of a fur company, whose seal bore the legend, *Pro Pelle Cutem*, skin for skin. His cousin, Robert Pelly, was for a time local governor. The company had also in its employ a Mr. Beaver and a Mr. Hunter.

Accompanying this appeal from Governor Pelly in 1837 was a letter from the resident governor, George Simpson, reporting on the condition and state of trade in the Indian Territory previous to the license to the company. It had been a scene of lawlessness and outrage. Its Indian population was estimated at 120,000, and the liquor traffic had run riot in it. It was now tranquillized. The company derives very little benefit from the licensed territory beyond being helped to a more peaceable possession of their own. The region principally lies west of the Rocky Mountains, the most valuable portion of it bordering upon the Pacific. The company has found difficulty and scant profit in holding it against the schemes of Russia and America. But national pride prompts it to such energetic measures that it "has compelled the American adventurers to withdraw." The company is pressing hard upon the Russians, though supported by their own government and by military guards. The loss and damage to the company from the Russians in 1834 amounted to £20,000. As the territory, by a convention, is opened to the United States as well as to British subjects, the license leaves competition open. Then "the company is now promoting discovery, science, and surveys, at great expense"!

The company succeeded in obtaining, under date of May 30, 1838, a renewal of its territorial license for twenty-one years, with a reservation to the queen of a right to plant distinct colonies upon any portion of it.

In the petition of the company just rehearsed a reference is made to the trouble it encountered in the management of the Red River Settlement, with its mixed population of 5,000 whites, Indians, and half-breeds; dropping a suggestion that as this involved an expense of £5,000, the company might look to the government to repay it. We take up this annoyance from the colonial enterprise at a later period.

On February 17, 1847, a petition and memorial came before the colonial secretary of state, urging complaints against the Hudson Bay Company. The principal agent in this movement was Mr. A. K. Isbister, signing in behalf of himself and many others, as "natives of Rupert's Land," and their "fellow-countrymen, Indians and half-breeds." The complaint was, that, acting under a charter which many high legal authorities believed had lost its force, the company had set up a harsh administration and pursued a ruinous policy. By its exclusive trade with the Indians, greatly to their own injury, the company secured a princely revenue, believed to be annually a quarter of a million sterling, and perpetuated, without any improvement, the wandering, precarious, and barbarous life of the natives. It had not established church or school in its settlement, but had left all effort in this direction to charitable, missionary, and Wesleyan societies. It had neglected all measures on its own part, and opposed those of others, for opening up the country, and had done so in order to keep the land in its wilderness condition, though game was rapidly decreasing and the Indians were dying out under the curse of the liquor traffic. The company employed many ignorant and loose, demoralized characters as its agents. Though the company has an exclusive right of purchase, this does not impair the right of the natives to sell to whatever parties they please. Yet when for a higher price they try to sell their furs to others, the company seizes and confiscates the goods.

This complaining memorial was supported by another in French, signed by nine hundred and seventy-seven residents of the Red River Settlement. The Earl of Elgin, governor-general of Canada, was instructed by the secretary to investigate the grievances. Distance, formalities, and other difficulties caused great delay in the correspondence. To such reports and documents as Governor Pelly, in behalf of the company, offered to meet the allegations, Mr. Isbister replied, sentence by sentence, presenting new evidence. It appeared that eleven different partnerships in the fur trade had been pressing their operations in the region of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. They had all been crushed by or absorbed in the giant monopoly.

In following up the issue, five retired servants of the company, who had been in its employ from six to fifteen years, were put under question as to its conduct of its affairs. Their testimony was in the main unfavorable to the company, tending to show the oppressive, unjust, and mischievous results of its policy, which was alike wrongful to the natives, the mother country, and to unprivileged British subjects. If the company's grasp over the "Indian Territory" could be released, many great advantages would follow. It would induce settlements, occupy the sea-coasts, and revive the rich fisheries of salmon, porpoise, and seal. It would lead to the working of mines of copper, silver, and lead. Plantations and cultivated lands would flourish with agriculture. The natives would be helped, and there would be a good export trade. All these prospective advantages were withstood by the truculent course of the company.

Mr. Isbister, learning that the committee had applied for information to the governor of Canada, thought that the government intended to send commissioners to inquire and investigate on the ground. Being put on his guard, he wrote to Earl Grey that this would be wholly unsatisfactory, as the commissioners would be prejudiced by their necessary dependence upon the company for conveyance and support. Nor would the Indians be satisfied, as they would have to communicate their grievances only through the company's interpreters. The company will avail itself of all its devices and arbitrary means to shelter itself. Mr. Isbister proposes that at least there should attend the commissioners one person in the interest of the petitioners; the company being allowed the like privilege, if desired. Earl Grey applied to two British military officers, who successively for several months had resided at Fort Garry, in 1847 and 1848. Their answers were full, hearty, and earnest in defence of the company, and even laudatory of it. The inference, of course, was that they were under its spell. Earl Grey warmly espoused the side of the company, not seeing fit to open the question of the validity of its charter, and declining to bring the petition of the aggrieved Red River settlers before Parliament. He signified to Mr. Isbister that he must assume the expense of a judicial process if he chose to have one.

In 1846 a body of five hundred British troops had been sent to the settlement as if to preserve order, and had been withdrawn after two years, when a squad of pensioners followed. Mr. Alexander Ross, who was in the settlement at the time, says there was no other apparent reason for these military precautions than "the unmeaning fuss and gasconade of the Americans about the Oregon question."[1] Frequent references are found, in the occasions when the Bay Company was under the assaults of its opponents, to the valuable service it claimed to render to the British government in "resisting the encroachments of the Americans." The company was constantly alarmed by actual and threatened competition in the fur trade, first by parties of half-breeds and natives in its own settlements, and then by bold trespassers across the boundary line. Naturally enough, the jealousy of the company extended to trade and traffic in any articles within its own territories in which it was not itself a party. In the antagonism between it and the resident colonists represented by Mr. Isbister, we find the latter party fretting under the restrictions and impositions which prevented all expansion of the thrift and prosperity of the settlement. They complained that they really had no market for any surplus produce, and so had no motive to enterprise. The company had refused to export in its own ships — and no other ships were allowed in the bay — a quantity of tallow brought to its depot by a settler. A half-breed and an Indian were forbidden to buy and sell furs in the colony. Vexations and annoyances of the most exasperating character were made to burden and depress the restive members of an isolated community at a time when, south of the boundary line, especially in Minnesota, American enterprise was advancing with giant strides. There had come into use in the settlement vast numbers of vehicles of a peculiar construction, known as "Red River carts," rough, strong, and easily repaired, made wholly of wood, without a particle of metal. Long processions of these went out over the plains, in the great buffalo hunts, to bring home the hides and meat from the thousands of carcasses. What more natural than that these should pass the border at Pembina, and open a profitable international commerce? But then the bugbear of free competition with the "Yankees" in peltry presented itself as a warning. The intelligent Mr. Ross, while admitting that an allowance of free trade in furs would have been disastrous, as introducing strife, bloodshed, and ruin, however insists that buying and bartering ought to have been allowed between the Indians and the half-breeds. It was not strange that the Canadians in the settlement should have been in strong sympathy with their brethren in Canada during the so-called "Papineau Rebellion," and have hoped for its success. The half-breeds raised the Papineau standard on the plains, where it hung for many years.

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[1] *Red River Settlement*, p. 364.

Mr. Isbister persevered in his efforts with government officials in England, especially with the Colonial Secretary, in order to bring the grievances of his fellow-colonists before the public, and to secure a redress. Of course, this involved a repetition of charges and complaints against the Bay Company, beginning with a denial of the validity of its charter, and covering all its policy as to trade, its utter neglect of all measures for educating and civilizing and converting the natives, and its actual reduction of many of them to abject destitution. He always came to this work of antagonism well fortified with facts and documents. Particularly did he controvert the pleas advanced on the side of the company: that the territories under its jurisdiction were wholly unsuitable for agricultural settlements; were barren, destitute of wood for building and fuel, and locked in ice and snow during so large a part of the year that grains and garden crops would not ripen. The company was too strong under its patronage to be worsted by all his appeals and exposures. The authorities would not through legal advisers open the question of the validity of the company's charter, and any complaint of mal-administration under it must be brought by complainants, at their own charges, before the proper tribunal. As we shall see, the solution of the problem came in due season from a proper source in Canada.

The colonists whom Lord Selkirk had led to his settlement, and their descendants, were Scotch Presbyterians. As such, they had what they felt to be a serious and an embittered grievance in their relations with the Bay Company. Selkirk had pledged to them that he would secure, to accompany them in their exile, a minister of their own kirk, and who should officiate in the Gaelic tongue. The promise was not fulfilled. In the buffetings and disasters which the exiles encountered during many years, shut in by a cordon of ice and savagery, with fighting and famine and wandering, they sorely missed the cheer and solace of their familiar ministrations. After Selkirk's death they thought the company had assumed his promises and obligations. But when an appeal, with attested documents, was addressed to the office in London, the reply was that the company knew nothing of such an obligation, but would give a passage to a minister, if those who wished him would procure and support him. In the mean while these Presbyterians, with what grace they could, attended the services of the English Church at the settlement, greatly disliking its method and ritual. In vain did they appeal to each successive local governor, as he assumed office, to carry out the pledge made to them. Not till after the lapse of nearly forty years from their coming did the Presbyterians receive a minister of their own faith, and he was procured through friendly help from Canada. Three hundred of these colonists — sheep following their own shepherd — at once left the services of the English Church, thus provoking a new feud.[1]

The progress of the controversy over the Oregon boundary reveals many traces of the secret agency of the Hudson Bay Company in setting up claims and influencing public opinion. These traces are obvious in many articles in leading reviews and other publications, and in hints acted upon by British diplomats. Looking shrewdly to developments in the future, — which, however, were hurried in their advance by the vigorous pushing forward of settlers from the United States in still disputed territory, — the Bay Company in 1841 sent a party from the Red River to establish a colony on Vancouver's Island. The island was then supposed to be British territory. But when, by the treaty of 1846, Oregon fell to the United States, provision was made that the company should retain its territorial rights there. Dr. McLaughlin, who, as an agent of the North West Company, had been a strong opponent of the Bay Company, after the coalition in 1821 became a factor of the latter, and was made local governor west of the Rocky Mountains. He was regarded as indifferent to the company's interests, and as favoring settlers from the United States near the Columbia, so as effectually to weaken the claims of Great Britain to Oregon. When the colony from the Red River arrived it received but a cold welcome from him. The British grant to the company for a colony in Vancouver's Island was dated January 13, 1849. The draft of the charter,[2] as originally favored by Earl Grey, a strong champion of the company, was greatly modified before it passed the seals, the powers conferred by it on the company being reduced and qualified. Still the provisions of the charter were very objectionable, and were found to be quite unfavorable to those disposed to settle in the territory. Their grievances were plainly spoken when they discovered on the ground the restrictions and limitations attached to residence and trade. An object of the company in securing a footing on the island had in view the expiration in 1859 of its renewed twenty years' license in the Indian territories. The modifications introduced into the draft of the charter fortunately provided some safeguards. The crown retained the right to recall the grant at the end of five years; and when the renewed term of the license for the Indian territories should expire in 1859, the crown might purchase the island by remunerating the company for its outlays. It is observable that by these cautious reservations of crown rights, both in the renewal of the license in the Indian Territory and in the Vancouver charter, no such limitless liberality for a monopoly as was indulged in the Bay charter was to be again ventured.

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[1] Mr. Ross, who was the most efficient agent in this work, gives a full account of it in his *Red River Settlement.*

[2] It is given by Martin. See Critical Essay.

Now as the Hudson Bay Company, having warded off all challengers on its original fields, had intrenched itself on a new one, looking forward to security and perpetuity, we are to follow the course of inquiry and negotiation which led it to the release of its grasp.

The whole contents of a substantial folio volume of British documents[1] are devoted to a "Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company; together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Minutes of Evidence." The committee consisted of nineteen members, including Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone. Among the members was the Right Hon. Edward Ellice. As previously mentioned, he, as a most active member of the North West Company, had been a vigorous opponent of the Bay Company. After the coalition, he was a most strenuous champion of the latter. In this investigation he appears in two rôles: first, as a questioner, endeavoring to draw out or to suppress testimony agreeable or objectionable to him; second, as a witness, positive in his statements and skilled in reticence and reserve. The committee held some twenty sessions, from February to July inclusive, and examined twenty-five witnesses. The commission was held in view of the near approach of the period when the renewed license for exclusive trade, in 1838, for twenty-one years, granted to the company in the Indian Territory, would expire. This alone would make it necessary that the condition of the whole of those vast regions administered by the company should be carefully considered. But other circumstances made such a course the duty of Parliament. Three reasons are mentioned: the desire of Canadian fellow-subjects of extension and settlement over a portion of the territory; the provision of suitable administration over the affairs of Vancouver's Island; and the condition of the settlement on the Red River. Chief Justice Draper was commissioned by the government of Canada to watch the inquiry, and he offered testimony. There was put in evidence taken before a committee of the legislative assembly. The committee also had the opinion of the law officers of the crown on points connected with the charter of the Bay Company. The inquiry covered three descriptions of territory, — the chartered or Rupert's Land, the Indian Territory, and Vancouver's Island. The committee came to the conclusion that, as one object of imperial policy, it was essential to meet the just and reasonable wishes of Canada to annex some portion of the neighboring land best suited for communication and settlement, for which she would provide the means of local administration. The districts best suited for this are those on the Red River and the Saskatchewan. It is hoped that arrangements may be made between the government and the Bay Company for ceding to Canada on equitable principles these districts, the authority of the company in them then to cease. The details of the arrangement would be maturely considered by Parliament. If Canada is not at once ready to undertake the government of the Red River district, some temporary provision may be made. It will be well, as soon as convenient, to terminate the connection between the company and Vancouver's Island, and to extend the colony on the latter. As to the extensive regions both of Rupert's Land and of the Indian Territory, of which there is no present prospect of their settlement by any of the European race, view must be had to three possible dangers: the risks of lawlessness and disorder; the fatal effects on the natives of competition in the fur trade, and the greater freedom for introducing spirits; and the danger of the indiscriminate destruction of the fur-bearing animals. For these reasons the committee judge that, whatever may be the validity, or otherwise, of the rights claimed by the company under its charter, it is desirable that it should continue to hold its privilege of exclusive trade, though limited by the foregoing considerations. The committee cannot say how far the claims of the company, based on its chartered rights, may obstruct, but hope for an amicable adjustment of the matter, through conciliation and justice. A bill in the next session of Parliament may provide an equitable and satisfactory arrangement.

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[1] *Reports from Committees*, vol. xv. 1857.

Before making a cursory review of the points of inquiry and evidence in this elaborate parliamentary investigation, an incidental topic presents itself in the appearance, as both a member of the committee and as a witness before it, of a gentleman already referred to, the Right Honorable Edward Ellice. His associates must have found some amusement in his skill and fence. In questioning witnesses he showed that skill in seeking to guard the credit and interest of the company: he would draw out vouchers of the necessity, the justice, and the practical wisdom of its policy; that it treated the natives humanely, providing for their own improvement, medical service, and civilization; that it was compelled to forbid competition in trade; and that its territory was wholly unsuited for agricultural settlements. Mr. Ellice showed his fence as a witness by holding the committee strictly to its official authority within a certain range of inquiry. He dodged all questions of a personal or private nature. He stoutly refused to make revelations about the profits or to give the names of the shareholders of the company, intimating that that was not the committee's business. He was confronted with an extract from a book of his old partner, McGillivray.[1] This asserted that "Selkirk, having acquired the majority of votes, held the Bay Company under his thumb, and thus secured his immense tract of country, and that the attorney-general ought to look into it." Mr. Ellice naively replied that perhaps he himself was the author of that "libel" on the company. He had written and uttered as bad ones at the time of violent contests. He himself wrote a book in 1816.

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[1] *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America*, 1815.

The principal points of inquiry by the committee concerned the company's relations to the natives and influence upon them in trade and intercourse; the use of spirituous liquors; efforts of civilization and education; the profits of the company; the consequences of competition and free trade; the quality of the soil and its adaptation for flourishing agricultural settlements.

In all the official inquiries and hearings before the colonial board and parliamentary committees, when the affairs of the chartered company were brought under investigation in consequence of the frequent petitions and complaints coming from mercantile and other parties interested in opposition, — these petitions and complaints becoming steadily more earnest and severe till the object of them was effective, — the representatives of the company, as well as its assailants, were very sharply questioned as to the influence wrought by the policy of the company on the condition and experience of the aborigines. It seems to have been generally assumed that the company was under some obligation, expressed or implied, to have in view the welfare of the natives, to help and raise them as human beings, to add to their means and comforts of living, and to seek their moral and religious advancement. It has been already admitted that the charter imposed no obligation of this sort; that in fact it made no reference whatever to the subject. This fact, however, was not accepted as discharging the company from the manifest obligations of civilized humanity. The fact was notorious that the natives had been serviceable to the company in insuring it a scale of pecuniary profits unparalleled in any other mercantile business, and the interest was one of something better than curiosity to know how the other parties to the trade, who, by perilous and severe toil through a desolate wilderness, were subtracting from it its precious wealth, were benefited, or, it might be, injured in the results.

Many large and searching questions covering this subject were put in general terms. The answers to them, when not reluctantly made, were evasive and vague. As the questions became sharper, more specific, or pointed, the disclosures drawn forth were certainly unsatisfactory in the light of humanity, even if they exposed a course of proceeding and dealing more or less compelled by circumstances or required by policy. The questions were such as these: Had the number of the Indians increased or decreased during the long period of the company's intercourse with them? Were their wild habits softened and their physical comforts multiplied? Had they been persuaded and aided to take the first steps toward civilization by forming fixed abodes, subduing parcels of ground, devoting themselves to tillage in its simplest processes, and making provision in times of plenty for the seasons of famine, during which it was known that starvation had frequently driven many of them to cannibalism?

Did the company provide at its posts surgeons and physicians, medical and hospital stores, for the aged and infirm Indians who had been in its service? Had any efforts been made and any expense been incurred by the company in providing schools and moral and religious instruction for the natives?

It is interesting to scan the information drawn out from the friends as well as from the opponents of the company in answer to these searching questions. The information has a very important bearing upon a subject on which much has been said and written without a proper regard for the facts involved in it. There has been very much boasting and complacency on the part of Englishmen, and very much of censorious criticism uttered by them, on the plea that the American aborigines have always received far more just and humane treatment from all the various classes of Englishmen, traders, colonists, and soldiers, than from the citizens of the United States; that Englishmen have almost uniformly been at peace with them, while American citizens have been in a continuous state of warfare; that they have multiplied under British dealing with them, and wasted away from the contact of the United States. Leaving out of view much else that might be said on this subject, especially the prime consideration of the steady pushing on the frontiers of civilization in the interests of the actual settlement and improvement of territory by American citizens, an enterprise never entered upon by Englishmen till within quite recent years, enough information was drawn out, in the inquiries just referred to, to reduce all grounds of boasting or complacency on the side of Englishmen.

It was shown, as a matter of course, that the relations of the company and its servants with the Indians had been uniformly peaceful and friendly. Any acts of trespass, or insolence, or violence on the part of the intruding Englishmen, who had come, not to settle, but to traffic, and that, too, in articles which they themselves could not directly obtain, would have been worse than folly. The first stations of the company were close to the shores of the bay, and it was very long before it ventured to penetrate farther in towards the interior at positions on lake and river connecting outposts with their base. And when it did so, it was only tentatively, feeling the way carefully, and after having assured the interest of the nearest Indians by traffic. Peace was a prime essential. True, some of the posts of the company from the first, and those afterwards advanced farthest inland, were called "forts" as well as "factories." But the term "fort" could not in seriousness be attached to more than some half dozen of the posts from first to last occupied by the company, especially two upon the bay and two upon the Red River territory. A simple stockade surrounding a blockhouse was generally the most that was offered in the way of protection and defence. And some of the most exposed trading posts, the farthest inland, were wholly defenceless. Their security against violence lay entirely in the recognition that each one of them represented a powerful company, with which Indians were concerned to be in amity.

The company was understood to admit that its influence over and its effect upon the natives, especially such of them as were not in most intimate relations with its officers and servants, had been impaired and modified by rivalry in the fur trade, by the license of individual traffickers, and by other agencies interfering with its sole responsibility in the matter. Where the company regarded itself as alone in the field, its monopoly was held as investing it with a sort of judicial authority and obligation. So long as it had only the natives to deal with, and the intercourse of the natives was confined strictly to its officers and servants, order and amity were preserved. The natives regarded these first white men, furnished with all the cunning instruments and appliances of civilization, medicines, tools, clocks, burning-glasses, music-boxes, and magic-lanterns, as a superior sort of beings, evidently in favor with the great "Manitou." These supposed supernatural resources were not disclaimed by those who found their account in the assumed possession of them. But when free traders from Canada and the United States, and missionaries with their various creeds, came in to tempt, and bribe, and confound the natives, the influence of the company over them was greatly reduced, and it was very ready to diminish its sense of responsibility.[1] A prominent resident in the colony, not unfriendly to the company, and himself an earnest Scotch Presbyterian, utters himself very frankly upon this point: "It is denied by many, nor do we pledge ourselves to the fact, that the company ever contemplated such a sacrifice [the support of missionaries] for the sake of the gospel; but this we know, and so may others who are in the least conversant with the nature of their trade know, that the introduction of Christianity to Rupert's Land was destructive of its very sinews."[2] This certainly is a most frank admission of the fact that the engrossing interest of the company was to regard and to use the natives with sole reference to a mercantile object, without care for anything that would elevate them in the scale of humanity or improve their own condition. It appeared in evidence that some of the more influential officers and representatives of the company withstood the efforts of missionaries in the settlement to induce in their converts a suspension of ordinary labors on the Sabbath.[3]

As for the rest, the whole weight of the evidence drawn from the questioning of the company as to its relations with the natives, on the matters above referred to, disclosed that the company acted with sole and exclusive regard to its one towering, paramount, and absorbing aim, the accumulation of profit from trade. Whatever tended to advance this object the company favored; whatever would hinder or was inconsistent with it, the company resolutely opposed. The Indian was to be drawn into the condition of dependence, and the more earnest and industrious he could be induced to become the better for the company, if not for him. It soon became the custom of the company to keep all the natives that hunted and trapped for it in its debt, by making an advance to them in supplies, when settling the accounts of the previous year. The natives were in fact reduced to a state of slavish dependence on the traders. It would have been not only difficult as against the whole grain and bent of nature in the man of the wilderness, but equally as thwarting the greed of the traders, to have induced the former to apply himself to the tasks of agriculture. When his presence and labor were needed to till and gather his crops, he would be away, perhaps hundreds of miles, hunting and trapping. The Indians in fact became so increasingly and wholly dependent upon the resources of the company as to render themselves perfectly wretched without it. Before the coming of the fur traders they had had warring in their tribes, to what extent in losses or calamities no servant of the company, with a view to the interests of history, seems to have concerned himself to learn when the information might have been obtained. Up to their intercourse with the whites, the Indians had found their own implements, weapons, and resources wholly sufficient for them. It was afterwards found that when these had been disused for a generation it took nearly a lifetime to learn to make them serviceable again. The subsistence and clothing of a few scattered Indians required but a slight draft upon the creatures of the wilderness. Every portion and fragment of a buffalo, hide, flesh, sinew, horn, tendon, and bone, served some frugal use of the Indians. But when thousands of these hordes on the plains were slaughtered for their hides and tongues only, it was found that the terms "infinite" and "countless," applied to their numbers, were exaggerations. When the beaver, the silver-fox, the marten, and the otter had a value assigned to them by fashion, in London, Paris, and China, the instincts of these creatures were circumvented by the intelligent greed of the savage, and the slaughter raged among them. Firearms, ammunition, and steel traps triumphed over the bow and arrow and the simple snare. An entire change was brought about in the character and habits of whole tribes of Indians. Game in many localities was exhausted, and when no peltries were brought into the posts the supplies failed. Starvation followed. It was proved that the company had not provided physicians and refuges, and that it had done nothing for the teaching of the Indians or for their moral and religious welfare; that missionaries and teachers, after long complaint and remonstrance, had been forced into the territories of the company by benevolent agencies; and that when the company had been shamed into a grudging addition of a pittance for these objects, it was used as "a sop" to avert or silence just complaints. And worst of all, a vast amount of evidence proved that whenever and wherever the company was in rivalry or collision with other bodies, or even with single individuals, in the fur trade, it made the freest use of intoxicating liquors, to the most fearful demoralization and ruin of the Indians.

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[1] See Lieut. Butler's Report to Lieut.-Gov. Archibald, of Manitoba, Appendix to Butler's *Great Lone Land*.

[2] Ross's *Red River Settlement*, p. 297.

[3] A sly reflection upon the wholly secular aims of the company was dropped in a witty sarcasm uttered by an observer of its policy. Being asked by a stranger the meaning of the letters "H. B. C." inscribed on the flying flag at one of the posts, he answered, "Here Before Christ."

The writer of these pages need hardly interpose a disclaimer that these statements, presented as they appear on the record, are offered merely to offset the plea that the natives of this continent have fared better by the hands of Englishmen than of Americans. The facts here reviewed are suggestive of a more instructive lesson. An intelligent observer might well have been led to imagine that, in view of that perplexing and always disheartening question, — What ought to have been the relations into which Europeans should have placed themselves with the natives, with any hopefulness of justice and humanity toward them? — the opportunities of the Hudson Bay Company would have been especially favorable. Amity, cordiality, strict equity, and mutual advantage, were objects of primary importance to both parties. Beyond those the more favored of the parties might have regarded itself as under obligations imposed by humanity and generosity. Of these the company was not considerate. In the game of profit and loss, the company was the only winner.[1]

In all the more searching inquisitions into the affairs of the company there were, of course, repeated efforts made to ascertain the profits accruing from its trade and operations. It is possible that, as these were known to have been very large, popular fancy and rumor may have foolishly exaggerated them. Only an expert who had full and free powers to examine its ledgers and accounts through its whole charter existence would have the means of reaching the exact facts of the matter. Such information as at different times was drawn from rather unwilling and reticent witnesses was incomplete and fragmentary. Perhaps as its operations were so extended and scattered in place and time, with so many open and progressive enterprises in action, the company found the accounts of several years running in together, so that outlay, income, balance of interest, and indebtedness were with difficulty separated. There was so much "watering of stock," as the phrase now is, that a rate of interest on original capital became merged in its own premium. The company was always increasing its plant without assessment on its shareholders, but from its undivided profits. After its coalition with the North West Company, its field of operations and its force of agents and employés were vastly extended and increased. It was always planting new posts, and rarely abandoning old ones. The cost of communicating with and manning the most distant ones, the sending supplies and the gathering in the furs, would postpone immediate returns. Indeed, it was asserted in behalf of the company that a period of five, and in some cases of even seven years might elapse before actual returns from a specific invoice of goods sent from the company's warehouse in London would reach it by the homeward-bound ship. It was known that the goods of all kinds purchased by the company for the Indian traffic were largely of an inferior sort. Some were manufactured for the purpose; some were damaged, some out of fashion. But they all were turned to good account. A quart of English spirits at sixpence, with one third water, reducing its cost to fourpence, was the equivalent of a beaver-skin, which brought at an average, in London, nine shillings. "A couple of cotton kerchiefs (the delight of a squaw), which my lady's maid would disdain to be the owner of, and a couple of ten-pound bank-notes from my lady's purse, mark the two extremes between which lies the history of a marten-skin or sable."[1]

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[1] A committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, in a communication under date of May 18, 1857, addressed to Mr. Labouchere, chairman of the parliamentary committee, make the following statement: "The monopoly of the fur trade, if not a compact for the benefit of the Indian, is an injustice, as it deprives him of the fair value of his toil, debars him from intercourse with civilized man and the ameliorating influences without which he can never rise in the scale of humanity. For the last two centuries has the right of exclusion been rigidly enforced from the shores of the Hudson's Bay, and never, perhaps, in the whole world and in all time has a fairer opportunity been offered for the regeneration of the Indian race. No surrounding communities have acted upon them with evil and pernicious influences, no opposing interests have interfered with the most comprehensive and benevolent plans for their amelioration; they have been cut off from the intercourse, the contentions, and the contagion of the world. And yet what has been the result? The system which has made the company prosperous and powerful has made the Indian a slave, and his country a desert. He is at this day wandering about his native land without home or covering, as much a stranger to the blessings of civilization as when the white man first landed on his shores." *British Documents*, *Reports of Committees*, vol. xv. p. 444.

The governor of the company in London, J. H. Pelly, under examination by the lords of committee of privy council, February 7, 1838, communicated these statements. From the date of the charter in 1670 for twenty years, to 1690, the returns of the company had been £118,014, and this notwithstanding the losses to their establishments by the French, between 1682 and 1688. There had been a dividend to shareholders in 1684 of fifty per cent. The like dividend was paid in 1688. In 1689 the dividend was twenty-five per cent. In 1690 the stock was trebled [watered] without any call being made on the shareholders. So the twenty-five per cent. dividend of that year was really seventy-five per cent. From 1692 to 1697 the damage done by the French in the capture of its establishments subjected the company to a loss of £97,500. This compelled the company to borrow money temporarily at six per cent. Yet, notwithstanding this, in 1720 it again trebled its capital stock, with a call on its shareholders of only ten per cent. Again the company suffered a severe loss from the French, in 1782, by the destruction of its posts by La Perouse. Then it paid for a while dividends of from five to twelve per cent., averaging nine per cent. Mr. Pelly testified that "the state of the books is defective." The original capital of the company of adventurers was £10,500. The returns of profit were so large that in 1690 it was agreed to set it down as treble, and to estimate it at £31,500. It was trebled again in 1720, and declared to be £94,500. In a new subscription it was agreed that £100 on each share should be counted as £300. In the coalition between the companies, each contributed £200,000 to a joint capital of £400,000. The reasons given for the first trebling of the capital were five: 1. The company had goods in its warehouses exceeding in value its original stock. 2. It had also as much more in its ships and cargoes. 3. It had rich deposits in its posts or factories. 4. It had provided many new posts. 5. It might expect remuneration for damages from the French.

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[1] Butler's *Wild North Land*, p. 199.

In 1836 the company had paid the heirs of Lord Selkirk for the return of the Red River territory a sum which stood on its books as a balance between the cost, the interest added, and the profits deducted, at £84,111. In the region covered by the company's trade there were 136 posts, besides hunting and fishing stations: these were held by 25 chief factors, 27 chief traders, 152 clerks, and 1,200 regular, besides other temporary, servants, many of them natives. There were twenty-two principal trading and distributing centres. In the list of the company printed in November, 1847, there were 239 proprietors of stock of the capital of £400,000. Each member to be eligible to the committee of seven must hold at least £1,800 in stock. The sales of the furs were made several times a year, at auction, at the company's office in London. There were great variations in the prices. Thus, in 1839, 55,486 beaver skins brought £76,312. But in 1846, 45,389 brought only £7,856. Of an average revenue of £200,000, the profits beyond expenses were £110,000. In its most active trade, the annual export of the Bay was valued at £25,000.[1]

The annual profits were apportioned into one hundred shares. Of these the proprietors of stock received sixty; the other forty were divided between the chief factors and the chief traders, the former having two parts to the latter's one. This was instead of salary to such officials. On retiring from service the full payment was rendered for one year, and half the amount for the following five years, free from any risk through the company's losses. Thrifty apprentices would leave a large portion of their annual pay at interest in the hands of the company. Many who had been long in service retired on a fair competency. One such left a legacy of £10,000 to promote the interests of education and religion in the Red River Settlement. The company, by its method of dividing profits among its officials, secured their best coöperation more effectually than if it had paid a scale of salaries. When two chief traders retired, one clerk could be promoted. When two chief factors retired, a chief trader could be promoted. When the limited pensions of retired partners fell in, there was another chance for the promotion of a clerk.

In the inquiry before the parliamentary committee in 1857, it appeared, from the return of the secretary of the company, that it had voted to add £100,000 to the estimate of capital, and to have it stand at £500,000. The assets were then estimated, beyond liabilities, at £1,265,067 19*s.* 4*d.* During the ten years between 1847 and 1856, the annual dividends were ten per cent., besides more than twenty-three per cent. during the period paid as new stock. Of the 268 proprietors in July, 1856, 196 had purchased their stock from 220 to 240 per cent. Governor Pelly admitted that from 1690 to 1800 the annual profits on the capital stock actually paid in were from sixty to seventy per cent.

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[1] There were sold at the company's premises in London in the year 1848: 21,348 beaver skins, 54 pounds of coat beaver and pieces; 6,588 otter; 1,102 fishers; 900 silver foxes; 19,449 cross, white, and red foxes; 31,115 lynxes; 11,292 wolf; 908 wolverine; 150,785 marten or sable; 38,103 mink; 195 sea-otter; 150 fur seal; 2,997 bear; 18,553 muskrats; 1,651 swan; 632 cat; 2,889 deer; 2,090 raccoon, etc., etc. The sales in London, apart from those in Canada, the United States, China, etc., exceed £200,000. (Ryerson's *Hudson's Bay*, 121.) The writer says the cargo of the vessel in which he sailed from the Bay to London, in 1854, was valued at £120,000.

In view of facts which are brought under our notice, this passing year, of the enterprise, prosperity, and rich prospects of the province of Manitoba, the present representative of the Red River Settlement, it is amusingly, even ludicrously suggestive of the blind with which ends of selfish policy will cover even the sharpest eyes, to read the testimony which the Bay Company offered to the parliamentary committee as to the fitness of any portions of its territories for colonies and agricultural settlements. One single plain question, straightly put and frankly answered, would have saved the space of many pages of examination, cross-examination, ingenious dodging, and equivocal assertions on the present record. That question as addressed to the company might have been this: Will the use to which you put your vast territories consist with any other use that would accrue to the advantage of any party besides the Hudson's Bay Company? The frank answer would have been No. The only suggestion which will save the credit of the company from just reflections upon the obstructive and misleading results to which it appeared to wish to lead the inquiry as to the qualities of soil and climate in its territories, is found in allowance for its long-indulged prejudices and prepossessions. Many hints are dropped, in the large class of books written by the employés of the Bay Company, that it discouraged any enterprises of tillage and even of garden culture about its posts. Where occasionally such oases appeared they are ascribed to the thrift or good taste of a factor, trader, or other officer.

Among those who took the stand before the committee, and who were sharply questioned on this point, were John Ross, Esq., Dr. J. Rae, Col. J. H. Lefroy, Sir George Simpson, Hon. Edward Ellice, and Sir John Richardson. They had each and all the best means of knowledge of the character and qualities of large sections of the expanded territories under the control of the company, while of course there were larger portions which were most imperfectly known; and each and all of them gave the most discouraging testimony concerning the inhospitality of the country, its uninviting character, its wide stretches of barrenness, its treacherous frosts, its dismal reaches of swamp and marsh, its treeless plains, and of the limitation of fertility to the near banks of rivers. Sir George Simpson, who in his long service of local governor had floated or tramped most widely over the country, pronounced its soil to be poor, its climate treacherous, and all its produce at the mercy of devastating inundations. This was said of the Red River Settlement and its surroundings. Richardson, the Arctic explorer, testified that the land was worthless for settlement, and he marvelled that it had ever been entered upon except for furs. Mr. Ellice affirmed that it was no place for agricultural settlers, and he volunteered to say the same of the border territory of Minnesota, now so luxuriant.

Strange enough is it to turn from these doleful judgments to the facts verified and illustrated twenty-five years after the date of their utterance. The Red River Settlement, represented now by the province of Manitoba, is known as perhaps the richest wheat-growing country of the whole globe. Annual crops have been reaped in succession from its fields for sixty years, without the use of any fertilizers. The farmers have no use for the stable manure. Indeed, it was found necessary to pass an ordinance imposing a penalty of twenty-five dollars on any one who should pollute the river, as actually had been done by dumping into it the heaps of the barnyard. We read of sixty and seventy bushels of wheat grown to the acre; of single potatoes that weigh two pounds, and turnips twenty pounds; of squashes one hundred and thirty-eight pounds, and of cabbages five feet in girth. The region is in fact the bed of an old fresh-water sea that has gathered the loam and muck of ages. The extent of this fertile region is four hundred miles in length by seventy in breadth.[1]

Happily Mr. Gladstone was not convinced by the testimony offered that the vast territories held by the Bay Company were designed and adapted by Providence solely for a preserve for fur-bearing animals. He had satisfied himself that while the lands below the boundary line were being so rapidly and prosperously turned to account by the enterprise of settlers in the United States, it could not be that the blight of desolation and barrenness was visited on Rupert's Land. The result of the parliamentary inquiry was expressed in the acceptance of two resolutions, proposed by Mr. Gladstone: first, that the territory capable of colonization and settlement should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the company; second, that the territory unsuited to such uses should remain under its jurisdiction. These resolutions were accompanied by a suggestion from the committee to the Bay Company that an amicable arrangement should be made for bringing the question of Canadian boundary lines before the judicial committee of the privy council. Governor Pelly, in behalf of the company, consented to the proposal, suggesting that due regard be had to keeping good faith with shareholders and with parties who had purchased lands of the company, and recognizing the just claims of factors, traders, and servants at its posts.

More than ten years were yet to pass before the final disposal of the controverted interests. New and very pressing elements came rapidly into the issue to compel decisive action. The claims of Canada for the extension of its bounds and the amazing vigor exhibited by the United States in the construction of transcontinental railroads brought out in strong contrast the strange arrest and prohibition of all like enterprise north of the boundary line. Emigration and colonization companies under British patronage stood ready to turn to account opportunities which seemed to invite and even to compel activity. Jealousy at the manifestation of a strong preference by British emigrants for settling in the United States came in as quite a potent motive for bringing the monopoly of the Bay Company to a close. As a result, an act was passed by the British Parliament in 1867, enabling the Queen to accept a surrender *on terms to be agreed upon*, of the lands, privileges, and rights of the company, and for transfer of territory and administration to the Dominion of Canada.[1] An act, designated the "Rupert's Land Act," had made it competent for the company to surrender, and for the Queen to accept, all the lands, privileges, rights, etc., granted to the company by its charter. An address from the Canadian Parliament to the Queen in council asked liberty to admit Rupert's Land and the Northwest territory to union with the Dominion, and power of legislation for them by the Parliament *on terms* hereafter.

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[1] [Fort Garry, for instance, is on the summer line of Vermont and New Hampshire. Cf. map of the Dominion of Canada, in A. T. Russell's *Red River Country* (Ottawa, 1869, and Montreal, 1870). The fertile belt, extending from the Lake of the Woods with a northerly sweep so as in part to embrace the valleys of the Assiniboin and Saskatchewan rivers and reaching to the Rocky Mountains, is shown in the map in the 2d vol. of H. Y. Hind's *Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857* (London, 1860). — Ed.]

The terms secured by the company were certainly of a most generous character, and are in keeping with the remarkable pecuniary profit which had attended its operations during the two centuries of its chartered existence. The company was still in its corporate capacity to be allowed to carry on its trade, and to be paid for its franchise the sum of £300,000 by the Canadian government. It was to retain the fee of all its posts and stations, with a reservation of an additional block of land at each of them, and one twentieth section of the so-called "fertile belt," to be decided by the casting of the lot. All titles of land that had been heretofore given by the company were to be confirmed, and the Canadian and imperial governments were to relieve it of all responsibility in settling the claims of the Indians. The reserved lands thus covenanted to the company make up in area 45,160 acres. Of these, 25,700 acres are in that marvellously rich territory of the "fertile belt," between the northern branch of the Saskatchewan and the boundary of the United States. The globe has no more teeming soil than is found there. And now the venerable Hudson Bay Company is a rival in the market as a land company! It is a curious and amusing spectacle to look at it in its present capacity, after having read the voluminous testimony before rehearsed as offered before the parliamentary committee, in the interest of the company, to prove that the territory was put to its best use by the Indian fur-hunter with his traps, and was worthless for all ends of husbandry and agriculture. Of course the grounds reserved by the company have acquired a vastly enhanced value, especially the five hundred acres near the site of old Fort Garry, in Winnipeg, the centre of life in the province of Manitoba.[2]

It is thought that the financial prosperity of the company in its present field of operations will even exceed that of any period in its past.

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[1] *British Public Bills*, vol. ii. 1867–8.

[2] The parliamentary acts, with all the accompanying documents, schedules, etc., of this somewhat complicated negotiation are in the *London Gazette* of June 24, 1870.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE large body of narrative, descriptive, and controversial literature upon which the story of the preceding chapter is based may be divided into two classes. The one embraces the publications issued by the British government as containing the processes and results of official inquiries into the affairs and the administration of the Hudson Bay Company.[1] In those volumes we find the charter of the company;[2] the successive grants of privileges in territory not included in the charter: illustrative and explanatory documents; official correspondence, petitions, memorials, reports of committees of inquiry; the testimony of witnesses in complaint or defence; and a detail of the course through which, in the action of the imperial government and of the Dominion government of Canada, the territorial rights and administrative powers held by the Bay Company under its charter were surrendered on terms, including remuneration.

The volumes of *British Documents* which have furnished matter of information and illustration are the following: —

Papers presented to the committee appointed to inquire into the state and condition of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the trade carried on there (London, 1749); and the committee's *Report* (London, 1749). It is also in the *Reports from Committees, House of Commons*, vol. ii.

Accounts and Papers, vol. xxviii., 1842.[3]

Accounts and Papers, vol. xxxv., 1849.[4]

Accounts and Papers, vol. xxxviii., 1850.[5]

Reports of Committees, vol. xv., 1857.[6]

The last-named volume is wholly filled with a most minute inquiry into the administration of the Bay Company. The volumes by Mr. Martin and Mr. Fitzgerald, referred to further on, may be put in the class of authorities here noticed.[7]

The other class of publications, notices of many of which are to be given, are those of a descriptive or narrative character, as presenting the practical operations of the company as administered by its officers and servants. Many of these volumes contain matters of criticism and complaint against the company, often severe, and as if written under a sense of personal grievances from it, as well as challenging its claims and assumed rights of monopoly. But the principal interest of this class of authorities is that which we look for in works of romantic adventure, scenes in wild life, events of exploration and residence, and the occupations and resources of men encountering perils in lonely travel, in the hunting and trapping expeditions, and the contact and intercommunion of savagery with civilization. As years pass on these volumes will acquire an increasing interest as keeping in remembrance scenes and incidents as well as persons and characters on this continent quite unlike their modern substitutes.

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[1] This is the designation of the charter, and is the form followed in this essay, except where the other usage, Hudson's Bay Company, is quoted or occurs in a title.

[2] It is also given by Dobbs, by Mills (*Boundaries of Ontario*), and others. Cf. *Papers relating to the Hudson's Bay Company's charter and license to trade* (London, 1859); Martin's *Hudson's Bay Territories;* H. H. Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, i. 470, etc.

[3] This contains *Hudson's Bay Company. Copy of the existing charter or grant by the Crown to the Hudson's Bay Company; together with copies or extracts of the correspondence which took place at the last renewal of the charter between the government and the company, or of individuals on behalf of the company; also, the dates of all former charters or grants to that company. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 8 August, 1842* (London, 1842).

[4] *Copies of Memorials of the Red River Settlement, complaining of the government of the Hudson's Bay Company; of instructions given to the Gov.-Gen. of Canada for the investigation of those complaints; of the Reports and Correspondence, ordered to be printed, 13 April, 1849.*

[5] *Papers presented to the House of Commons, in pursuance of an address, that means be taken to ascertain the legality of the powers in respect to territory, trade, taxation, and government, claimed or exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12 July, 1850.*

[6] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, appendix, and Index* (London, 1857). This report is accompanied by three maps: one showing the water-shed of Hudson's Bay (after Arrowsmith) as the territory claimed under the charter; a second denoting the boundaries of the regions occupied by the various Indian tribes north of the Gulf of Mexico; the third shows the country south, west, and north of Hudson's Bay, drawn by Thomas Devine, by order of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Joseph Canchon, Toronto, March, 1857.

[7] [Brymner (*Report on the Dominion Archives*, 1873) gives an account of his examination of the records of the company in London. In *Ibid.* 1883, p. 173, he prints an account of the transactions of the company in 1687. — ED.]

During more recent years many books coming under this class have been written by amateurs from the old world, who, from a love of wild adventure, of hunting, of sharing the Indian mode of life, or a desire to toughen themselves by hardships, have made transient visits to the American wildernesses. Noblemen and gentlemen are conspicuous on the lists, and their narrations are not lacking in the romantic or the marvellous. But far more comprehensive and communicative of authentic and interesting information is a successive series of works beginning with the early enterprises of the Hudson Bay Company, and written mainly by those who have been for long periods in its service, and who have artlessly, and often with graphic power, given to us their own experience. This covers the details of daily life and duty at the company's posts, long tramps on snow-shoes and with dog-sledges over the frozen and snow-piled wilderness, and tortuous courses by lake, river, cascade, and portage, in summer days; the scenes of the camp, and the ways and doings of the Indians. As, in the rapid hurry of the swift years and the swifter rush of occupation and settlement by white men of the region which on the maps of the school-days of our present mature generation was named "The Great American Wilderness," towns and cities and all the concomitants of our artificial life obliterate the original features of nature, the books here referred to will have a retrospective and reconstructive use of the highest historical value. Our noblemen amateur hunters come with all the appliances and luxuries of civilization among their resources in luggage. fire-arms, cans and bottles, largely relieved of the rough and perilous conditions of the primeval scenes.

The historians of the Hudson Bay Company took those scenes as they found them. They were bright, intelligent, and truthful observers and narrators. Generally those who came here as the apprentices of the company were young Scotch peasants from the Orkneys, about seventeen years of age. They passed a close examination, mental, moral, and physical. They received twenty pounds a year, with sustenance. They were sent, on arrival, to the farthest posts, and were expected to devote their lives, with promotion in view, to the service, which many of them did.

The deprivations, hardships, and exposures incident to the mode of life of these young apprentices were in all cases real and severe. The romance attaching to them is rather in the reading about them than in facing them. The perusal of the personal narratives of these hardy and resolute adventurers, who generally wrote their pages in the gloomy scenes of their isolation, and to occupy listless hours, would lead to the inference, conformed to the usual workings of human nature, that the great law of compensatory offsets had full activity there. Many of these Scotch peasant youths were born to a hard and rough lot at home. Only the more manly and self-reliant of them would be likely to seek or to secure the opportunities of a wilderness exile in the service of the great fur company. We know that it was held as a coveted privilege among the adventure-loving and amphibious boys of a Highland nurture. Many of them have confessed the elation of spirits and the bursting sense of self-importance with which they strutted before their comrades when offered a place in the service. The hazardous sea-voyage, the first sight of the dismal inhospitality of the icy straits, the introduction to the scenes and companions of the rugged tasks before them, were at once followed by the demands of severe task-work under novel conditions. A single congenial mate in travel and toil smoothed many a harsh experience, and the free revel of animal spirits gave a zest to perils and hardships.

It is to be frankly admitted that all the young, and with scarcely a single exception the older writers, who have given their experience in the service of the Bay Company, have bitterly complained of its dealings with them as mean and tyrannical.[1]

It does not appear that in any case either the foreign or the local administrators of the affairs of the company concerned themselves with replying to these assaults, or attempted to visit any penalty upon the authors. All its servants, and the youngest of them most rigidly, were held to the sole obligation of advancing the interests of the company in its giant monopoly, and in enabling it to return its fabulous dividends to its stockholders. The two main inspirations for courage, endurance, and business integrity which animated the young apprentice and cheered him in his lonely post were the prospect of promotion, in the method favored though not always pursued by the company, to the coveted positions of chief trader and chief factor, after fifteen, twenty, or more years of service as a clerk, and the crowning of his one hope of being able to return as a man of substance and spend his leisure days in his early home. Of course there was always a fluttering of spirits in these subordinates when the annual council at Norway or York post was making its deal of assignments and positions. The few rather than the many found reason to be content with the unalterable allotments, and there was nothing to be done but to resume the routine of tasks. As to the other alleviation found in the hope and purpose of a homeward return with the rewards of a competency, it is safe to say that in a large majority of cases the intent had weakened and lost its attractions when it might have been realized. The cases, indeed, were exceptional in which those who had lived many years in the service of the Bay Company returned to the old civilized scenes and ways. With the marvellous potency of the needful adaptations and habits of wholly new and strange ways of life in its vigorous period, to substitute a second nature for that in which one was born and early trained, the round of experience and the companionship in the wilderness had a strangely fascinating influence. To endure existence under its necessary conditions, it was essential to make the most and the best of them. And exactly as one became conformed to them there grew upon him a preference for them. The voracious appetite acquired by rough exposure gave to wilderness viands and cookery a quality of luxury. One who was used to having the whole air of heaven to breathe, and the whole hemisphere as a canopy for his couch, whose toilet was of the simplest, and who was wonted to the freedom of the forests and the rivers, gradually lost his fitness and his tolerance for the conventionalities, the fashions, and the appliances of artificial life. Family relationships formed in the wilderness, with partners of pure or mingled blood, while they may have generally been loose and readily disposed of, were not infrequently comfortably and faithfully sustained for life. Occasionally the children of such a parentage were sent to Canada or England for education. In the mean while the long years of forest life which had resulted in this transforming process for the Scotch youth had wrought their changes in the scenes and generations of his early home. He did not care to see it again. When, as we shall note, an agricultural settlement was made within the territory of the company, many of its servants and officers retired with a competency, and found congenial homes where a forest tramp, hunting and fishing expeditions, and converse with successors in their old occupations led them to the natural close of their career.

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[1] "The history of my career may serve as a warning to those who may be disposed to enter the Hudson's Bay Company's service. They may learn that from the moment they embark in the company's canoes at Lachine, or in their ships at Gravesend, they bid adieu to all that civilized man most values on earth. They bid adieu to their family and friends, probably forever; for if they should remain long enough to attain the promotion that allows them the privilege of revisiting their native land — a period of from twenty to twenty-five years — what changes does not this life exhibit in a much shorter time? They bid adieu to all the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, to vegetate at some desolate, solitary post, hundreds of miles, perhaps, from any other human habitation save the wigwam of the savage; without any other society than that of their own thoughts, or of the two or three humble individuals who share their exile. They bid adieu to all the refinement and cultivation of civilized life, not unfrequently becoming semi-barbarians, — so altered in habits and sentiments that they not only become attached to savage life, but eventually lose all relish for any other." (*Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, by John McLean (London, 1849), ii. 260.)

The names given to some of the most distant and dreary of the northern posts of the company, on Mackenzie's River and the Great Slave Lake, seemed to have been intended to keep up the spirits of their occupants. Thus we have "Providence," "Reliance," "Resolution," "Enterprise," "Good Hope," and "Confidence." The narrations of the modes of travel and intercourse by which these and other widely separated posts were reached, their supplies furnished, and the returns gathered from and to the shipping points in the bay, were the first matters of interest for the apprentices, and are given with charming fullness of detail and incident in their journals. The admirable facilities for transit furnished by the water-ways of lake and river were availed of alike by the natives and the Europeans, and were best improved when they were in company. The ascent of a river to the lake from which it flowed, the skirting of that lake till it led to another river which discharged into it, with the interspersion of carrying-places, gave variety to the route.

Conspicuous, and among the earliest of these descriptive books,[1] is Arthur Dobbs's *Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, in the Northwest Part of America, etc.* (London, 1744),[2] which was written in very earnest support of the probability of a northwest passage, and in advocacy of renewed efforts to search for it. Parliament had offered a reward of £20,000 to whoever might discover it. Mr. Dobbs's work was of importance, because the grievances of which he and his associates in a voyage of discovery complained, and the charges brought by them against the obstructing influence of the Hudson Bay Company, were the grounds of a petition to the Lords in Council, in 1749, against its monopoly. The petitioners insist that the company's charter was either from the first invalid, or is forfeited by the way in which it has been used to obstruct the very objects it was intended to advance. They ask for an incorporation giving them similar rights over the region adjacent to that granted to the company for the purpose of advancing discovery and trade. As has been said in the previous pages, this, like all the other public impeachments of the company, failed of its object.[1] The following extract will show the frankness and force of Mr. Dobbs's charges: —

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[1] [One of our sources for earlier glimpses of the Hudson Bay region are the missionary accounts in such collections as the *Lettres Ecrites des Missions Etrangères* (1650–1750, in 47 vols.). There is a selection in Kip's *Hist. Scenes from the old Jesuit Missions*, and particularly in his *Early Jesuit Missions in North America*. The early geographical history of Hudson's Bay is traced *ante*, Vol. III. On early complaints by the company of French encroachments, see Brymner's *Report on the Dominion Archives*, 1883, extracting from vol. 96 of the *Plantations General* of the Public Record Office in London. — ED.]

[2] [The title of the book is much longer (cf. Pilling's *Eskimo Bibliog.*, p. 23). The book includes an abstract of the journal of Capt. Christopher Middleton, who commanded the "Furnace," "with observations on his behavior" during this voyage for the discovery of a passage to the South Seas. In these Middleton was charged with a collusion with the Hudson Bay Company to prevent any successful efforts to effect such a discovery. This led to a pamphlet war. Middleton published a *Vindication of his Conduct* (Dublin, 1744), in which he gave his instructions, "with as much of the log journal as relates to the discovery." Dobbs then published *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence* (London, 1744), in which he says that there is the "highest probability that there is such a passage as he went in search of." Middleton printed *A Reply to the Remarks* (London, 1744), and again *Forgery Detected* (London, 1745). Dobbs responded in *A Reply to Capt. Middleton's Answer to the Remarks* (London, 1745), in which he charges Middleton with laying down false currents, tides, straits, and rivers in his chart and journal to conceal the discovery; and appends a specific answer to his *Forgery Detected.* The captain closed the warfare with a *Rejoinder* (London, 1745). All these titles are given at length in *Carter-Brown*, iii. (in this order), nos. 766, 774, 767, 775, 798, 803, 804.

This old controversy has been summarized in John Barrow's introduction to *The geography of Hudson's Bay: the remarks of William Coats in voyages between 1727 and 1751. With appendix containing the log of Capt. Middleton on his voyage for the discovery of the north-west passage, 1741–2* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), in which that editor holds that subsequent explorations have proved Middleton's representations to be correct, and that his correspondence preserved at the Admiralty makes clear Middleton's straightforwardness. — ED.]

"The reason why the manner of living there at present appears to be so dismal to us in Britain is entirely owing to the monopoly and avarice of the Hudson's Bay Company (not to give it a harsher name), who, to deter others from trading there or making settlements, conceal all the advantages to be made in that country, and give out that the climate and country and passage thither are much worse and more dangerous than they really are, and vastly worse than might be, if those seas were more frequented, and proper settlements and improvements were made, and proper situations chosen for that purpose; this they do that they may engross a beneficial trade to themselves, and therefore oblige their captains not to make any charts or journals that may discover those seas or coasts, in order to prevent others from sailing to their factories. They also prevent their servants from giving any account of the climate or countries adjacent, that might be favorable, and induce others to trade and settle there; nor do they encourage their servants, or even allow them, to make any improvements without their factories, unless it be a turnip garden; confining them all the summer season, during the time of the Indian trade, within their factories, lest they should trade by stealth with the natives," etc. (pp. 2 and 3).

Mr. Dobbs makes public many interesting particulars concerning the zeal and prosperity of the French in the fur trade, as far surpassing and encroaching upon those of the company. He derived his information from Joseph la France, "a French Canadese Indian, who for more than thirty years had traversed the region of the lakes, and had tramped to York Fort."[2]

We may appreciate the interest and influence which the monopolizing company could bring to bear in resisting the force of these numerous and severe complaints against it, so far as to retain its charter.

A popular book in its day was Henry Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California, in the years 1746 and 1747, for discovering a Northwest Passage, etc.* (London, 1748). The very intelligent, able, and candid author of this volume was an earnest believer in the existence of and the possibility of opening the way to a northwestern water route through America to India. He tells us that he happened to return to England from Italy only four days before the actual sailing of two vessels, lying in the Thames, which had been provided by a company of subscribers to go on the search. So ardent was his zeal and so strong the interest which he made with the proprietors, that only a few hours before the departure he was allowed to embark in an office of trust and honor. He devotes a hundred pages of his volume to a résumé of the history of all previous voyages in the attempts to find the desired passage. He then gives an admirable sketch from a carefully prepared journal of his own expedition, which, though it failed of its object, did not in the least impair his confidence in it or his belief that it would ultimately be realized. His party, with the two vessels, wintered in Hayes River, near York Fort. It is in connection with this incident that the author, in a spirit of great frankness and with the statement of discreditable facts, though in carefully measured terms and language, arraigns the conduct of the agent of the Hudson Bay Company at the fort for truculency and hostility, as having no interest in, but rather opposing the designs of Mr. Ellis's expedition, notwithstanding its high patronage. He very fairly raises the question, whether the company should retain a charter privilege granted in the interest of discovery, if there is reason for regarding such discovery as hopeless, or if efforts in its behalf are to be withstood. The commander of the fort stoutly opposed the anchoring of the vessels anywhere in proximity. He then tried to compel their lying below the fort, open to the sea, where they would have been knocked to pieces. When he found the officers were determined to anchor in Hayes River, he forbade his Indian servants to furnish them with fresh provisions during their fearful winter sufferings with scurvy.

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[1] Cf. *A short narrative and justification of the Proceedings of the Committee appointed by the adventurers to prosecute the discovery of the passage to the Western Ocean of America, and to open and extend the trade and settle the countries beyond Hudson's Bay, with an apology for their postponing at present their intended application to Parliament* (London, 1749); and *A Short State of the Countries and Trade of North America claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, under pretence of a charter* (London, 1749).

See other tracts named in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, nos. 914–15.

[2] [Dobbs's map is entitled: *A new map of part of North America, including the late discoveries made on board the Furnace Bomb Ketch in 1742, and the western rivers and lakes falling into Nelson's River in Hudson's Bay, as described by Joseph La France, a French Canadese Indian, who traveled through those countries and lakes for three years, from 1737 to 1740.*

It gives a conjectural unknown coast from Cape Blanco (California) to the northwest corner of Hudson's Bay. Cf. on the relations of the French to the fur trade, 1524–1763, H. H. Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, i. 378, 395, 404, 437, 482, 504, 535, 541, 547, 591. — ED.]

Joseph Robson, who had been surveyor and supervisor of the buildings of the company, offered a very severe arraignment of its narrow measures and selfishness in an *Account of Six Years' Residence in Hudson's Bay, from 1733 to 1736 and 1744 to 1747, containing a variety of Facts, Observations, and Discoveries, etc.* (London, 1752).[1] The author shows that positive obstructions, bugbears, and prohibitions were used to prevent all efforts for penetrating into the country and using the facilities of the waterways. He himself made such efforts, notwithstanding strong opposition. He addresses himself to the Earl of Halifax, of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, urging the vast importance to Great Britain of breaking a rigid monopoly, and of offering national encouragement in laying open the trade to rich territories and keeping them out of the hands of the French. He reminds the earl that, in view of these vast interests, a petition had gone to Parliament in 1749 from the chief trading cities and towns in Great Britain against the company's charter. He himself was one of those who were called to give testimony in the hearing. The company brought in defence only garbled extracts from documents and papers. He says the French have won great prizes from the sluggishness of the company. "The company have for eighty years slept at the edge of a frozen sea: they have shown no curiosity to penetrate farther themselves, and have exerted all their art and power to crush that spirit in others." They have prevented all friendly intercourse with the natives, and the acquisition of their language. They have discouraged all use of the rich fisheries, all mining enterprises, and all projects for settling colonies. The annual export is of less than £5,000, in but three or four vessels, under two hundred tons each. Four small factories and two small houses, served by one hundred and fifty men, stand at the mouths of frozen rivers, with temperate and fruitful countries, south of them, neglected. The Indians are left in the rudest barbarity. In an appendix to the volume is an account of the discovery of the bay and the proceedings of the British there.

It was in 1769–1772 that Samuel Hearne made his explorations for the company, but his narrative was not published till twenty years later, as a *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795; Dublin, 1796): and then, by its denial of any motive and act of the company to check exploration, it served as an offset to the most severe criticism which came from any one who had been in the company's service, and which appears in Edward Umfreville's *Present State of Hudson's Bay, containing a full description of that settlement, etc.* (London, 1790). He had been for eleven years in the company's service and for four years in the Canada fur trade, and he finds grounds in his own observation and experience for grave censures upon it. Yet he does not write as from personal vindictiveness or with any asperity. He addresses himself to the mer-

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[1] *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. no. 986.

PRINCE OF WALES FORT.

chants, traders, and manufacturers of Great Britain, to expose to them the loss and injury suffered by the country by the management of a selfish and greedy monopoly. He refers to the skilful ingenuity of the company in repressing the investigation of its affairs and averting the annihilation of its charter, for which Arthur Dobbs and other gentlemen had petitioned the House of Commons in 1749. The writer entered the service of the company as a clerk, on a salary of fifteen pounds, in 1771, and continued in it for eleven years. When La Perouse captured the two principal forts in 1782, he was made a prisoner, and afterwards left the service of the company on a disagreement about salary. For the four following years he was engaged in the Canada fur trade under a rival company, the greater shrewdness and prosperity of which he emphasizes. The Bay Company, he says, might offer profitable employment to idle British laborers and seamen. It confines itself to a dismal coast, instead of penetrating a far more attractive interior. It employs only three vessels, whose whole burden is not six hundred tons, with seventy-five mariners. It has but two hundred and forty resident employees. It artfully represents the country as harsh and inhospitable. It has diminished the number of natives and debased them by intoxicating liquor.[1] He admits that the first traders acted humanely under instructions from the company for the considerate treatment of the Indians, but since then the greed of trade has overcome all other motives.[2] In 1749 the stock of the company, swollen from the original capital of £10,500, represented £103,950. Of the one hundred proprietors, seventeen were women, by inheritance.

Umfreville was present at the surrender of forts Churchill and York to La Perouse in 1782, and probably furnished to the *London Morning Chronicle* for April of the next year the account of the transactions which he copies in his volume. After the cession of Canada, its residents, becoming British subjects, asserted their rights of trade against the monopoly of the company, and an intense rivalry began. The Canadian partners had a thousand men in their employ, and sent annually forty large laden canoes into the Indian country, where the Bay Company might have anticipated them. It was not till more than a century after the date of its charter that the company struck into the interior. The Canadian traders were rough, unscrupulous, and demoralized. The servants of the company were far superior in character to the half-breed voyageurs.

This rival Northwest Company of Canada in its turn recognized the demand for exploration in sending Alexander Mackenzie on his two tours of observation, the experiences of which are recounted in his *Voyage from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, 1789-1793* (London, 1801; Philadelphia, 1802; New York, 1814), a synopsis of which is given by Bancroft.[3]

In the *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay in his Majesty's Ship Rosamond, etc., by Lieut. Edward Chappell, R. N.* (London, 1817), we have the record[4] of an officer on a British government ship which convoyed two vessels of the Hudson Bay Company to York factory, during the war, in 1814. He was young, but a quick and intelligent observer. In his journal he gives much curious information concerning the Eskimos. He describes the six coast and river forts of the company at the time, namely, Churchill, York, Severn, Moose, Albany, East Main, beside Richmond, a minor establishment. He comments sharply on the illiberal policy of the company in shrouding its affairs in darkness, and discouraging all enterprises of exploration and the fisheries. It holds in secrecy, he affirms, all the knowledge it obtains about the navigation of the northern seas, and has even supplied the Admiralty with an incorrect chart. The fort at Churchill, which had been partially reconstructed after its destruction by La Perouse in 1782, was again ruined by a conflagration in November, 1813. The occupants, at the peril of their lives, saved seventy-three chests of gunpowder. All else was destroyed, causing intense suffering by exposure and famine to the houseless victims, the thermometer being seventy-eight degrees below the freezing-point.[1]

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[1] [See references on this point in H. H. Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, i. 547. — ED.]

[2] [A comparison of the methods of treatment of the natives as pursued by the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company is made in *Ibid.* i. ch. 17. — ED.]

[3] *Northwest Coast*, i. ch. 21.

[4] Edited by Edward Daniel Clarke.

In the hearing of evidence before the parliamentary committee in 1857, concerning charges alleged against the Hudson Bay Company, some of the witnesses testified that John Dunn had written his *Oregon Territory and the British North American fur trade* (London, 1844; Philadelphia, 1845) with a view to defending and eulogizing the company. His book, certainly, in its general tone and pleading, and its selection of points for emphatic statement, seems to justify that charge. He was articled as an apprentice in the service of the company, and placed for a year as assistant storekeeper in Fort Vancouver. He was then sent as travelling, trading, and exploring agent, and acted as interpreter, and having assisted in establishing several new posts, was put in charge of Fort George, near the mouth of the Columbia. Returning after eight years to England, he communicated to the *Times* and other journals, in 1843, papers bearing upon the Oregon question between the United States and Britain. He assumes that he presents impartially the respective claims, and the grounds of them, of the two countries. But he is bitterly contemptuous to the United States, charging it with cunning and duplicity, and representing its citizens, and even American missionaries, as laying artful plans to secure possession of territory really belonging to Britain. Incidentally, Mr. Dunn gives much information concerning the operations of the Bay Company, and the condition of several Indian tribes.

The Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic Discoverer (London, 1845) was written by Alexander Simpson, as a tribute of affection for a brother, a man of a noble, lovable, and heroic character, who midway in a great career came to a melancholy death, in his thirty-second year. The book is written in a spirit of wounded feeling and sharp censoriousness. The brothers were both in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company. Sir George Simpson, the local governor, was an illegitimate son of their mother's brother. From this relative, their superior in office, the brothers do not appear to have received any kindly consideration in their treatment, still less any favor. They both regarded him as selfish, jealous, and capable of duplicity. Thomas Simpson made two hazardous tours of exploration, and thought that he had discovered the long-desired passage between the western and the eastern oceans. His account of his travels — the manuscript, as his brother charges, having been jealously concealed and tampered with — was not published till 1843, three years after his death.[2] The government had assigned to him a pension of £100. His brother sought, four years after Thomas's death, to secure this for the heirs. But though he solicited Sir Robert Peel, and engaged on his side the good offices of the explorer Barrows, he did not succeed in his effort. The reason for the denial was that Thomas Simpson was not in the employ of the government, but in that of the Hudson Bay Company. This company made no reply to the brother's request for aid.

In order to promote the petition of the Hudson Bay Company for the planting of a colony under its auspices and control in Vancouver's Island, R. M. Martin published his *Hudson Bay Territories and Vancouver's Island, with an exposition of the chartered rights, conduct, and policy of the Hon^{ble} Hudson's Bay Corporation* (London, 1849), dedicating it to an advocate of the scheme, Earl Gray, the colonial secretary. Many of Martin's statements were at once challenged as incorrect, and written under a bias. He describes the territories under the control of the company, gives details of its constitution and working, stoutly maintains its good management and efficiency, and argues for its special fitness and qualifications to lead and manage the proposed colony. He also presents statements of the numbers, character, and treatment by the company of the aboriginal tribes. The volume contains a copy of the draft charter for the colony, which was essentially modified before its passage.

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[1] Thomas McKeevor's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay during the summer of 1812* (London, 1819, — being a part of vol. ii. of *New Voyages and Travels*, London).

[2] *Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coasts of America, effected by the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1836–1839* (London, 1843).

The sentiment of opposition to this Vancouver scheme of the company was vigorously expressed in *An Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, with reference to the Grant of Vancouver's Island. By James Edward Fitzgerald* (London, 1849). The quotation from Tacitus on the title-page, of "*Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*," indicates the severity of the author's judgment against the policy and influence of the monopolizing company. The work is dedicated to Mr. Gladstone. When the proposition for this additional charter was before Parliament, Mr. Gladstone opposed it in a very able speech, arraigning the course of the company. Mr. Fitzgerald writes earnestly and ably in the same spirit of opposition, with much severity of criticism, exposure, and censure of the company. He addresses himself in the main to controverting the book by Mr. R. M. Martin, which he regards as of a "palpably official character" in the interest of the company, wrought from documents furnished by it and obtained from the government. He argues against the validity of the charter, exposes the selfishness and greed of the company acting under it, as it had failed of its main pretences of exploring the country and improving the condition of the Indians, and traces the injurious influence and results of its spirit and operations upon the interests of the mother country, upon the native Indian population, and upon those who have attempted to plant colonies under it. The work is candid and well authenticated in its statements, and had a damaging effect upon the company.

John McLean, in his *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (London, 1849), writes frankly and in guarded terms, and is one of that class who, in relating their own experience as servants of the Bay Company, pass a very severe judgment upon its policy and its treatment of those who are in its service in the most arduous though most humble posts of duty. The writer entered upon that service in 1820, just before the coalition with the Northwest Company, so that he had to contend in his place with opposition from it, as also afterwards with individual free-traders. He served at posts most widely separated in distance, as in New Caledonia and in Labrador, as well as in many intermediate ones. His journeys to and fro involved hair-breadth perils with sharp deprivations. The writer, by printing the full evidence of it, makes it plain that Governor Simpson, influenced by favoritism, broke faith with him when, by full service, he was entitled to promotion, and drove him to retire in disgust. Here is his frank statement: —

"This last act of the governor made me completely disgusted with a service where such acts would be tolerated. In no colony subject to the British crown is there to be found an authority so despotic as is at this day exercised in the mercantile colony of Rupert's Land: an authority combining the despotism of military rule with the strict surveillance and mean parsimony of the avaricious trader. From Labrador to Nootka Sound, the unchecked, uncontrolled will of a single individual gives law to the land. As to the nominal council which is yearly convoked for form's sake, the few individuals who compose it know better than to offer advice where none would be accepted; they know full well that the governor has already determined on his own measures before one of them appears in his presence. Their assent is all that is expected of them, and that they never hesitate to give." (Vol. ii. 235.)

We find in John Ryerson's *Hudson's Bay: or a Missionary Tour in the Territory of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto, 1855) a body of letters written by a Wesleyan missionary in his visits (1854–55) to some of the stations under the support of his religious organization. The writer has but little to say about any important results reached by religious efforts among the natives, but he finds satisfaction in some gleams of hope from the efforts of faithful laborers.[1] He gives incidentally fragments of interesting information of the operations of the Bay Company, from whose officers and servants he received courtesy and hospitality. His route was wholly by the watercourses. He sets down minute details of distances, portages, camping-places, and the incidents of travel, of life at the posts which he visited, and of the efforts of garden and field culture. He speaks kindly of the company, its methods and conduct.

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[1] Cf. *Journal of Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary, from Rice Lake to the Hudson's Bay territory. Commencing May, 1852. With a brief account of his life, and a short History of the Wesleyan Mission in that country* (New York, 1857).

The history of Lord Selkirk's settlement down to 1852 is covered in Alexander Ross's *The Red River Settlement: its Rise, Progress, and present State. With some account of the Native Races and its general history to the present day* (London, 1856). The writer was at an early age in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company at a post deep in the wilderness, and after many years of service took up his residence in the settlement where he has held prominent and honored positions, highly respected and confided in. Most intelligently and impartially does he trace the history and development of the colony from its troubled and distracted beginnings to the comparative prosperity which it reached. It had not, however, come to the end, either of its internal or its external conflicts, when he closed his work. With some few exceptional strictures, he in general terms approves the policy and conduct of the Bay Company. While expressing his belief that Mr. Isbister, in his sharp controversy with the company, was betrayed by the unfounded representations of his countrymen, he speaks in the highest terms of respect of that gentleman for his personal excellence and humanity. Very full, interesting, and trustworthy accounts are given in the volume of the good and the ill conditions mixed in the settlement; its resources and prospects; of its agricultural and social life; of the native tribes around it, and of the stirring hunting expeditions.[1] Especially sagacious and practical are the views of the author about the contentions of religious sects and the necessity that civilization should precede "conversion."

Of Robert Michael Ballantyne's sprightly and entertaining *Hudson's Bay: or every-day life in the Wilds of North America, during six years' residence in the Territories of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 3d ed., 1857) there have been repeated editions. The writer describes himself to have been in his Highland home in 1841, when he was thrilled with joy on his appointment as an apprentice clerk in the service of the Hudson Bay Company. Robust and vigorous in constitution and animated in spirits, he entered with full zest into the conditions and duties of his office, with its tasks and hardships, and found full enjoyment in its rude relaxations. Making many long journeys by boats in the open season and with dog-sledges in the winter, he describes with minuteness of detail all the methods of travel, the smooth and the rough passages, the toil over the portages, the shooting of rapids, the trailing or dragging of boats up cascades by cheery voyageurs having but a slippery footing on precipitous banks; the coming in to the posts of the wild bands of boisterous Indians, their women, children, and dogs, with furs and hides, and the opening riot of intoxication, the method of trade, the giving forth of supplies, and the return of quiet; the gay scenes of half-breed life, the dance and the wedding. On his homeward way the writer went by Lake Superior and the old Canadian posts to Quebec and Tadousac, a journey of many hardships and romantic incidents.[2]

Mr. Joseph James Hargrave was evidently an intelligent observer and candid reporter of matters which came under his own knowledge during his seven years' residence in the Dominion province now called Manitoba. He traces in his *Red River* (Montreal, 1871) the history of the Red River settlement from its origin under Lord Selkirk, and gives a sufficiently full statement of the disasters, sufferings, and finally the limited prosperity which it had reached at the time of his visit. It will be remembered that the settlement was the scene of the sharpest rivalry and contests, involving a great loss of life, between the opposing parties of the Hudson Bay and the Northwest Companies. Notwithstanding its chartered privileges and its position and resources on the spot, the Bay Company was the loser in that strife. The period of Mr. Hargrave's residence was between 1861 and 1869. The volume will always be of high historical value, because it so faithfully describes and comments upon scenes and occurrences which have so rapidly changed on the panorama of the past. The community which he portrays was a strangely heterogeneous one, bringing together people of many nationalities, of various mixtures of blood, and many of whom appeared during the year in the three characters of farmers, fishermen, and hunters.

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[1] Cf. also his *Fur Hunters of the Far West* (London, 1855).

[2] As illustrating other adventures of this period, cf. Archibald McDonald's *Peace River, a canoe voyage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific* (Ottawa, 1872), and the publication by Viscount Milton and Dr. Wm. B. Cheadle, called *The Northwest Passage by Land. Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (London, 1865). The route followed was down the Red River to Fort Garry, hence through British Columbia. The writers both wield a ready and lively pen, sketching many striking scenes, with incidents of perilous adventure, strange companionships, hunting expeditions, and camp-life.

In 1873, the investigation over the bounds of the province of Ontario led to two treatises, both of which are retrospective in their historical bearing. In David Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1873), the second part is given to a historical summary of the French and English contests for the possession of Hudson's Bay from 1670 to the treaty of Utrecht; while a sketch of the early rivalry of the French and English in securing the fur trade is found in Charles Lindsey's *Investigations of the unsettled Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1873).[1]

In *The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the Northwest of America* (London, 1873), Captain W. F. Butler relates the occasion of his first range of distant travel in the Northwest. His errand into the country was induced by an official connection with the military expedition which went from Canada to suppress the revolt of the French half-breeds, under the "Dictator" Louis Riel, in 1869–1870, when the Red River settlement was made over from the control of the Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada. He passed through the United States, and anticipated for several months the arrival of the military force which came by the old Canadian route. He himself had some stirring adventures. Being on the spot, a keen, intelligent, and impartial observer, he gives us a most graphic account of the revolt, which threatened to be very serious in its origin and progress, but which ended in an absurd and inglorious discomfiture. Intending to return after this affair, he found himself invested with some judicial functions and the power of conferring them on others. He was thus led to make an expedition through the Saskatchewan Valley all the way to the company's post at the Mountain House, meeting with all the wild experiences of free adventure. He was an intrepid traveller, heroic and enduring, and his pages are vigorously written. He received the hospitalities of the company's officers and posts, and he passes no strictures on its policy. He traversed regions in which the natives had been wellnigh extirpated by an appalling visitation of the smallpox, which had also been severe in its ravages at some of the posts. He took with him large supplies of medical stores and directions for treating the disease. He is an ardent champion of the native qualities and the rights of the red man in his ever-ruinous contact with the whites.

A year later, Captain Butler, in his *Wild North Land, being the story of a winter journey with dogs across northern North America* (London, 1874), gives a delightful and instructive narrative of another expedition in the wilderness. This was wholly of a private nature, and was prompted by the spirit of adventure, made more exciting by its previous indulgence. His wanderings this time were principally on foot. He started from the Red River in the autumn of 1872, and in March following reached Lake Athabasca. Then he followed the winding Peace River to the Rocky Mountains, and through the north of British Columbia and New Caledonia, coming out on Fraser's River in June. His transient stops at the posts of the Bay Company, his sketches of the articles in which it trafficked, and his account of the wonderful mail-carriage in its semi-annual expeditions, furnish many lively and entertaining sketches.

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[1] Cf. *Statutes, documents, and papers bearing on the discussion respecting the northern and western boundaries of Ontario, including the principal evidence supposed to be for or against the Province* (Toronto, 1878). *Correspondence, papers, and documents, 1856–1882, relating to the northerly and westerly boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1882).

The Earl of Southesk was substantially the guest of the Bay Company in 1859 and 1860, when he made the journey described in his *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, A Diary and Narrative of Travel, Sport, and Adventure, during a Journey through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories* (Edinburgh, 1875). He had been promised its aid and furtherance as an inducement to his trip, and he received from it all needed help. As the title of the book shows, he was an amateur explorer and huntsman, with the spirit of free adventure. He describes with vividness and geniality the incidents of travel and the camp, and adds many interesting facts about the natural history of the region, its wild animals and the natives, giving us many sketches from his own pencil.[1]

We find quite as much a summary of existing knowledge as of personal observation and experience in H. M. Robinson's *Great Fur Land, or Sketches of Life in the Hudson's Bay Territory. With numerous Illustrations from Designs by Charles Gasche* (New York, 1879). The book is written with much vivacity, and will have a charming interest for readers who seek for romantic narrative and sketches of wild life. He gives us very full particulars about the more recent operations and government of the Hudson Bay Company, without any reflections on its policy or administration, generally commending it for fairness and for wise and kindly dealing with the Indians. He presents with great vividness the scenes and conditions of life; the characters and habits of red men, white men, half-breeds, voyageurs, hunters, and traders; the modes of travelling by canoe or dog-sledges; life in the company's posts in summer and winter; the hunting expeditions; methods of trapping; accounts of the fur trade; a winter camp; the gayeties of wild festive scenes among the half-breeds; the mode in which traffic is carried on, and some statistics of the peltries.

George E. Ellis.

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[1] The reader may note some incongruity in the contents of the volume, as he finds in the appendix much miscellaneous matter on which the writer employed his mind in intervals of rest. For example, we have remarks on "The Winter's Tale," "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Merchant of Venice," "Othello," "Comments on a Sermon," "Reflections on Patience and God's Providence," "Comments on Bunsen's Hippolytus," etc.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

THE official and personal writings which have thus been surveyed involve, of course, the details of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company. Synoptical surveys of this history, with the extension of their field through the Indian territory and to the Pacific, will be found in H. H. Bancroft's *Northwest Coast* (ch. 14, etc.), and in Barrows's *Oregon* (ch. 6 and 12), where are particularly contrasted the opposing systems of settlement and of the trade for furs as brought into rivalry, to the advantage of the former in the saving of Oregon to the American Union (see *ante*, Vol. VII.). Bancroft gives a separate chapter (ch. 15) to collating the evidence about "Forts and Fort Life." All general histories of Canada and of Arctic exploration necessarily touch the subject. The best bibliography of the company's history can be picked out of the list of publications prefixed by Bancroft to his *Northwest Coast*. Some of the less important ones are grouped together in his vol. i. p. 457. Cf. also the section on Hudson's Bay in Chavanne's *Literatur über die Polar-Regionen* (Vienna, 1874). The bibliography of the explorations in the Northwest may be primarily followed in Bryce's paper on "Journeys in Rupert's Land," in the *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada*, 1886. The mass of periodical literature can be gleaned through *Poole's Index*, p. 611, and *Supplement*,—the best condensation of the history being found perhaps in the *Westminster Review* (July, 1867), on "The last great monopoly."[1] There is an enumeration of the typical maps of the Hudson Bay region in Winsor's *Kohl Collection of Maps*, section iv.

No. 6 of the *Papers* of the Manitoba Hist. Soc. is devoted to the sources of the history of the Canadian Northwest. As regards the respective rights of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies to the trade of the Winnipeg country, the question turned upon the validity of the parliamentary grant to the Hudson's Bay Company for an extension of their trade westerly of Rupert's Land, as against the rights inherited, or assumed by the Canadians as accruing by the accession of the rights of France, through exploration, before the cession of the country and its advantages to England by the Peace of Paris (1763). But the Hudson's Bay Company also claimed to have preceded the French in this region, by sending through it a young explorer, Henry Kelsey, in 1690.[2] Vérandrye's explorations in 1731–49 were the earliest for the French (see references, *ante*, Vol. V. 567–8). La Franche first explored the route between Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay, 1738–42. For a summary of overland explorations from 1640 to 1786, see ch. 19 of Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. The *London Mag.* in 1761 gave a map of the straits of St. Mary and Michillimackinac to show the situation and importance of the two westernmost settlements of Canada for the fur trade.

The history of the North West Company, formed at Montreal in 1787 by uniting various trading interests, can be followed in *The origin and progress of the Northwest Company of Canada, with a history of the fur trade, as connected with that concern* (London, 1811). Up to this time the main features of their career had been their occupation of the Red River district in 1788; the explorations of Mackenzie in their interest in 1789; the secession of the X Y Company in 1796; its reunion with the parent body in 1804; the contract with the Astor people in 1810; their building their first fort on the Columbia in 1811. They bought out the Astoria post in 1813. The book just cited has a map exhibiting the principal trading stations of the Northwest Company; and another map, showing these stations, with the routes of the traders from Fort William,[3] on Lake Superior, is given in Alexander M'Donell's *Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country* (London, 1819). The issue between the rival companies came with the grant to the Earl of Selkirk, by the Hudson's Bay Company, of a tract in this Winnipeg region. Before applying to the Bay Company, Selkirk got the opinion of Romilly and others that the company was competent to make such a grant (Bryce's *Manitoba*, 147; Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 404; *House of Commons' Report*, 323). The map in M'Donell's *Narrative* shows the extent of this territorial grant, as was claimed. Selkirk by this time had become a large owner of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Of the conflict which ensued between the servants of the two companies, on the part of the Northwest Company to expel the Selkirk colonists, and on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to protect them, we have a good account of a looker-on in Ross Cox's *Adventures on the Columbia River* (London, 1831; New York, 1832); but the trials which followed in the Canadian courts give us the conflict of testimony: *Report of the Proceedings connected with the disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the Northwest Company at the Assizes held at York, in Upper Canada, October, 1818. From minutes taken in Court* (Montreal, 1819; reprinted, London, 1819).

Report of trials in the Courts of Canada relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement on the Red River, with observations. By A[ndrew] Amos (London, 1820). This is accompanied by a map of the Red River settlement as it was in 1816.

The publications of this period are hardly impartial. They espouse one side or the other. What may be considered the official representation of the Northwest Company is *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America since the connection of the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay Company, and his attempt to establish a colony on the Red River; with a detailed account of his Lordship's military expedition to, and subsequent proceedings at, Fort William* (London, 1817).[4]

The protest on Selkirk's part can be found in his *Sketch of the British fur trade in North America; with observations relative to the Northwest Company of Montreal* (London, J. Ridgeway, 1816), which originally appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, October, 1816; and in the publication in his interest, compiled by John Halkett, and called a *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon the Red River; its destruction in 1815 and 1816; with observations upon a recent publication entitled "A narrative of occurrences in the Indian Countries,"* etc. (London, 1817). It is accompanied by a map by Arrowsmith, showing the Winnipeg country.[5] The letter book of Captain Miles Macdonell at the Selkirk Settlement, 1811–12, is given in Brymner's *Report on the Canadian Archives, 1886.*

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[1] Cf. also *Canadian Monthly* (v. 273); *Cornhill Mag.* (xxii. 159); "La traite au Nord-ouest et quelques notes sur la compagnie de la Baie Hudson, par L. A. Prud'homme," in the *Revue Canadienne* (Jan., 1887, p. 16); and Emile Petitot on "The Athabasca District," with a map, in the *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.* (Nov., 1883).

[2] Bryce's *Manitoba*; Manitoba Hist. Soc. *Papers*, no. 4.

[3] We have a picture of life at Fort William, the Northwester's principal post, in Ross Cox's *Columbia River*, and particularly in Gabriel Franchère's *Voyage à la Côte Nord-ouest de l'Amerique Septentrionale pendant les années 1810–1814* (Montreal, 1820), of which there is an English translation by J. V. Huntington (New York, 1854). He had been one of the Astor expedition, and his natural story was much in Irving's mind, apparently, when he wrote his *Astoria*.

[4] Cf. John Strachan's *Letter to the Earl of Selkirk on his settlement at the Red River, near Hudson's Bay* (London, 1816), and Alexander M'Donell's *Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country from the Commencement of the Operations of the Earl of Selkirk till the summer of the year 1816* (London, 1819).

[5] Cf. also Arrowsmith's *Map exhibiting the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America, inscribed by permission to the Hon. Company of Adventurers of England trading in Hudson's Bay* (London, 1798–1811).

After Selkirk returned to England, in 1818, a motion was made in the House of Commons for all the official papers in the recent troubles, and in 1819 they were printed.

Selkirk died in 1820, and the next year the two companies were united, preserving only the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Sir George Simpson became governor. This story is told at length in Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, ii. ch. 15.

John West's *Substance of a journal during the residence at the Red River Country and frequent excursion among the Northwest American Indians, 1820–1823* (London, 1824), and Keating's *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's Lake (Lake Winnepeek) in 1823* (London, 1825), become now of interest.

The later writers are variously inclined in their sympathies. Alexander Ross's *Red River Settlement, its rise, progress, and present state, with some account of the native races and its general history to the present day, by Alexander Ross* (London, 1856), is on the side of the elder company; and the same position is temperately sustained in George Bryce's *Manitoba, its infancy, growth, and present condition* (London, 1882).[1] The story of the Red River events, as well as the subsequent career of both companies after their enforced union, is sufficiently told, and with a good many helpful references, in Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, with the aid of some manuscript accounts, as well as of the great mass of printed material. The story of the Northwest Coast is further continued by Bancroft in his *Oregon* and in his *British Columbia*.

The question of commercial intercourse with the Winnipeg country led to an exploration of the country between Lake Superior and the Red River settlement, of which a *Report*[2] was published, with a *Map of a part of the valley of Red River, north of the 49th parallel, to accompany a Report on the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition, by H. Y. Hind.* Of late years it has become a debatable question whether the route from Europe through Hudson's Bay may not be made commercially serviceable through a considerable part of the year. (Cf. Robert Bell's "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay" in the *Roy. Geog. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1881, with a map; W. Skelford in the *National Rev.*, London, vii. 541; C. R. Tuttle's *Our North Land* (Toronto, 1885), ch. 28; *Science*, vii. 278; Charles N. Bell's *Northern Waters*, Winnipeg, 1885; and some papers published by the Manitoba Historical Society: no. 1, Navigation of Hudson's Bay; no. 2, The Hudson's Bay Route.) The rebellions in the Red River region, which followed upon the creation of the Province of Manitoba, fall on a later period than this volume is intended to embrace, but the sources of their history involve the results of the final extinction of the Hudson's Bay Company as a great monopoly.[3]

An account of the fur trade along the Pacific is the essential body of Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, which is of use in tracing the transactions of the Hudson Bay Company in those regions, with its abundant references. He says in his preface: —

"During the summer of 1878 I made an extended tour in this territory for the purpose of adding to my material for its history. Some printed matter I found, not before in my possession. I was fortunate enough to secure copies of the letters of Simon Fraser, and the original journals of Fraser and John Stuart; also copies from the originals of the journals of John Work and W. F. Tolmie, the private papers of John McLoughlin, and a manuscript History of the Northwest Coast by A. C. Anderson. Through the kindness of Mr. John Charles, at the time chief of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific coast, I was given access to the archives of the fur company gathered at Victoria, and was permitted to make copies of important fort journals, notably those of Fort Langley and Fort Simpson. But most important of all were the historical and biographical dictations taken from the lips of several hundred of pioneers and earliest fur-hunters and settlers then living, by a short-hand reporter who accompanied me in my travels, and which were afterward written out, severally bound, and used in the usual way as material for history.

"It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of this information, given as it was by actors in the scenes represented, many of whom have since departed this life, and all of whom will soon be gone. To no small extent it is early historical knowledge absolutely rescued from oblivion, and which. if lost, no power on earth could reproduce. Conspicuous among those who thus bear testimony are Mrs. Harvey, who gave me a biographical sketch of her father, Chief Factor McLoughlin; John Tod, chief for a time of New Caledonia; Archibald McKinlay, in charge of Fort Walla-Walla at the time of the Whitman massacre; Roderick Finlayson, once in charge of Fort Victoria; A. C. Anderson, road-maker, explorer, and historian."

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[1] He gives a list of his authorities. Cf. Donald Gunn's *Hist. of Manitoba to 1835, with a continuation to its admission to the Dominion by C. R. Tuttle* (Ottawa, 1880); Alexander Begg's *Creation of Manitoba and the history of the Red River Troubles* (Toronto, 1871); and John Macoun's *Manitoba and the Great Northwest* (1883).

[2] Henry Youle Hind's *Northwest Territory. Reports of progress; with a preliminary and general report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition, made under instructions from the provincial secretary, Canada. Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly* (Toronto, 1859); and the same author's *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, and of the Assiniboine and Saskatawan Expedition of 1858* (London, 1860).

[3] Cf. Alexander J. Russell's *Red River Country, Hudson's Bay and Northwest Territories considered in relation to Canada* (Ottawa, 1869: Montreal, 1870).

Red River Insurrection; Hon. Wm. McDougall's Conduct Reviewed (anon.).

The Red River Insurrection Reviewed; letters to Hon. Jos. Howe by Wm. McDougall (Toronto, 1870).

Alexander Begg's *Creation of Manitoba, or a history of the Red River Troubles* (Toronto, 1871).

Capt. Geo. Lightfoot Huyshe's *Red River Expedition* (London, 1871).

S. J. Dawson's *Report on the Red River Expedition of 1870, printed by order of the House of Commons. Reprint, with remarks on certain strictures published in England by an officer of the expeditionary force* (Ottawa, 1871).

Report of the Select Committee on the Causes of the difficulties in the Northwest Territory in 1869–70 (Ottawa, 1874).

The English official record of the occupancy of Vancouver's Island is given in the *Charter of Grant of Vancouver's Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, and correspondence*, and the *Report on the Grant from the Com. of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations* (1849); and in James Edward Fitzgerald's *Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company with reference to Vancouver Island* (London, 1849).

The rivalries of the English and American traders are necessarily set forth by Bancroft.[1]

[1] Bancroft's treatment of the Astoria enterprise is held to have a touch of spleen in it, by P. Koch in his paper on "Astoria and the Pacific Fur Trade," in the *Magazine of American History*, March, 1885, p. 289. Cf. Wm. Sturgis on the Northwest Fur Trade in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, xiv.

CHAPTER II.

ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH,

Treasurer, Massachusetts Historical Society.

FOR two centuries after the unsuccessful voyages of Luke Fox and Thomas James, mentioned in an earlier chapter of this *History*,[1] little interest was felt in the search for a northwest passage. The more important of the Arctic explorations in this period were carried on overland, under the auspices, in whole or in part, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and are described in another chapter.[2] Meanwhile, however, in 1746, two small vessels were sent from England to make further discoveries in Hudson's Bay. These were the "Dobbs Galley," of one hundred and eighty tons, commanded by Captain William Moor, and the "California," of one hundred and forty tons, under Captain Francis Smith. They sailed from the Thames on the 20th of May. Their progress was slow, and they were able to go only a short distance up Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome before the lateness of the season compelled the captains to make arrangements for winter-quarters. For this purpose a small creek was selected, about two miles from Fort York, the principal station of the Hudson's Bay Company. Here the crews built log huts on the shore, and remained from November until June, when the vessels were released from the ice. Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, Wager Strait, and the entrance to what is now known as Repulse Bay, were then explored; but differences of opinion among the officers led to an early abandonment of the undertaking, and by the middle of August both vessels made sail for England. They anchored at Yarmouth on the 14th of October, 1747, — having been gone nearly a year and a half, — and entirely disappointed the large hopes and expectations awakened by their departure.

A few years later an attempt was made by the British colonies in America to discover a northwest passage; and in the spring of 1753 a schooner of about sixty tons was fitted out in Philadelphia for this purpose, mainly through the exertions of Dr. Franklin. This schooner was called the "Argo," and was commanded by Captain Charles Swaine. Sailing in March, she encountered ice off Cape Farewell, but finally succeeded in entering Hudson's Strait in the latter part of June. Here the accumulation of ice was so great as to force her out to sea again, and the attempt to penetrate farther westward was at length abandoned. Swaine then carefully examined the coast of Labrador before returning to Philadelphia, where he arrived in November. In the following year he made a second voyage of discovery in the same vessel. He was again unsuccessful, and returned in October, with the loss of three men, who were killed on the Labrador coast.

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[1] Vol. III. ch. iii.

[2] See *ante*, ch. i.

JAMES COOK.*

Nearly a quarter of a century later, — in the same year in which the American colonies declared their independence of the mother-country, — the English government determined to renew the search for the much desired passage; but it was now thought desirable to reverse the course hitherto followed, and to attempt to pass from the Pacific into the Atlantic. Two ships were accordingly fitted out, — the "Resolution," under command of the famous navigator Captain James Cook, and the "Discovery," Captain Charles Clerke. Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of July, 1776, and was to be joined by Clerke on his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope. It was not, however, until August, 1779, that the two ships entered Behring's Strait. After passing through the strait they first sailed toward Asia, and then turning east skirted the American coast for a short distance; but the season was far advanced, and Cook did not think it prudent to continue his voyage. Before the end of the month he began to retrace his course, and not long afterward he was killed in the Sandwich Islands, leaving a name unsurpassed by any English sailor of his time.[1] In the following year Clerke again passed through the strait; but the obstruction by ice was such that he soon relinquished any attempt to prosecute the search along the American coast.

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* From an engraving in *Troisième Voyage de Cook* (Versailles et Paris, 1783).

About the time that Cook sailed from England, Lieutenant Richard Pickersgill was sent to Baffin's Bay in the brig "Lion," to make such an examination of the waters in that neighborhood as might be useful to a vessel which it was intended should meet Cook on his anticipated arrival from the other side of America. Pickersgill left Deptford on the 26th of May, 1776, but he seems to have lacked the qualities which characterized the great navigators of the preceding century, and his voyage only added one more to the catalogue of those which had failed to give an adequate return for the thought and expense bestowed on them. In the next year Walter Young was sent out in the same vessel with a similar purpose, to ascertain how far it was probable that a northwest passage existed by way of Baffin's Bay. Like his predecessor, he was deterred by the multitude of icebergs which he encountered, and he returned within a little more than three months after leaving England. It was left to another century, and to men of more persistent energy, to trace the extent and direction of the waters flowing into that great sea.

The spirit of Arctic adventure slumbered for more than a generation after the departure of Cook on his last voyage. At length it suddenly revived in consequence of reports carried to England that during the years 1815 to 1817 there had been a great change in the enormous ice-fields surrounding the coasts of Greenland. It was said they had been broken up to an unusual extent, and had drifted down into the Atlantic, leaving it more probable than ever before that exploring vessels would be able to reach a high northern latitude. With the repeated confirmations of this theory from various sources there was a revival of interest in the still unsolved problem of a northwest passage; and this interest was further stimulated by the writings and personal appeals of Mr., afterward Sir John, Barrow, then and for many years Secretary of the Admiralty. Through the persistent exertions of the advocates for further explorations, it was determined by the British government to send out another expedition.

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[1] [See Vol. II. p. 469. In the *London Athenæum*, July 20, 1878, is a list of the MSS. in the British Museum illustrating Cook's voyage, including journals, log-books, etc. — Ed.]

This consisted of the "Isabella," of three hundred and eighty-five tons, under the command of Captain John Ross, and the "Alexander," of two hundred and fifty-two tons, under Lieutenant W. E. Parry, officered and manned by a company numbering in all ninety-four persons. The ships sailed from the Thames on the 18th of April, 1818, and after an absence of seven months anchored there on the 14th of November. Ross was a skilful and cautious seaman, but he lacked the bold and adventurous spirit which experience had shown was necessary for success in Arctic navigation. This defect and a too close adherence to the letter of his instructions prevented his voyage from having much scientific or practical importance. He was assiduous in making the astronomical and other observations required of him, and he corrected some of the mistakes which had crept into the maps; but he added little to the knowledge of Arctic geography, and on some points he fell into serious errors.

These mistakes were not shared by all of his officers, and in the following year Lieutenant Parry, who had been next in command under Ross, was sent out with two vessels, the "Hecla," of three hundred and seventy-five tons, and the "Griper," of one hundred and eighty tons. The whole number of persons in this expedition was precisely the same as was with Ross, and they were all experienced sailors, many of them having been with him on the late voyage. The two vessels sailed from the Thames on the 11th of May, 1819, and arrived at the Orkneys, on their return, at the end of October, 1820, having been absent nearly a year and a half. Parry had been at sea ever since he was twelve years old, and thus brought to the service in which he was now employed a large and various experience, though he was still under thirty. From the first he exhibited great energy, excellent judgment, and a most watchful care over the health and wellbeing of his men. Directing his course up the western coast of Greenland, he passed through Sir James Lawrence Sound, and reached Melville Island early in September, 1819. Here, in a small opening to which he gave the name of Winter Harbor, he was forced to remain nearly eleven months. It was the farthest western point yet reached by any exploring expedition; and their success thus far had entitled the officers and crew to a bounty of £5,000, authorized by an act of Parliament. The winter was long, dreary, and intensely cold; but its wearisomeness was relieved by theatrical performances and by the publication of a weekly newspaper entitled *The North Georgia Gazette, or Winter Chronicle*, which was not without considerable merit, and, considering the circumstances under which it was composed, well deserved the honor of republication on the return of the ships to England. On becoming free of the ice, in August, 1820, Parry attempted to prosecute his voyage still farther to the west, but after painfully working his way a few miles he was compelled, by the lateness of the season and by the impenetrable masses of ice which surrounded his vessels, to relinquish his design. He then made sail for home, with his confidence in a northwest passage in no degree shaken by his failure to find it.

In the spring of the following year Parry sailed on a second voyage, in the "Fury," of three hundred and seventy-six tons, with a crew of fifty-nine persons, and accompanied by his old ship, the "Hecla," under the command of Captain George F. Lyon, who had with him fifty-seven men. The ships and their equipments were, as nearly as possible, closely alike, so that in case of an accident to either vessel her wants could be supplied at once from her consort; and this "equalization" proved in the end to be of so great advantage that Parry himself declared it to be an "absolute necessity" in the case of "two ships that must necessarily be dependent solely on their own resources for a long and uncertain period of time."[1] The ships sailed from the Thames on the 8th of May, 1821, and directed their course for Hudson's Strait and the upper part of Hudson's Bay, following in the track of Middleton's discoveries near the middle of the last century.[2] The season was unfavorable, and early in October Parry was obliged to secure his vessels in winter-quarters near the southeast angle of Melville Peninsula. In the mean time, however, he had verified many of the discoveries of Middleton, and had accurately delineated the coast for a distance of "more than two hundred leagues, nearly half of which belonged to the continent of North America."[3] The weariness of this first winter was relieved in very much the same way as in the former voyage, and by expedients similar to those which he had then employed. Winter Island, where he was now imprisoned by the ice, was more than eight degrees farther south than Winter Harbor; but it was not until the beginning of July that he was able to leave it and begin to work his way northward. After several ineffectual attempts to pass through the opening between Melville Peninsula and Cockburn Island, since known as the Strait of Fury and Hecla, he was again obliged to secure his vessels in a winter station as early as the middle of October. Here, at the island of Igloolik, not far from the northeastern point of Melville Peninsula, he remained through another dreary winter until the early part of August, when, in consequence of the failing health of his crew, — which, in the opinion of the surgeon, rendered it imprudent to remain in the ice another winter, — he reluctantly gave up the farther prosecution of his voyage. As soon as the vessels were free from the ice they sailed for England, where they arrived about the middle of October. The two years had been fruitful in important discoveries; and Parry returned more than ever convinced of the existence of a northwest passage, but with his belief in its practicability much shaken.

A few months after his return he sailed again in the "Hecla," on a third voyage, accompanied by the "Fury," now under the command of Captain Henry P. Hoppner, who had been on both of the previous voyages. They left the Nore on the 19th of May, 1824, with instructions to effect a passage, if possible, through Barrow Strait and Prince Regent's Inlet into the western seas. The season proved a very unfavorable one, and the progress of the ships was greatly impeded by the extent and thickness of the ice. At the end of September, Parry was obliged to seek winter-quarters at Port Bowen, on the eastern side of Prince Regent's Inlet. Here he remained until the 20th of July, 1825, when, the ships having been freed from the ice, he attempted to cross to the western side of the Inlet. For a short time he made satisfactory progress; but he soon encountered fresh obstructions, by which the "Fury" received severe and repeated injuries, and it became necessary to abandon her at the end of August, very near the place where she had been first beset. Her officers and men were then transferred to the "Hecla," and as soon as possible sail was made for England, where the ship arrived about the middle of October. The expedition was the least successful of the three undertaken by Parry; but it does not appear that its failure was due to any want of care and forethought on his part or on that of his companions. Nothing had been done to solve the long vexed problem, though considerable additions had been made to the knowledge of the limited field to which Parry's researches were confined.

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[1] *Journal of a Second Voyage*, Introduction, p. iv.

[2] See *ante*, ch. i.

[3] *Journal of a Second Voyage*, p. 118.

Just a month after Parry sailed on his third voyage, his former companion, Captain Lyon, left England in the "Griper," with instructions to proceed through Hudson's Strait to Repulse Bay or Wager River, where he was to leave his vessel in a place of security for the winter. He was then to cross Melville Peninsula, and make a preliminary examination of the shore of the Polar Sea in that neighborhood, with a view to a more thorough exploration in the following spring. For the latter purpose, he was to go as rapidly as possible to Point Turnagain, which had already been reached by Captain, afterwards Sir John, Franklin, in an overland expedition from the west, and he was then to trace the coast far enough east to connect it with the previous explorations. The expedition was a signal failure. Owing to their proximity to the magnetic pole, the compasses ceased to be of practical use; the season was extremely unfavorable; constant gales were encountered; and the "Griper" was so dull a sailor and was so deep in the water as often to be unmanageable. She sailed from the Thames on the 16th of June, and early in August arrived off Cape Chidley, where she took on board additional stores from a surveying vessel which had been ordered to accompany her to the edge of the ice, and which had towed her a large part of the distance thus far accomplished. Here the two vessels parted company. By the most persevering efforts Lyon succeeded in getting within about ninety miles of Repulse Bay before the 10th of September, when he lost all his anchors in a severe gale. He then determined to relinquish his undertaking, and as soon as was possible made sail for home; but it was not until the 10th of November that the "Griper" was moored at Portsmouth. How far the failure of the enterprise was owing to a lack of good seamanship on the part of the commander it is not easy, perhaps, to determine; but it is scarcely possible not to compare his failure with what was accomplished by the old navigators under disadvantages as great, at least, as those he had to encounter.

When the third expedition under Parry and the overland expedition under Franklin were planned, it was also determined to send another expedition, by way of Behring's Strait, to furnish such help as either of these officers might require in the event of a successful prosecution of the explorations assigned to him. For this purpose, Captain Frederick W. Beechey was placed in command of the ship "Blossom," mounting sixteen guns, and manned by a crew numbering in all one hundred persons. On the 19th of May, 1825, Beechey set sail from Spithead, and directing his course around Cape Horn and by way of Bounty Bay and the Sandwich Islands, he reached the entrance of Behring's Strait about the middle of July in the following year. From that point he explored the coast of North America in the "Blossom" as far east as Cape Beaufort, and the exploration was continued by a boat party as far as Point Barrow, near the 160th degree of west longitude, and less than one hundred and fifty miles west from the farthest point reached by Franklin. Beechey remained within the strait until the middle of October, when he sailed for San Francisco. Thence he proceeded to China and the Loo Choo Islands, returning to Behring's Strait in the summer of 1827. He pushed forward, however, no farther than Kotzebue Sound, and early in September, satisfied that there was no probability of being able to communicate with either Parry or Franklin, he set sail on his return. He reached England early in the autumn of 1828, having been absent three years and a half, and sailed seventy-three thousand miles. Beechey's voyage added little to a knowledge of the northwest coast of America, which seems to have been to him an object of far less interest than the islands and shoals of the Pacific; but the scientific value of the examination made of the cliffs of Escholtz Bay by some of his subordinate officers, and the interest attaching to the fossil remains obtained by them, cannot be overlooked in any account of the northwest voyages.

In 1827, after Parry's return from a voyage toward the North Pole, an account of which does not come within the plan of this chapter, Sir John Ross proposed to the British government an expedition to the northwest. But his proposal was not accepted, and he then applied to an old friend, Mr. Felix Booth, one of the sheriffs of London, who at first declined to engage in what he feared might be regarded as a mercantile speculation. Subsequently, however, his scruples were removed by the repeal of the act of Parliament offering a reward for the discovery of a northwest passage, and he then entered heartily into Ross's plans. From his own resources he furnished nearly the whole cost of the expedition, to an amount between seventeen thousand and eighteen thousand pounds sterling. A small steamer of eighty-five tons, named the "Victory," was purchased, repaired, and built up so as nearly to double her tonnage. The vessel was amply provided for her intended voyage; her second officer, James C. Ross, nephew of the commander, was a man of large scientific attainments, and her other officers and her crew were picked men ; but the results of her voyage were far less than might have been reasonably anticipated. Indeed, the most important fruit of the voyage was the discovery, by James C. Ross, of the true position of the north magnetic pole, which was found near the southwest angle of Boothia.

SIR JOHN ROSS.*

On the 23d of May, 1829, the "Victory" sailed from Woolwich, and after various embarrassments arising from the unsatisfactory working of the steam-engine, and from the mutiny of the crew of a store-ship which was to accompany the "Victory" during the first part of the voyage, Ross, about the middle of August, reached the beach where the "Fury" was abandoned four years before. A few weeks later, while attempting to pass down what is now known as the Gulf of Boothia, he was so beset with ice that he was obliged, before the end of September, to put the ship into winter-quarters in a harbor to which he gave the name of Felix Harbor. Here he remained until the early part of September, 1830, when he endeavored to get under way and proceed north again ; but he only succeeded in working through the ice about four miles, when he was obliged to secure his vessel in another harbor, named by him Sheriff's Harbor. In this new place of refuge he remained until near the end of August, 1831, when he managed to get a few miles farther north, but was soon forced to go into winter-quarters in a third harbor, which he named first Victory, and afterward Victoria Harbor. In the spring of 1832 he determined to abandon the ship and return by sledges and boats to Fury Beach, with the hope of getting into Baffin's Bay. On the 29th of May he left the ship, and after great difficulties succeeded in reaching the stores left on the beach by the "Fury." He then tried to push forward for the completion of his design ; but he found the ice so compact that he was obliged to return to Fury Beach. Here another dreary winter was passed in a house built of wood and canvas and covered with snow. On the 8th of July, 1833, Ross and his crew finally left Fury Beach, and after walking six days reached their boats which had remained in Batty Bay. By the middle of August they were enabled to embark, and on the 26th the boats were picked up near the western shore of Baffin's Bay by the "Isabella" of Hull, a whale-ship which had been commanded at one time by Ross, and on the 12th of October he landed at Stromness.

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* After B. R. Faulkner's likeness of Ross as engraved by R. Hart in his *Narrative of a Second Voyage*, App. (London, 1835).

Captain, afterwards Sir George, Back, having already conducted an overland expedition in 1833, yielded to that strange fascination which has seized almost every adventurer in the field of Arctic discovery, and, undeterred by the recollection of recent perils and anxieties, was ready in a few months to attempt a new exploration. In May, 1836, just eight months after his return to England, he was appointed to the command of the ship "Terror," of three hundred and forty tons, which was to be sent out by the British government, at the suggestion of the Geographical Society, for the purpose of tracing the coast line between Prince Regent's Inlet and Point Turnagain; and on the 16th of June he sailed from the Thames. Three months later the ship was frozen into the ice at the eastern end of Frozen Strait; and it was not until the middle of July, 1837, that she was again able to make sail, having drifted in the mean time nearly three hundred miles eastward. The ship had been in almost constant danger, had been badly injured by the ice, the crew were in no condition for a further prosecution of the voyage, and Back determined to return to England. On the 3d of September he reached the Irish coast, and as the ship leaked so badly as to be in danger of sinking, she was run ashore on a sandy beach. The voyage had been singularly barren of results; but its failure seems to have been mainly, if not entirely, owing to causes over which Back could have had no control, and it is to be remembered only as one of the long series of fruitless efforts in the same general direction.

Early in 1845 the British government determined to send out another expedition to effect, if possible, the northwest passage. For this purpose two bomb vessels — the "Erebus," of three hundred and seventy-nine tons, and the "Terror," in which Back had made his voyage — were thoroughly repaired, and provisioned for an absence of three years. The whole number of persons in the two vessels was one hundred and twenty-nine; and at the head of the expedition was Sir John Franklin, then in his seventieth year. His two principal officers were Commander James Fitzjames, in his own ship, the "Erebus," and Captain F. R. M. Crozier, in the "Terror." The two ships sailed from England on the 19th of May, 1845, and reached the Whalefish Islands, on the western coast of Greenland,[1] on the 4th of July. Here they remained until the evening of the 12th, to complete some preliminary arrangements, and then sailing, they were seen for the last time a fortnight later, moored to an iceberg in Baffin's Bay, apparently waiting for a favorable opportunity to enter or work around what is known as the "Middle Ice." As time passed and nothing was heard from them, great anxiety began to be felt for their safety, not only in England, but throughout the civilized world, and expedition after expedition was sent out to carry relief or to ascertain something of the history of the lost navigators. The problem of their fate long eluded discovery, but at length, as will be seen in the sequel, it was fully solved, in part by our own countrymen.

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[1] [A journal of the early part of their voyage, kept by Capt. Fitzjames, was sent home by the tender from Disco, and has been printed. — Ed.]

So early as the autumn of 1847, it was determined to send out three expeditions: one to Lancaster Sound, to follow the supposed track of Franklin, a second down the Mackenzie River, and the third by way of Behring's Strait. At the head of the first was Sir James Clarke Ross, who had already acquired a high reputation from his discovery of the magnetic pole, and who had just returned from a voyage to the Antarctic regions. Beside his own ship, the "Enterprise," of four hundred and seventy tons and seventy men, he had with him the "Investigator," of four hundred and

John Franklin[*]

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[*] After the engraving in Nourse's *Hall's Second Expedition* (Washington, 1879).

twenty tons and seventy men, under command of Captain E. J. Bird; and each vessel was provided with a large steam launch, which proved of much use. The two vessels sailed from the Thames on the 12th of May, 1848, with instructions to proceed together to the head of Barrow Strait. Ross was then to seek winter-quarters somewhere in the neighborhood of Parry's Winter Harbor, from which point he was to send out parties to examine the eastern and western coasts of Banks Land, while his companion was to find a harbor on the northern side of North Somerset, the coasts of which, as well as those of Boothia, were to be explored. The expedition entered Baffin's Bay early in July, but soon found all progress stopped by the impenetrable mass of "the Middle Ice." By great exertions they finally succeeded in getting round it, and pushed as far west as Leopold Island, which they reached on the 11th of September, when they were at once frozen in. Here they were compelled to remain until the 28th of August in the following year. They then fortunately made their escape, but were utterly unable to push farther to the west, and were reluctantly compelled to return to England, where they arrived early in November. During their long stay at Leopold Island they were not idle, and the whole neighborhood was carefully searched by parties on foot or in sledges, but nothing was discovered to throw light on the fate of their missing countrymen. The sole fruits of the expedition were the magnetic and other scientific observations, which were carefully and accurately made.

The command of the second expedition was assigned to Sir John Richardson, who was to be accompanied by Mr. John Rae, one of the chief factors in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Like the voyage of Ross, this expedition was a failure. In neither case, however, was the failure due to any want of skill, energy, or perseverance. The obstacles were such as no man could have surmounted.

For the expedition through Behring's Strait, the "Herald," of twenty-six guns, under command of Captain Henry Kellett, and a surveying brig, the "Plover," Commander T. E. L. Moore, were selected. The "Herald" had sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of July, 1845, for a survey of the Pacific Ocean, and had been engaged in that service for more than two years when it was determined to employ her in the Arctic search. The "Plover" sailed from the Thames on the 1st of January, 1848, to coöperate in the search, principally as a store-ship; but it was not until the end of October that she reached the southern opening of Behring's Strait, too late in the season to attempt anything that year. Meanwhile, on receiving his new orders, Kellett sailed for the north on the 9th of May, and passing through Behring's Strait anchored off Chamisso Island, in Kotzebue Sound, on the 14th of September; but at this late date it was not possible to proceed farther east than Cape Krusenstern. From that point he speedily returned, and on the 2d of October passed out of the Strait into the Pacific again. He wintered in the Sandwich Islands, and on the 19th of May, 1849, left Honolulu for Kotzebue Sound, where he arrived on the 15th of July, and found the "Plover," which had anchored in the Sound on the previous day. Three days later they started for the north, accompanied by the yacht "Nancy Dawson," owned and commanded by Mr. Robert Sheddon, who had heard in China of the expedition, and, though an invalid, had determined to accompany it as a volunteer. For a short time the vessels kept together, but they were finally separated, and the closeness of the ice prevented them from pushing far to the north. After discovering the remarkable island now well known as Herald Island, Kellett left Behring's Strait at the beginning of October, and reached Mazatlan on the 14th of November. The "Nancy Dawson" had preceded him one day, and a few weeks afterward her heroic owner died, and was buried there. The "Plover" wintered in Kotzebue Sound. During the summer a well-equipped party was dispatched from her to examine the coast as far east as the Mackenzie River. A subdivision of this party continued the examination as far as the Coppermine, but without finding any trace of Franklin, and finally returned to England by way of Hudson's Bay. Early in the spring of 1850, the "Herald" sailed a third time for the north, and reached Chamisso Island about the middle of July. She remained within the Strait until the end of September, but without making any noteworthy discovery, and then sailed for Honolulu, leaving the "Plover" to winter in Grantley Harbor. Returning to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope, the "Herald" arrived at Spithead on the 6th of June, 1851.

The failure of these various expeditions to throw any light on the fate of Sir John Franklin and his companions only deepened the general interest in the question; and a fresh search was immediately planned. In 1850 ten vessels, grouped in seven expeditions, were sent out to carry on the search in different directions. Of these expeditions, the most interesting and important was that through Behring's Strait, consisting of the "Enterprise," Captain Richard Collinson, and the "Investigator," Captain Robert L. McClure. These vessels sailed together from Plymouth on the 20th of January; but the "Enterprise," being much the faster sailer, reached the Sandwich Islands and left there some time before the arrival of the "Investigator." The latter vessel, however, by taking a shorter course, entered Behring's Strait first, and, without waiting for his superior officer, McClure at once pushed forward along the northern shore of America. By skilful management he was enabled to reach and pass up the Prince of Wales Strait, between Banks Land and Prince Albert Land, before the close of that season. Here his progress was stopped by the setting in of winter, and he was obliged to secure his vessel as well as he could when he had reached within sixty miles of Melville Sound. The "Investigator" remained immovable in the ice from the last of September until the middle of July. During the winter various excursions were made for the purpose of geographical discovery and for carrying out the other objects of the expedition. The most important of these exploring parties was headed by McClure himself, who with a sledge and six men left the vessel on the 21st of October. Proceeding along the east side of Banks Land, they came, on the morning of the sixth day, in sight of the sea at a distance of only twelve miles, thus connecting their discoveries with those of Parry thirty years before. "The northwest passage was discovered!" says Sherard Osborn. "All doubt as to the water communication between the two great oceans was removed; and it now alone remained for Captain McClure, his officers and men, to perfect the work by traversing the few thousand miles of known ground between them and their homes."[1] After the ship was set free McClure endeavored to force his way through the Strait, and by the 15th of August he had reached within twenty-five miles of Melville Sound; but beyond that point it was impossible to advance. With a promptness of decision and an energy of action which alike do him credit, he determined to retrace his course and try to pass up the western coast of Banks Land. By great exertions he succeeded in accomplishing this object, but was obliged to go into winter-quarters, in the latter part of September, at a place fitly named by him the Bay of Mercy. At the end of April he made a sledge journey to Winter Harbor, in the hope of finding a deposit of provisions or of communicating with one of the other exploring vessels, so as to secure a means of escape if he should be unable to extricate the "Investigator" from the ice. In both hopes he was disappointed, and shortly afterward the scurvy made its appearance, — the most formidable danger to Arctic navigators. There was still hope, however, that the vessel might make her escape; but the season was a very short one, and so early as the first week in September it became certain that another winter must be passed in the ice. In this condition of things McClure assembled his officers and men, and told them that in the following April he should send half of them home, a part going up the Mackenzie River, and a part by way of Beechey Island, where it was expected a boat and provisions would be found. With the remainder of his men he should endeavor to save the ship, and perhaps spend another winter in the ice, finally retreating toward Lancaster Sound, in the hope of finding succor there. Fortunately it was not necessary to carry out this plan. The record of McClure's visit to Winter Harbor had been discovered by one of the travelling parties of the "Resolute," another of the relief ships, and one of her officers, Lieutenant Pim, was dispatched to communicate with him. Pim arrived on the 6th of April, 1853, and McClure determined at once to accompany him back to the "Resolute," and confer with her commander, Captain Kellett, as to the best course to be pursued. As the result of this interview and of a medical survey of the crew of the "Investigator," it was decided to abandon that ship, and to distribute her officers and crew between the "Resolute" and the "Intrepid." Subsequently, after another Arctic winter, these vessels, as well as two others, were also abandoned by order of Sir Edward Belcher, the senior officer then in the northern sea, and the combined crews were transferred to other vessels which had been sent out from England with fresh stores. They finally arrived in England at the end of September, 1854. McClure had solved the long-sought problem, and had passed from ocean to ocean over seas and channels which it might be reasonably supposed were sometimes navigable. His great discovery was rewarded by knighthood, and by the distribution to his officers and crew of the reward of ten thousand pounds promised to the discoverers of a northwest passage.

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[1] Osborn, *Discovery of the Northwest Passage*, p. 139.

Scarcely inferior in interest was the voyage of the "Enterprise." In the summer of 1850, Collinson penetrated a short distance to the north and east of Behring's Strait; but he was finally obliged to return, and wintered at Hong Kong. Early in the following year he started again, and rounding Point Barrow at the end of July, pushed east very nearly in the track of the "Investigator." Passing up the Prince of Wales Strait somewhat farther than McClure had been able to go, he was at last forced to winter in Walker Bay, at the southern end of the Strait. In the spring of 1852 various sledge parties were sent out, one of which went as far as Melville Island. It was not, however, until September that the vessel was free from the ice. Returning down the Strait, Collinson proceeded a short way up the west side of Banks Land, and then turning south and east reached Cambridge Bay, on the southern side of Wollaston Land, where he wintered. From this point he was compelled to retrace his course, and he finally returned to England by way of Behring's Strait.

Shortly after the departure of the "Enterprise" and "Investigator," the "Resolute," Captain Austin, and the "Assistance," Captain Ommanney, were sent out with two screw tenders, the "Pioneer" and the "Intrepid." These vessels sailed from Greenhithe on the 4th of May, 1850, for the purpose of carrying on the search through Lancaster Sound. Captain Ommanney was the first to reach Cape Riley and Beechey Island, where he arrived on the 23d of August, and where he found positive traces of the missing expedition in scattered remains of their first winter-quarters. A few days later he was joined by Captain Austin, and subsequently both ships tried to ascend Wellington Channel, but without success, and as early as the 13th of September they were forced to go into winter-quarters at Griffith Island. In the following spring numerous and well-equipped sledge parties were sent out in various directions, but without discovering any further traces of the lost ships. On the breaking up of the ice, in the early part of August, an attempt was made to examine Jones Sound, but very little was accomplished, and in September the vessels returned home.

Closely connected with this expedition was another under the command of Captain William Penny, an experienced whaling master. By direction of the British government two new vessels were purchased, the "Lady Franklin," of two hundred tons, and the "Sophia," of one hundred tons. Penny was appointed to the command of the first, and the second was assigned to Alexander Stewart, a young man then serving as mate of a whaling vessel, but who had already made five voyages to Davis Strait. The vessels were fitted for sea at Aberdeen, from which port they sailed on the 13th of April, 1850. After visiting the west coast of Greenland, where Penny secured the services of an interpreter, who proved a most useful and important helper, they pushed westward through Melville Bay. Here they met Austin's ships, and during the remainder of the voyage they were in frequent communication with him or his officers. The two expeditions wintered within a few miles of each other, Penny having been obliged to go into winter-quarters in Assistance Bay, on the southern coast of Cornwallis Island, a few days after Austin was frozen in. Sir John Ross, who had been sent out at the expense of the Hudson's Bay Company in the yacht "Felix," also wintered in the same place; but as his voyage was not productive of any important results, it does not require notice here. Early in the spring Penny organized a very complete system of sledge journeys, by which a thorough exploration was made of Wellington Channel and Cornwallis Island. It was his own opinion that Sir John Franklin had passed through Wellington Channel, and we now know he was right in this opinion; but it was not shared by his officers nor by Captain Austin. As it was not practicable, or even safe, for him to remain in the ice a second winter, he determined to return home as soon as his vessels were free, and reached Scotland with them in September.

In June, 1850, another vessel was sent out, mainly at the cost of Lady Franklin. This was the "Prince Albert," of ninety tons, Captain C. C. Forsyth, who was directed to make an examination of Prince Regent's Inlet. He descended the inlet as far as Fury Beach, when he was compelled by the ice to return. He then worked his way as far west as Wellington Channel, where he communicated with the other expeditions, and, returning to England in October, carried the first information of the discoveries of Austin and Penny at Cape Riley and Beechey Island.

More interesting than these fruitless voyages was the United States Grinnell Expedition, which sailed from New York on the 22d of May, 1850, and arrived there on its return in September, 1851. It consisted of the "Advance," of one hundred and forty-four tons, and the "Rescue," of ninety-one tons, both owned by Mr. Henry Grinnell, and lent to the United States government. They were, however, officered and manned by the government, and the expedition must be considered in part a private and in part a national undertaking. At its head was Lieutenant Edwin J. De Haven, and the second in command was Acting Master Samuel P. Griffin; but the name most commonly associated with it, as well as with a later expedition, is that of its surgeon and historian, Dr. Elisha K. Kane. The united crews of the two vessels, including officers, numbered only thirty-three persons. After leaving New York, both vessels proceeded direct to the west coast of Greenland, where they arrived at the end of June, and then worked through Lancaster Sound, and as far west as Cape Riley. Here the traces of Franklin were again found, and examined, only two days after their discovery by Ommanney. At the end of August Cornwallis Island was reached, and in a few days seven of the searching vessels were assembled there. Subsequently they succeeded in getting as far as Griffith Island, where they made fast to the ice. Further progress that season was impossible, and on the 13th of September De Haven determined to try and return to the United States, in accordance with his instructions. Shortly afterward his vessels were frozen into the ice in Wellington Channel, up which he drifted nearly to the upper end of Cornwallis Island, discovering in the distance high land, to which the name of Grinnell Land was given. They were utterly helpless, and continued to drift north until the 2d of October, when the direction of their involuntary movement changed, and they began to drift south again. Drifting slowly down Wellington Channel, they were carried through Barrow Strait and Lancaster Sound into Baffin's Bay, and it was not until the 4th of June that the floe in which they were immovably fastened broke up, and it was three or four days later before they were entirely free. It had been a long, dreary, and dangerous bondage, up to that time without parallel in Arctic navigation. On becoming free they again made for the coast of Greenland to recruit, with the intention of returning to Wellington Channel for the further prosecution of the search. But having been again caught in ice through which they were not able to force their way, the attempt was relinquished. The expedition had failed to throw any new light on the fate of Franklin, and its only important addition to Arctic geography was the discovery of Grinnell Land; but the story of the long drift will always be read with interest.

During the absence of so many expeditions there was naturally a lull in the preparations for a further search; but in April, 1851, Dr. Rae, under instructions from the British government, descended the Coppermine River, and then turning east traced the southern coast of Wollaston Land to its junction with the Victoria Land of Simpson. Subsequently he ascended the eastern coast as far as Pilly Point, opposite to the northern extremity of King William's Land. No traces of the lost ships were discovered, though Rae was not far from Franklin's winter-quarters, and was still nearer to the place where the ships were abandoned; but considerable additions were made to the knowledge of the coast lines, and the conduct of the expedition reflected great credit on its head.

Meanwhile the "Prince Albert," having been refitted by Lady Franklin, was dispatched again on the 3d of June, 1851, under command of Captain William Kennedy, for a further examination of Prince Regent's Inlet. Failing to get through the ice to the western shore of the Inlet, and after the accidental separation of Kennedy and four of his men from the vessel for several weeks, winter-quarters were established in Batty Bay. Early in the new year preparations were made for a careful examination of the land by Kennedy and his chief officer, Lieutenant Bellot, a gallant young Frenchman, who had obtained leave to join in the search, and who was afterward drowned, to the grief of all who knew him. In one of their journeys Bellot Strait was discovered, and, misled by the appearance of Peel Sound, which seemed to offer no passage for vessels, Kennedy, instead of examining King William's Land, confined his explorations to the Prince of Wales Island. If he had not been diverted from the original plan of his voyage, he would probably have been the first to discover the fate of Franklin and his companions. As it was, Kennedy only added another to the list of heroic men who endured untold hardships in the endeavor to solve the dark problem and just missed the answer. He threw no light on it, though he travelled more than a thousand miles in his sledge journeys; and in October he returned to England.

On the return of Captain Austin from his fruitless search it was at once determined by the British government to send out a new expedition, and ample preparations were made to insure its success, if possible. But unfortunately the chief command was given to Sir Edward Belcher, who, with an overweening confidence in his own wisdom, seems to have fallen far short of his predecessors in energy, perseverance, and good judgment. His squadron consisted of his own ship, the "Assistance"; the "Resolute," under Captain Kellett, who had already shown himself to be an able and active officer; of two screw tenders, the "Intrepid" and the "Pioneer," commanded respectively by F. L. McClintock and Sherard Osborn, both of whom afterward gained a high reputation; and of a store-ship, the "North Star," Commander Pullen. These vessels sailed from Greenhithe on the 21st of April, 1852, and, after being detained for some time on the western coast of Greenland, took their final departure from Upernavik on the 20th of June. In accordance with Belcher's instructions, the expedition was to carry on the search in two divisions, — one ship and one tender going up Wellington Channel, while the other ship and the other tender were to push forward to Melville Island. Belcher selected for his own part of the work the northern and eastern field of operations, and with the "Assistance" and "Pioneer" ascended Wellington Channel as far as Northumberland Sound, on the northwest coast of Grinnell Land, where he went into winter-quarters on the 18th of August. Numerous sledge parties were sent out as usual during the autumn and spring, and a great extent of coast line was examined. About the middle of July the vessels were released from the ice, and Belcher decided to retrace his course; but his progress was soon arrested by the ice, and as early as the middle of the following month the vessels became stationary. Here, on the eastern side of the Channel, about midway between its northern and southern extremities, they remained in nearly the same position until the summer of 1854.

Meanwhile, Kellett and McClintock had succeeded in reaching Dealy Island, a small island near the southern coast of Melville Island, where their vessels were secured for the winter on the 10th of September. Immediately afterward parties were sent out to make the necessary preparations for extensive journeys in the spring. One of these parties discovered at Winter Harbor the journal of McClure's successful voyage, left there a few months before, and thus obtained the first knowledge that the problem of a northwest passage had been solved. Early in March another party was dispatched to communicate, if possible, with the "Investigator," which object was successfully accomplished in a little less than a month. On the arrival of this party McClure determined to proceed in person the next day to Melville Island for the purpose of consulting with Kellett, his senior officer. Leaving the "Investigator" on the 7th of April, he arrived on board of the "Resolute" on the 19th, "having accomplished the whole distance of one hundred and sixty miles in the short space of twelve days, a feat not surpassed by any Arctic traveller under the same circumstances." [1] As the result of their consultation, and after a medical survey of the officers and men by the two surgeons, McClure was directed to abandon his ship. This was done on the 3d of June, 1853; and on the 17th her entire crew, numbering sixty-one persons, reached Melville Island, and were distributed between the "Resolute" and the "Intrepid." On the 17th of August, the two vessels were driven out of their winter-quarters; and a month later they were frozen into the pack, and it became necessary to secure the vessels for a second winter. They continued to drift, however, until the 5th of November, when they became permanently fixed. Kellett's preparations for the winter were made with the same care and forethought as if he had been in a perfectly secure harbor. Schools, lectures, and theatrical performances varied the monotony and kept up the spirits of all hands, an electric telegraph was set up between the two vessels, and plans were made for a continuation of the search in the following year.

But Belcher, availing himself of the large discretion which his instructions allowed him, had already determined to abandon all the vessels rather than remain in the ice a third winter. Positive orders were therefore sent to Kellett to withdraw all the men and proceed to Beechey Island; and on the 15th of May, 1854, the hatches were fastened down and the "Resolute" and the "Intrepid" were abandoned. Their crews reached Beechey Island at the end of the month; and subsequently the crews of all the vessels composing Sir Edward Belcher's squadron were embarked on the "North Star" and two other vessels sent out for their relief. They finally arrived in England early in October. A court-martial was at once held, and Kellett and McClure were honorably acquitted, each having acted in obedience to positive instructions from a superior officer. Belcher was also acquitted, the court finding that he had not acted "beyond his orders." This decision was in exact accordance with the facts, but it left wholly untouched the question of Belcher's fitness for the duty assigned to him, and tacitly admitted his want of good judgment.

The story of the "Resolute" does not end with her abandonment. About the middle of September, 1855, she was discovered in the ice in Davis Strait by an American whaling vessel, the bark "George Henry," of New London, Captain James M. Buddington. Captain Buddington immediately took possession of her, and by skilful management succeeded in taking her into New London, where she arrived on the 24th of December. The British government having waived all claim to the abandoned vessel, she was purchased by the United States government, refitted at the Brooklyn navy yard, and sent to England as a present to the queen. She reached Spithead on the 12th of December, 1856, and on the 30th of December was formally delivered to the British government.

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[1] McDougall, *Voyage of the Resolute*, p. 220.

Only a few months after the return of the Grinnell expedition, its surgeon, Dr. Kane, began to mature plans for a renewed search, and to interest individuals and organized bodies in the subject. Mr. Grinnell again offered the use of the "Advance," and other persons made important contributions to secure her efficient equipment, while as before the commander acted under orders from the government. The "Advance" sailed from New York on the 30th of May, 1853, having on board eighteen persons in all. Kane's plan was to ascend Baffin's Bay as far as practicable, and then to search for the missing ships in a region hitherto wholly unexamined. In the prosecution of this design he penetrated nearly to the seventy-ninth degree of latitude, the farthest point at which any vessel had hitherto wintered. Here his progress was finally arrested on the 29th of August. "During the winter which followed," says Dr. Kane, "the sun was one hundred and twenty days below the horizon; owing to a range of hills toward our southern meridian, the maximum darkness was not relieved by apparent twilight even at noonday."[1] Here the "Advance" remained

HENRY GRINNELL.*

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[1] *Arctic Explorations*, vol. ii. p. 304.

* From a reproduction of a photograph in Nourse's *Hall's Second Expedition* (Washington, 1879).

until the 17th of May, 1855, when it became necessary to abandon her, on account of the enfeebled condition of the crew and the insufficient quantity of stores remaining. The whole crew, with the exception of one man who died on the way, were then transported by boats mounted on sledges to Upernavik, which was reached on the 6th of August, eighty-three days after leaving the "Advance." During their long imprisonment nothing was found to throw light on the fate of Sir John Franklin; but Kane and his companions were not idle, and in their sledge journeys they examined a wide extent of coast and made some important discoveries. To sum up as briefly as possible what had been accomplished, it may be said that the coast of Greenland was examined as far as the great Humboldt Glacier, beyond which land was discovered and named Washington. Still farther north, it was believed, an open sea was seen; but later discoveries have shown that this was a mistake. On the opposite shore of Smith Sound and Kennedy Channel, the name given to its northern extension, the coast of Grinnell Land was carefully examined and laid down on the chart. The aggregate distance travelled by the various exploring parties was nearly three thousand miles, and about half of this distance was performed by Kane in person.

As nothing had been heard from him after his arrival at Upernavik in July, 1853, much anxiety was felt for his safety, and in February, 1855, Congress passed a resolve authorizing the dispatch of one or more vessels for his relief. Two suitable vessels, the bark "Rescue" and the steamer "Arctic," were procured, specially fitted for the work, and placed under the command of Lieutenant Henry J. Hartstein, of the United States navy, who sailed from New York about the first of June. Reaching Disco on the 5th of July, he forced an entrance into the north water about the middle of August, and after pushing as far north as seventy-eight and a half degrees, found traces of Dr. Kane's expedition. He also learned from some Eskimos whom he met that the vessel had been abandoned somewhere to the north, and that Kane and his companions had gone to Upernavik. Thereupon he turned south, and at Disco had the good fortune to meet the whole party, who had engaged passage for the Shetland Isles in a Danish brig. They were at once taken on board of the relief vessels, and reached New York on the 11th of October.

While these various expeditions were engaged in the search for Franklin in waters which he had not visited, or had left safely behind him, the Hudson Bay Company again sent Rae to Repulse Bay, which he reached the middle of August, 1853, and where he passed the winter. At the end of March he resumed his journey, and on the 17th of April, at Pelly Bay, fell in with the Eskimos, from whom he obtained various articles which were at once recognized as having belonged to Sir John Franklin or to officers under his command.[1] The stories told by the Eskimos were no doubt false in some particulars, but a clew had been found to the fate of the lost expedition. According to these stories, while some Eskimos were killing seals, in the winter of 1850, near King William's Land, they saw a large party of white men travelling south, and dragging a boat and sledges with them. Subsequently they saw dead bodies and graves on the main land, and dead bodies on an island easily identified as Montreal Island, near the mouth of Back's Great Fish River. Unfortunately Rae could not make an immediate investigation of the truth of these stories on the spot; but a subsequent expedition, undertaken in the summer of 1855 by Mr. James Anderson, under orders from the Hudson Bay Company, obtained confirmation of the more important part of the story told to Rae, and left no doubt as to the fate of the lost crews. This expedition, however, was equally unable to examine the shores of King William's Land.

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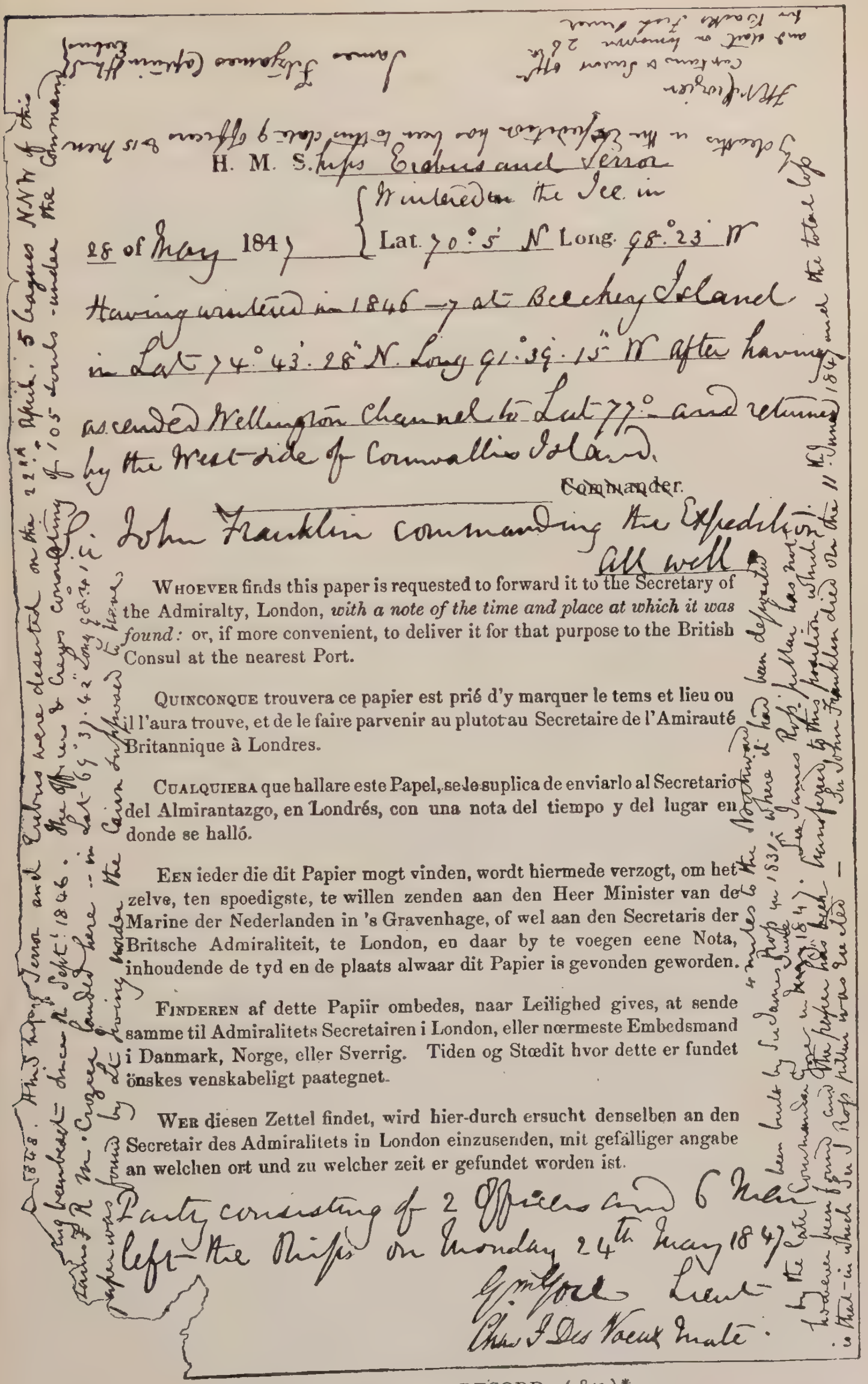
[1] Among these relics were a small silver plate, on which was engraved in full the name of Sir John Franklin, and also a considerable number of silver forks and spoons, marked with the initials of officers in the expedition.

The last, and in several respects the most remarkable, of the voyages undertaken in the search for Sir John Franklin was that of the "Fox," under the command of Captain F. L. McClintock. This vessel was a steam yacht of only one hundred and seventy-seven tons, purchased for the purpose by Lady Franklin, and equipped partly at her own cost and partly by a public subscription, on the refusal of the British government to prosecute the search any longer. The "Fox" began her voyage on the 1st of July, 1857, and before the end of August was beset with ice in Melville Bay. Then began one of the most remarkable drifts in the long history of Arctic navigation. For eight months the vessel was firmly fixed in the ice, and during that period she drifted nearly twelve hundred miles, carrying her toward the southern coast of Greenland through twelve degrees of latitude. At the end of April, 1858, she was released by the breaking up of the pack, and at once proceeded to one of the Greenland ports to refit. Early in May she again set sail, and after encountering numerous perils arrived at Beechey Island early in August.

It was already known that Sir John Franklin had passed his first winter here, and here his countrymen now erected a marble tablet to his memory and to the memory of his companions, prepared under the direction of Lady Franklin, and left in Greenland several years before. Failing to pass through Barrow Strait, Captain McClintock turned his course southward into Prince Regent's Inlet, and after several unsuccessful attempts to force his way through Bellot Strait, he determined to winter near its eastern opening. On the 28th of September he began his preparations for wintering, having already made his plans for a systematic search, in the spring, of the western coast of Boothia, of King William's Land, and of that part of Prince of Wales Land which had not been previously examined. The winter was passed in the same dreary routine which has characterized almost every Arctic winter, but McClintock was able to begin his sledge journeys a month earlier than he had anticipated. On the 17th of February he set out on a preliminary exploration toward King William's Land, with a temperature ranging between 31 and 42½ degrees below zero, falling the next day to 48 degrees below zero. On this journey he was absent twenty-five days, and from conversations with the Eskimos some important information was obtained. From their reports it appeared probable that one of Franklin's vessels had been crushed in the ice west of King William's Land, and that the crew landed in safety; and this story derived some confirmation from the possession by the natives of not a few relics of the lost expedition. After obtaining this clew, McClintock returned to the "Fox."

On the 2d of April he started again for a further search; and at or about the same time two other parties, commanded by his two chief officers, were dispatched on the same errand. Two of the expeditions were successful, — the expedition commanded by McClintock in person, and that under Lieutenant Hobson. The former prosecuted his search as far as Montreal Island and the Great Fish River, and then carefully examined the whole southern and western coasts of King William's Land. At various points traces of Sir John Franklin and his companions were found, all tending to confirm the stories told by the natives. On Montreal Island very little, if any, positive evidence remained that Europeans had been there; but on King William's Land the evidence was abundant and conclusive. On the 24th of May McClintock came upon the skeleton of a young man, apparently a steward or an officer's servant, lying face down, just where he had fallen in his weary walk; and a few days later he encamped by the side of a large boat, mounted on a sledge, and "evidently equipped with the utmost care for the ascent of the Great Fish River." The boat contained two skeletons and numerous relics, and had already been examined by Lieutenant Hobson. This officer had previously discovered an account of the lost expedition, written by three of its officers, and giving the most important facts in its history down to April 26, 1848. From this it appears that after Franklin was last seen, while crossing Baffin's Bay, he had pursued a western course, and ascended Wellington Channel to latitude 77°, returning by the west side of Cornwallis Island. His next course is not stated in the record, and has been matter of dispute; but he probably went into Peel Sound, and we know that he was beset in the ice September 12, 1846. Sir John Franklin died on the 11th of June, 1847; and, after having been frozen in for more than a year and a half, the ships were deserted on the 22d of April, 1848, five leagues from Point Victory, on the northwest coast of King William's Land. The survivors, to the number of one hundred and five souls, — so the record stated, — intended to proceed to the Great Fish River. Their ultimate fate is involved in obscurity; but it seems probable that the story told by an old Eskimo woman, that "they fell down and died as they walked along," is true, and that, already weakened by disease and the want of food, they perished from starvation. Having thus settled the question of the fate of Franklin and his companions beyond reasonable doubt, McClintock started on his homeward voyage as soon as the ice would allow, and on the 21st of September, 1859, landed at Plymouth, England.

With the definite solution of the problem as to the existence of a north-



H. M. S.hips Erebus and Terror

28 of May 1847 — Wintered in the Ice in Lat. 70°5' N Long. 98°23' W

Having wintered in 1846–7 at Beechey Island in Lat 74°43'28" N. Long 91°39'15" W after having ascended Wellington Channel to Lat 77° and returned by the West side of Cornwallis Island.

Sir John Franklin commanding the Expedition. ~~Commander.~~

All well

Whoever finds this paper is requested to forward it to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London, *with a note of the time and place at which it was found:* or, if more convenient, to deliver it for that purpose to the British Consul at the nearest Port.

Quinconque trouvera ce papier est prié d'y marquer le tems et lieu ou il l'aura trouve, et de le faire parvenir au plutot au Secretaire de l'Amirauté Britannique à Londres.

Cualquiera que hallare este Papel, se le suplica de enviarlo al Secretario del Almirantazgo, en Londrés, con una nota del tiempo y del lugar en donde se halló.

Een ieder die dit Papier mogt vinden, wordt hiermede verzogt, om het zelve, ten spoedigste, te willen zenden aan den Heer Minister van de Marine der Nederlanden in 's Gravenhage, of wel aan den Secretaris der Britsche Admiraliteit, te London, en daar by te voegen eene Nota, inhoudende de tyd en de plaats alwaar dit Papier is gevonden geworden.

Finderen af dette Papiir ombedes, naar Leilighed gives, at sende samme til Admiralitets Secretairen i London, eller nœrmeste Embedsmand i Danmark, Norge, eller Sverrig. Tiden og Stœdit hvor dette er fundet önskes venskabeligt paategnet.

Wer diesen Zettel findet, wird hier-durch ersucht denselben an den Secretair des Admiralitets in London einzusenden, mit gefälliger angabe an welchen ort und zu welcher zeit er gefundet worden ist.

Party consisting of 2 Officers and 6 Men left the Ships on Monday 24th May 1847

Gm. Gore Lieut.

Chas. F. Des Voeux Mate.

1848. HM Ships Terror and Erebus were deserted on the 22nd April. 5 leagues NNW of this having been beset since 12th Sept. 1846. The officers & crews consisting of 105 souls under the command of Captain F.R.M. Crozier landed here — in Lat. 69°37'42" Long 98°41'15" W. This paper was found by Lt. Irving under the cairn supposed to have been built by Sir James Ross in 1831, 4 miles to the Northward where it had been deposited by the late Commander Gore in ~~May~~ June 1847. Sir James Ross' pillar has not however been found and the paper has been transferred to this position which is that in which Sir J. Ross' pillar was erected — Sir John Franklin died on the 11th June 1847 and the total loss by deaths in the Expedition has been to this date 9 Officers & 15 men.

James Fitzjames Captain HMS Erebus

F.R.M. Crozier Captain & Senior Offr. and start on tomorrow 26th for Backs Fish River

THE DISCOVERED RECORD. (1859.)*

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* [Reproduced from Richardson's *Arctic Regions*. It is given full size in McClintock's narrative. — Ed.]

west passage, and with the discovery of the fate of Sir John Franklin, this chapter naturally ends; but the thirst for knowledge and the spirit of adventure suffered only a slight abatement by these triumphs of untiring energy and perseverance. To the further exploration of the polar seas and of the adjacent lands Americans have largely contributed; and Hayes, by his perilous voyage, Hall, by his long residence among the Eskimos,[1] and more recently De Long, by the calmness with which he met a terrible death, to name no others, exhibited a heroism unsurpassed by any of the remarkable men who preceded them. The shapeless America, which was all that Columbus and his immediate followers knew, has put on a clearly defined form, and we can now trace on the map all the northern line of the continent, with its intricate windings, and the size and shape of many of the islands. Much, it is true, remains to be learned; but it has been often doubted — and the doubt has been a steadily growing one — whether any increase of our geographical or other scientific knowledge can equal in value the costly sacrifices by which alone it can be gained. So long as the present climatic conditions exist, the unvisited north may well remain a closed book.

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[1] In his first visit to the Arctic regions Hall discovered numerous relics of Frobisher's voyages, which had been seen by no one but the Eskimos for nearly three centuries. These were carefully gathered up by him and sent to England. Cf. Frobisher's *Three Voyages*, pp. 367–374; and *Life with the Eskimaux: the Narrative of Capt. Chas. Francis Hall, 29th May, 1860, to 13th Sept., 1862* (London, 1864), known in the Amer. ed. as *Arctic Researches and Life among the Esquimaux* (N. Y., 1865).

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

By the Editor.

THE only extensive bibliography of the Arctic explorations includes also those of the Antarctic regions, and was published by the Geographical Society of Vienna in 1878 under a double English and German title, — *The Literature on the Polar Regions of the Earth, by Dr. J. Chavanne, Dr. A. Karpf, and F. Chevalier de Le Monnier.* The contents of the book are sometimes obscurely classified, and the proof-reading is far from accurate. It is, however, useful to the student,[1] and it has sections on the maps.

T. R. Jones's *Manual of Greenland*, etc. (London, 1875), prepared by authority for the use of the Nares Expedition, has a list of publications on the Arctic regions beginning with 1818. This list is used and continued by Prof. J. E. Nourse in his *American Explorations in the Ice Zones* (Boston, 1884), and in the official edition, edited by Nourse, of Hall's *Second Arctic Expedition.*

J. C. Pilling, in his *Bibliog. of the Eskimo language* (1887), in searching for books illustrating his special studies, says that he found the best collection in the British Museum, and the next best in the Library of Congress. It is probable that the same inquiry for the broader field of Arctic exploration will produce a corresponding answer.

English and American periodical literature for the last seventy years has been rich in recitals of Arctic experiences, and in discussions of the problems of the Northwest passage and the attainment of the Northern pole. This literature is enumerated, in all but the analysis of the proceedings of learned societies, under suggestive headings, in

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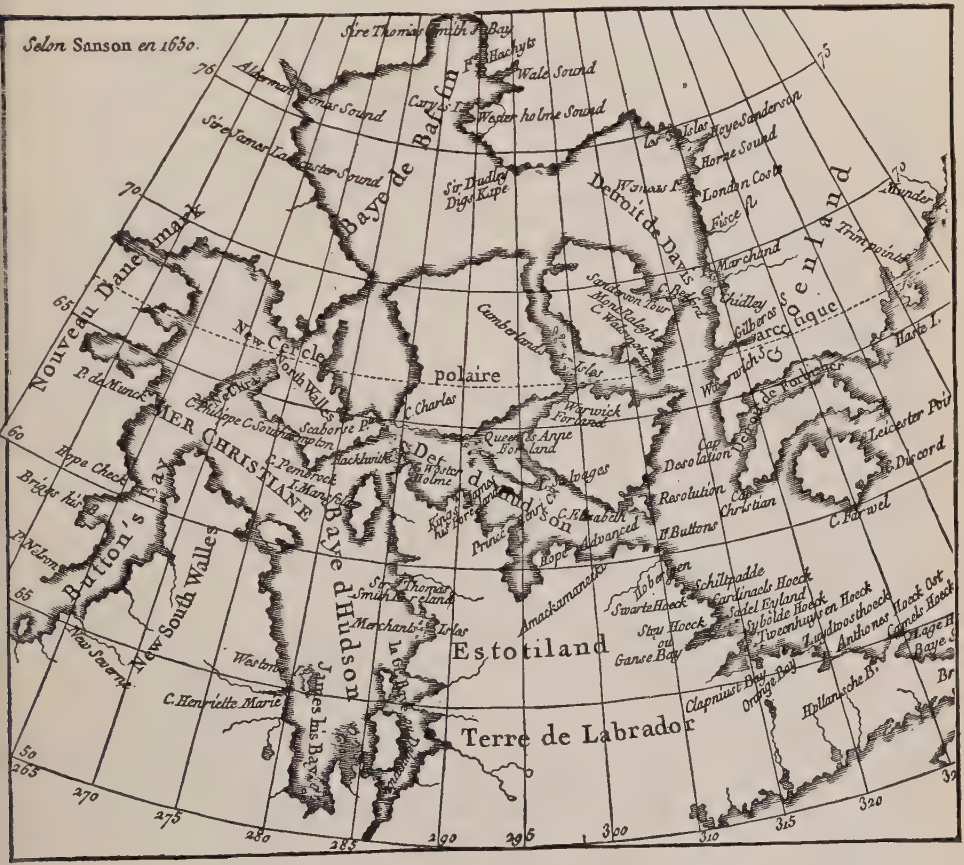
[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. p. 97.

Poole's Index and *Supplement*, though confined to the English language; but the analysis in Chavanne of periodicals, transactions, and public documents embraces all languages. His lists show how constantly such publications, as Bertuch's *Neue Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden* (Weimar, 1817–31), *Journal des Voyages* (Paris, 1818–30), *Annales* (Paris, 1808–14), and *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (Paris, 1819, etc.), *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie* (Paris, 1821, etc.), *Journal of the Royal Geog. Society* (London, 1832–76), *Das Ausland* (Stuttgart, 1829, etc.),— were occupied with the Arctic problem. The later publications were more directly concerned with contemporary results, but their papers were occasionally historical, as in the *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde* of the Berlin Gesellschaft für Erdkunde (1853), *Petermann's Mittheilungen* (Gotha, 1855), and the *Ocean Highways*, *Geographical Review*, and *Geographical Magazine* (London, covering collectively 1869–76).

Up to 1858 there had been, as is stated in John Brown's *Northwest Passage and Search after Sir John Franklin*, from the time of Cabot, about 130 exploring expeditions to the Arctic seas, illustrated by 250 books and printed documents, of which 150 had been issued in England. There is a useful tabular statement of Arctic voyages, northeast and northwest of Greenland, A. D. 860 to 1876, in the appendix of Samuel Richard Van Campen's *Dutch in the Arctic Seas* (London, 1877, vol. i.; vol. ii. never published), which is an examination historically and physically of the north polar problem.[1] A



SANSON, 1666.*

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[1] A variety of maps have been given in this *History* (*ante*, Vols. I., III., IV.) illustrating the early changeful notions respecting the polar regions. Cf. for instance the earliest map of Greenland, 1427 (I., 117); Ruysch, 1508 (II., 115; III., 9); Ptolemy, 1513 (II., 111); Schöner, 1515 (II., 118); Münster, 1532–1545 (III., 201; IV.,

* After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777). Cf. the map in connection with Capt. John Wood's *Voyage for the discovery of a passage by the northeast* (1676) included in *An account of several late Voyages and Discoveries* (London, 1711).

similar tabular presentation is given by Professor Nourse in the governmental quarto commemorating Hall's *Second Arctic Expedition.*

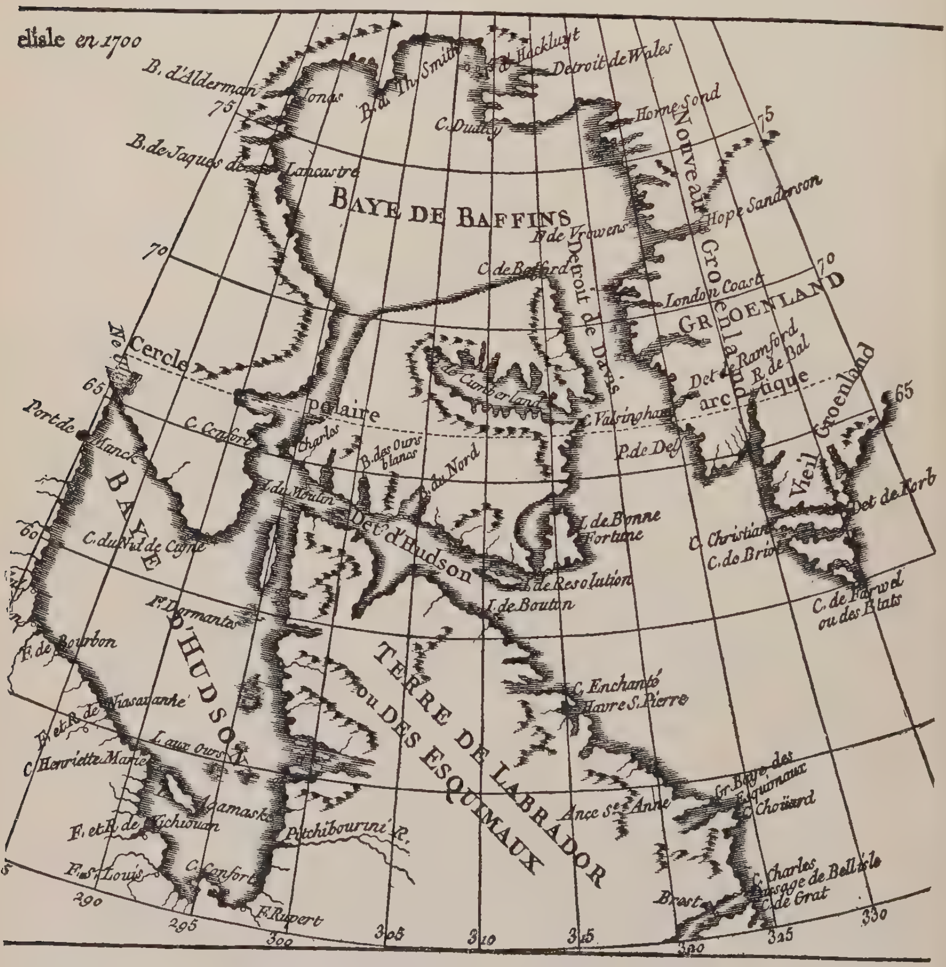
Osborn says that of the 42 expeditions between 1818 and 1859, 128 men and 2 ships were lost.

The comprehensive surveys of the course of Arctic exploration are either grouped as efforts to effect a northwest passage, — so far as they regard America, — or as attempts to attain the pole itself.

One of the earliest summaries of the efforts to solve the problem of reaching Asia by the northern passage is D. Capel's *Vorstellungen des Norden* (Hamburg, 1675).[1]

The second volume of Harris's *Voyages* (London, 1702, 1705; again 1744)[2] follows the history of such attempts to find a northwest passage for the preceding one hundred and thirty years.

J. G. Forster summarized the voyages in the years next following the voyage of Cook, in his *Geschichte der Reisen die seit Cook an der nordwest und nordost Küste von America, unternommen worden sind* (Berlin, 1791).[3]



DELISLE, 1700.*

41, 84); Ulpius Globe, 1542 (IV., 42); Mercator, 1569 (IV., 373); Gilbert, 1576 (III., 203); Frobisher, 1578 (III., 102); Lok, 1582 (III., 40; IV., 44); Hakluyt, 1587 (III., 42); Molineaux, 1592 (III., 90, 91); Judaeis, 1593 (IV., 97); Linschoten, 1598 (III., 101); Quadus, 1600 (IV., 101); Luke Fox, 1632 (III., 98).

[1] Sabin's *Dictionary*, iii. no. 10,735.

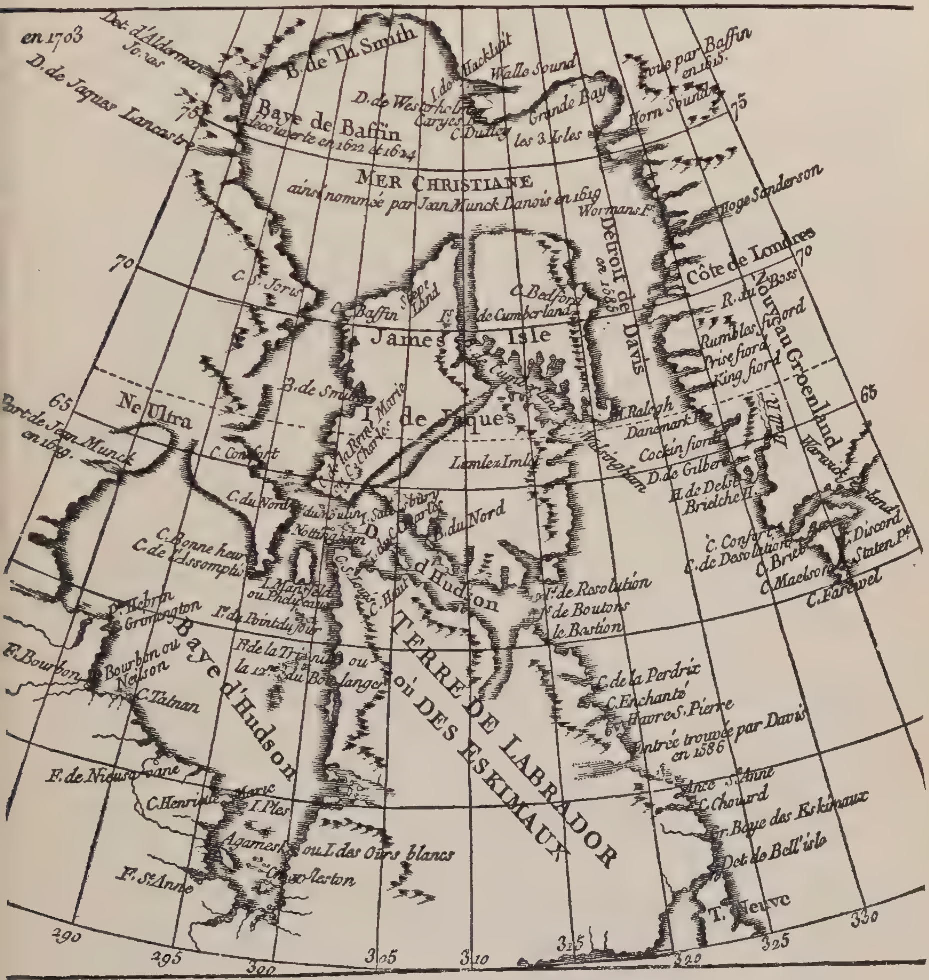
[2] See *ante*, Vol. I. p. xxxiv.

[3] Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. p. xxxvi.

* After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777).

Just at a time when England was making new fforts to pierce the northern zone, incited thereto y the accounts which the elder Scoresby, the haler, had published of the Greenland seas, nd by the urgency of John Barrow, then secreary of the Admiralty, this latter officer pubished his *Chronological History of Voyages into he Arctic Regions* (London, 1818).[1]

It was not till after 1830 that other efforts were made to condense the results of antecedent voyages, when in succession we find W. J. Snelling's *Polar Regions of the Western Continent Explored* (Boston, 1831); a volume in Harper's Family Library called *Narrative of discovery and adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions by John Leslie, Robert Jameson, and Hugh Murray* (N.Y.; 1832); and Patrick Fraser Tytler's *Hist. View of the progress of discovery on the more northern coasts of America* (Edinburgh, 1832), and later included in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library and in



DELISLE, 1703.*

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[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. 97. There was a French translation of it issued at Paris in the following year. Barrow at a later day continued the story in his *Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions, from the Year 1818 to the Present Time: under the Command of the several Naval Officers employed by Sea and Land in Search of a Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; with two attempts to reach the North Pole. Abridged and arranged from the Official Narratives, with Occasional Remarks. By Sir John Barrow, Bart.* (London, 1846).

* After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777). The Herrera of 1728, in its map of North America, shows the general conception of Arctic America during the first quarter of that century.

Harper's Family Library. It also appeared with a continuation by R. M. Ballantyne as *The Northern coasts of America and the Hudson's Bay Territory* (London, 1854).

Through the course of these explorations there have been recurrent attempts to square theoretical views by the recorded results, generally towards the settlement of the question touching the desirability of further efforts. In 1836 we find Barrow, Richardson, Franklin, and Ross all considering the question, with this aim, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (vol. vi. 34, etc.).

Captain Beechey in 1843, in his *Voyage*, epitomized the earlier discoveries, while Barrow followed in his supplemental book (1846) already mentioned.

The interest in the Franklin search gave rise to new summaries: P. L. Simmond's *Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Regions* (Lond., 1851, — 2d ed.); Epes Sargent's *Arctic Adventure by Sea and Land* (Boston, 1857), which was again issued as *Wonders of the Arctic World* (Philad., 1873), with an additional chapter on later discoveries; and Sir J. Leslie's *Polar Seas and Regions* (Lond., 1855; N. Y., 1859).

There soon followed some more important books. John Brown published his *Northwest Passage and the plans for the Search for Sir John Franklin* (London, 1858, 1860), and Sir John Richardson his *Polar Regions* (Edinburgh, 1861). This last book is a summary of the knowledge then attained, with a review of the progress of discovery both towards the north and south poles, and is enlarged upon an article which he communicated to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.[1]

C. R. Markham's *Threshold of the Unknown Regions* (London, 1873, 2d ed.) is partly a reprint of a series of articles in *Ocean Highways*. This book, which rehearses the story of polar explorations down to 1873, is considered one of the most successful summaries.[2]

It is enough barely to mention some of the later comprehensive surveys: David Murray Smith's *Arctic Expeditions* (Edinburgh, 1875, etc.), and *Recent Polar Voyages, 1848–1876* (London, 1876). Two German works need to be mentioned: Friedrich von Hellwald's *Im ewigen Eis. Geschichte der Nordpol-fahrten von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1879); and Wilhelm Rubiner's *Die Entdeckungsreisen in alter und neuer Zeit. Eine Geschichte der geographischen Entdeckungen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des* 19. *Jahrhunderts, von Gerhard Stein* (Glogau, 1883).

The separate recitals of the Arctic explorers class themselves easily by their efforts to find the passage to Asia, and by the search for Franklin in his efforts to that end; as well as by an emulating purpose to approach more nearly than before the pole, if not to attain it.

The attempts to find the passage, so long the equivalent of a search for the Straits of Anian,[3] are mixed up with the geographical vagaries of De Fonte and the rest (of which we can see the effects in the maps of Buache and Jefferys), and were conducted both on the side of the Pacific and on the side of Baffin's and Hudson's bays. Some of the early accounts of combats with the ice in these high latitudes have come down to us in the books that usually show in their thumbing the popularity of their narratives. The creation of the Hudson Bay Company was made on the ostensible ground in part of organizing such a search from the regions brought under their control.[4] It was not till well into the century following its incorporation that the efforts, since the days of Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson, were of any importance on this side. One of the volumes published by the Hakluyt Society chronicles the rising interest: *The Geography of Hudson's Bay; being the Remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many Voyages to that Locality, between the Years 1727 and 1751. With an appendix, containing Extracts from the log of Capt. Middleton on his Voyage for the Discovery of the North-west Passage in H. M. S. "Furnace" in 1741–2. Edited by John Barrow, Esq.* (London, 1852).

To this may be added, as indicating the contemporary study of the problem: *A description of the coast, tides, and currents in Button's Bay, being the North-west coast of Hudson's Bay; also from the discoveries made in 1742 . . . by Captain Middleton and Captain Moor, showing from their journals, a probability that there is a passage from thence to the Western Ocean* (London, 1745 [?]).

An Account of a Voyage for a Discovery of a North West Passage by Hudson's Straights to the Western and Southern Ocean of America, performed in the Year 1746 and 1747 in the Ship

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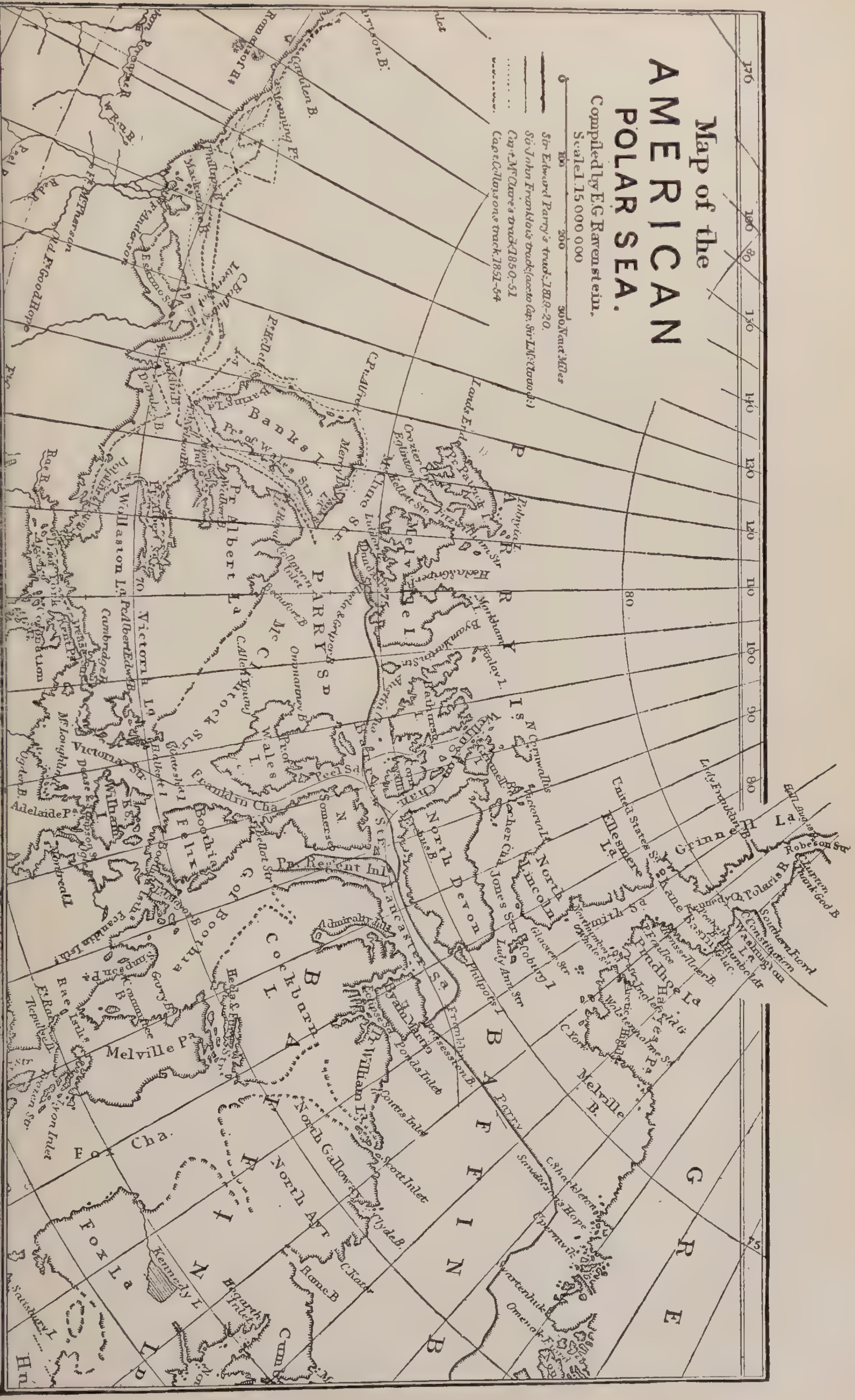
[1] There is a life of Richardson by M'Ilraith (1868).

[2] J. A. MacGahan, in his *Under the Northern Lights* (London, 1876), speaks of it as "the only intelligent synopsis of Arctic knowledge" published up to that time.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. II. 468, etc.

[4] See *ante*, ch. i.

NOTE. — The opposite map is a part of that in C. R. Markham's *Threshold of the Unknown Regions* (1873). The same book contains six charts of the Smith Sound route, from Bylot and Baffin to Hall, 1616–1873, compiled by E. G. Ravenstein. Cf. the maps in Lamont's *Yachting in the Arctic Seas* (London, 1876).


Map of the
AMERICAN
POLAR SEA.
Compiled by E.G. Ravenstein.
Scale 1:15 000 000
0 100 200 300 Naut. Miles
Sir Edward Parry's track, 1819-20.
Sir John Franklin's track (as to Cap. Sir L.M'Clintock.)
Cap.t M'Clure's track, 1850-51
Capt. Collinson's track, 1851-54
PARRY IS.
Banks L.
Pr. Albert La.
Victoria La.
Wollaston La.
Melville I.
PARRY SD.
North Devon
Lincoln
Ellesmere La.
Grinnell La.
Prudhoe La.
Melville B.
Lancaster Sd.
Pr. Regent Inl.
Boothia Felix
G. of Boothia
Cockburn I.
BAFFIN
BAFFIN LD.
Melville P.a
Fox Cha.
Fox La.
North Galloway
North Arr
GREE
Kennedy L.
Franklin Cha.
Peel Sd.
Barrow Str.
Jones Sd.
Smith Sd.
Kane Basin
Robeson Sd.
Polaris B.
Washington La.
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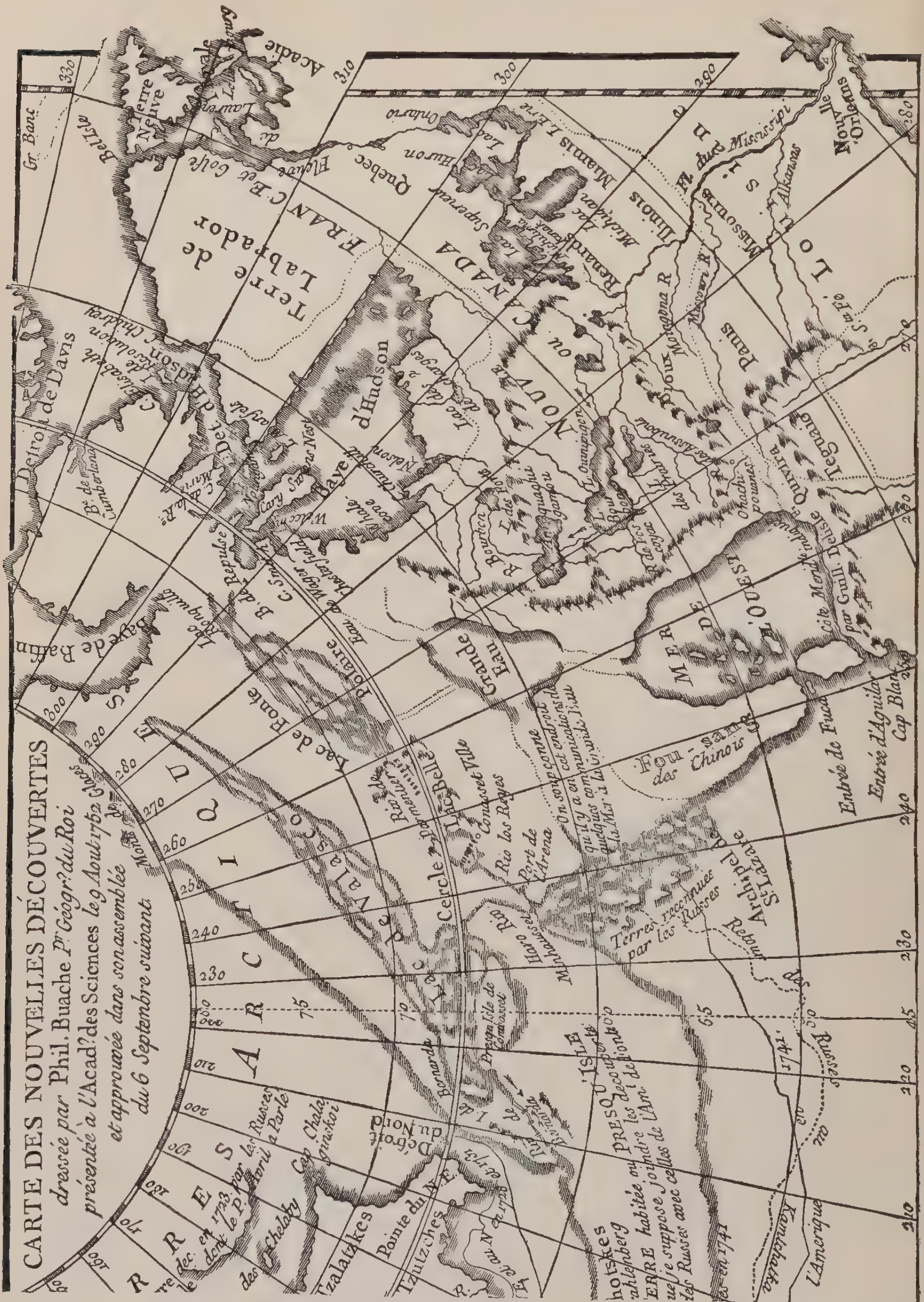

BUACHE'S THEORY OF 1752.*

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* After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777). Delisle's map (1752) is in G. F. Müller's *Voyages from Asia to America* as translated by T. Jefferys, 2d ed. (London, 1764). Buache's map of De Fonte's route and Danville's of Cook's and Maldonado's, are in Laborde's *Hist. Abrégée de la Mer du Sud* (Paris, 1791), vol. i. Cf. also Venegas' *Noticia de la California* (Madrid, 1757). Ross's *Narrative of a Second Voyage* (London, 1835) contrasts Baffin's and the alleged De Fuca and De Fonte notions of the Arctic geography with those of Ross's time.

California, Captain Francis Smith, Commander. By the Clerk of the California [Theodore Swaine Drage]. *Adorned with Cuts and Maps* (London, 1748).

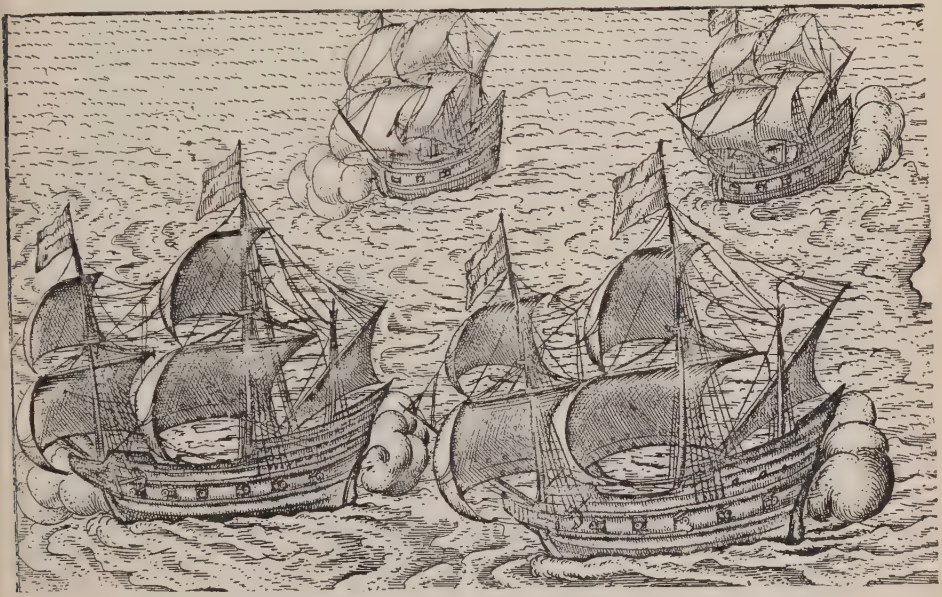
Henry Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California* (*under Moor and Smith*) *in 1746–7, for discovering a North-West Passage, with an historical account of the efforts hitherto made for the finding that passage* (London, 1748).[1]

Reasons to shew that there is a great probability of a navigable passage to the Western American Ocean through Hudson's Straights and Chesterfield Inlet (London, 1749), which contains affidavits of Henry Ellis and Jeremiah Westall.

Ellis formulated his views in his *Considerations of the great advantage which would arise from the North West Passage* (London, 1750).

On the side of the Pacific, the chief interest attaches to the famous expedition of Capt. James Cook, which is elaborately chronicled in *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Undertaken by the Command of his Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere. To Determine the Position and Extent of the West Side of North America; its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. Performed under the Direction of Captains Cook, Clarke, and Gove, in his Majesty's ships the Resolution and Discovery. In the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. In three Volumes. Vol. I. and II. written by Captain James Cook; Vol. III. by Captain James King. Illustrated with Maps and Charts from the Original Drawings made by Lieut. Henry Roberts, under the Direction of Capt. Cook. Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1784).

The bibliography of the attempts to explore from the North Pacific is given in Chavanne's *Lit. über die Polarregionen* (pp. 188, 286), and



AN ARCTIC FLEET, 1600.*

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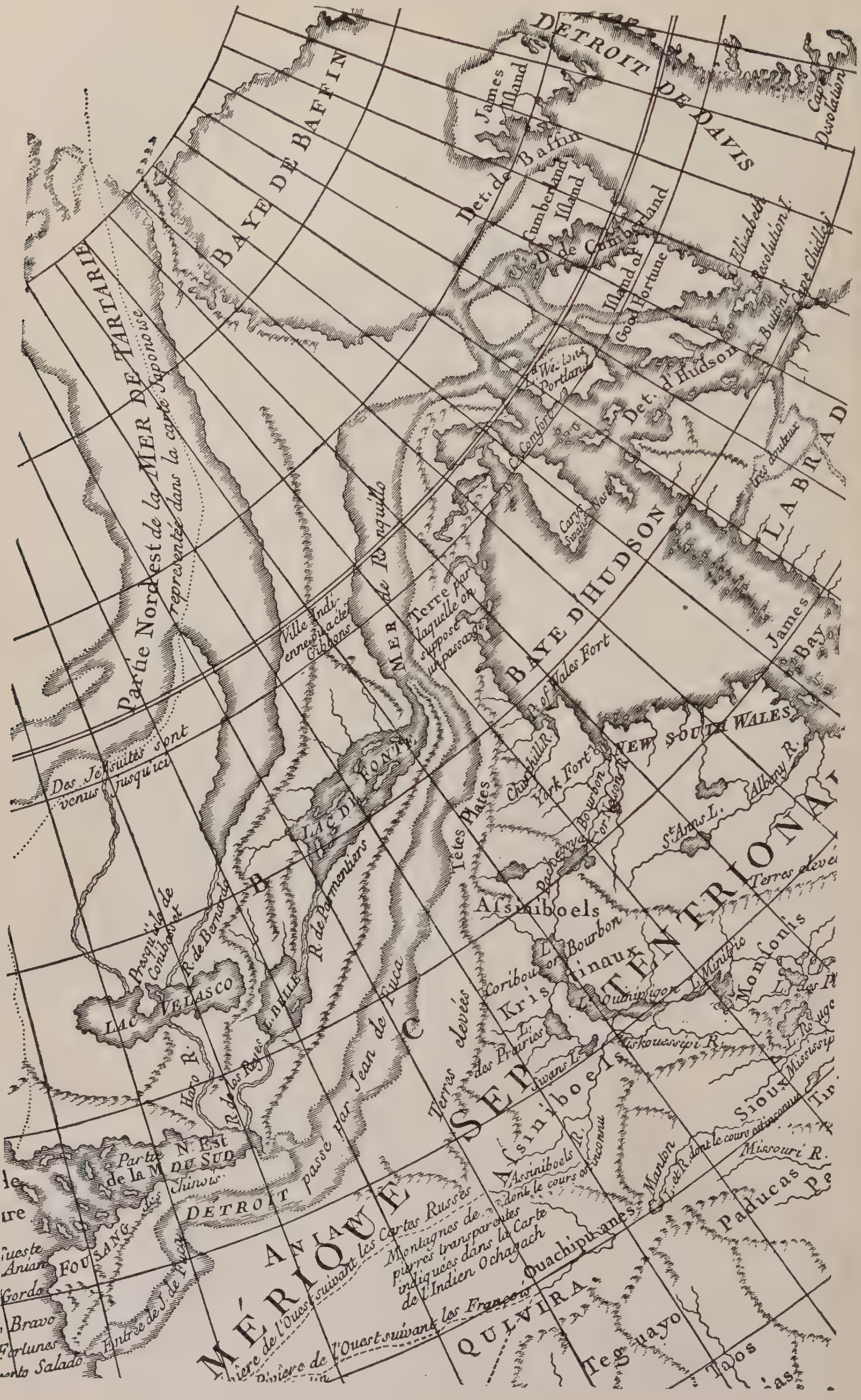
[1] Beside the London editions of 1748, 1749, there was a reprint in Dublin in 1749; French editions at Paris (1749) and Leyden (1750); a Dutch edition at Leyden (1750), and a German at Göttingen (1750). Cf. Carter-Brown, iii., nos. 875, 900, 901, 926, 927, 928.

NOTE TO THE MAP ON P. 112.—After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777). There are also Jefferys' maps dated 1753 and 1776. Other schemes of these fantastic notions will be found in the map in Harris's *Voyages* (London, 1705), vol. i., with its lake of Thongo or Thoya; and in that accompanying William Doyle's *Some Account of the British Dominions beyond the Atlantic, particularly the important question about the North West Passage* (London, 1770).

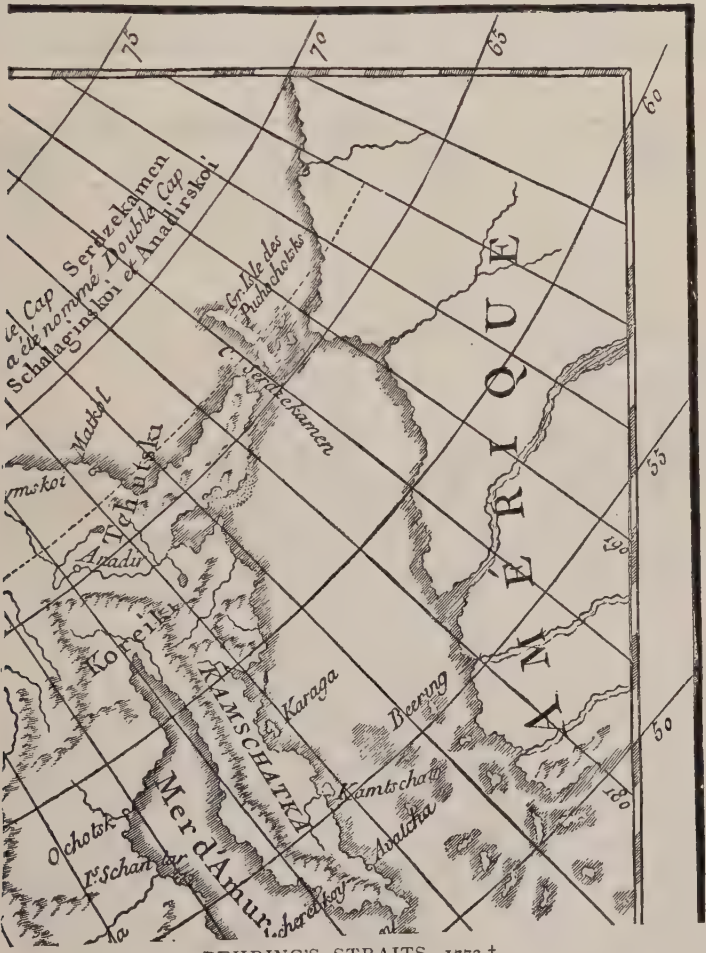
Cf. the maps of Samuel Engel, which are repeated in his *Mémoires* (Lausanne, 1765), *Geog. Nachrichten* (Leipzig, 1772), and his *Extraits raisonnés* (Lausanne, 1779).

* From Gerrit de Veer's (Gerard le Ver's) *Vraye description de trois Voyages, faicts en trois ans* (Amsterdam, "M.VIᶜ" = 1600), to the north as high as 80° N. L., where he speaks of a country "lequel on presume estre Groenlande." This volume has some curious engravings showing the experience of Arctic voyaging at this early date.



JEFFERYS' THEORY, 1768. (*Note*, p. 111.)

TOWING THROUGH THE ICE, 1600.*



BEHRING'S STRAITS, 1772.†

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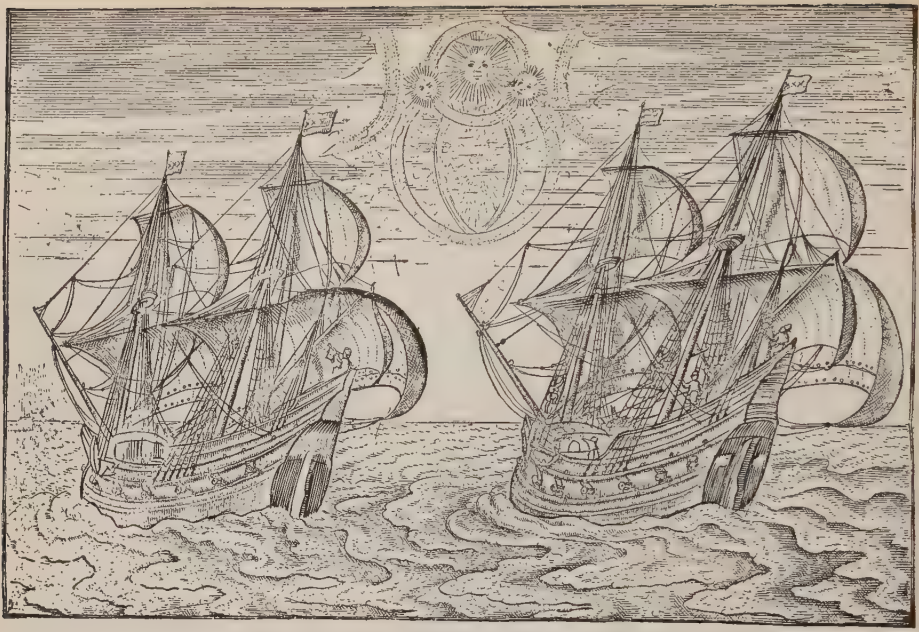
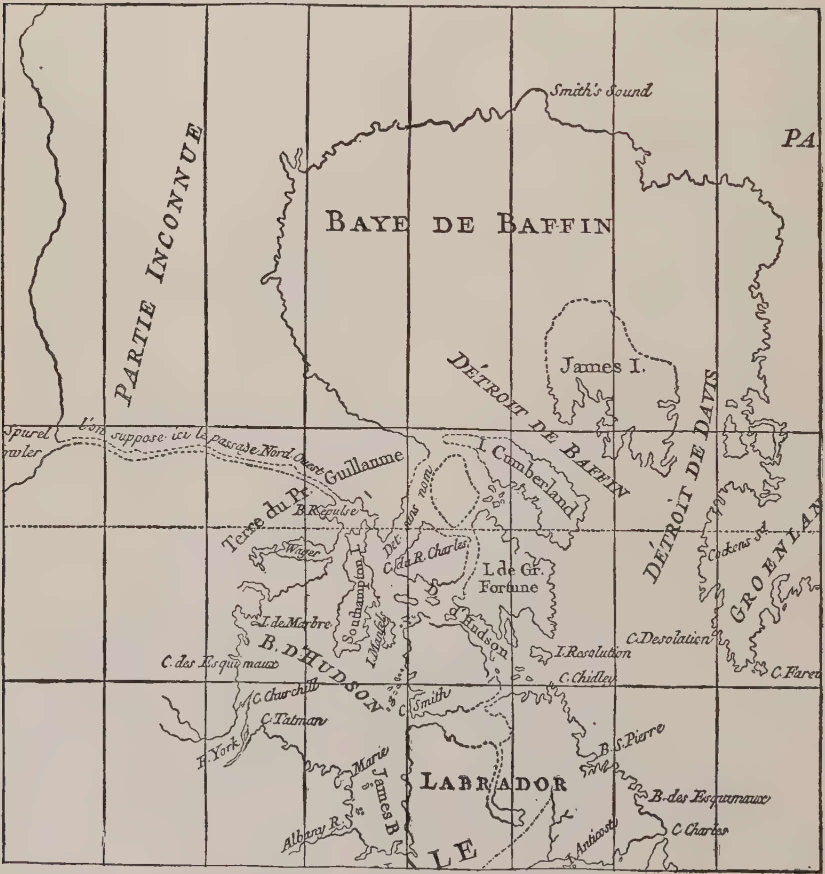
* From Gerrit de Veer's *Vraye Description* (Amsterdam, 1600).

† Part of the map in the French *Encyclopédie* (1777) illustrating the article on the north passage to India, and given in its *Suite du Recueil de planches*. This represents the knowledge that Cook was sent to increase.



ARCTIC PHENOMENA, 1600.*



CLUNY'S AMERICAN TRAVELLER, 1769.†

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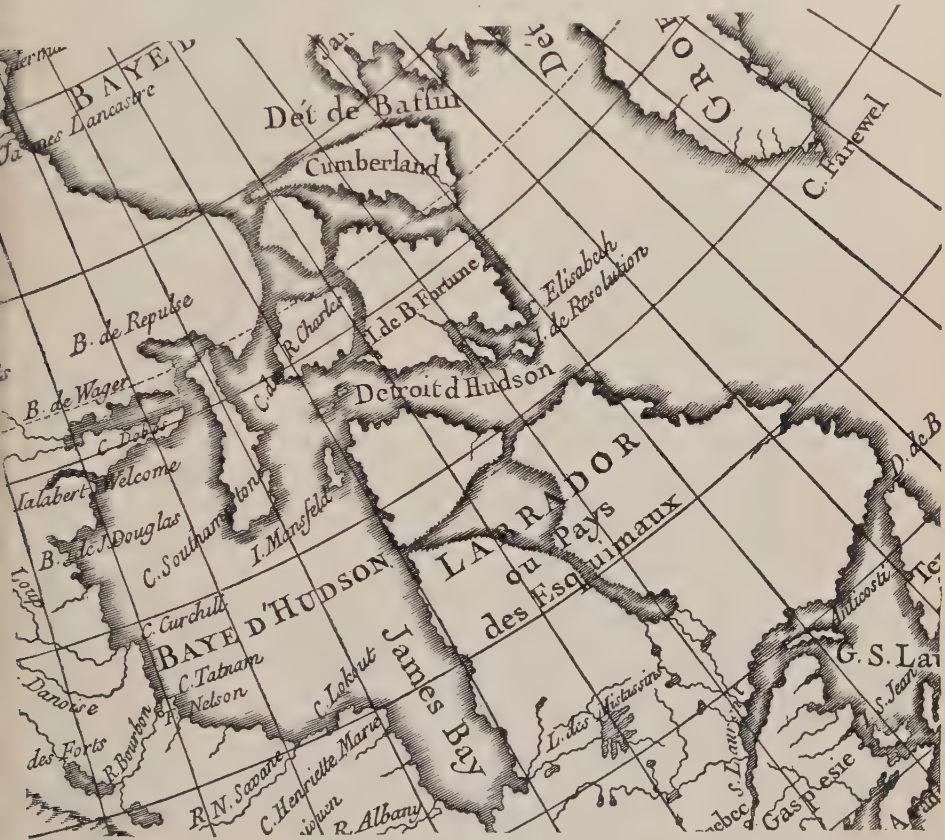
* From Gerrit de Veer's *Vraye Description* (Amsterdam, 1600).

† After a reproduction in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777).

there is an early summary of the matter in *A Concise Account of Voyages for the Discovery of a North West Passage, Undertaken for finding a new Way to the East Indies. With Reflections on the Practicability of gaining such a Passage. By a Sea Officer* (London, 1782).

During the latter part of the eighteenth century there were little or no positive additions to the knowledge which the geographers had of the higher American North, and the varying theories and reduplicated notions which prevailed may be traced in the maps of such representative compilers as Cluny, Vaugondy, and Forster, — not to name others. There were at the same time some positive experiences recorded, as by Samuel Hearne in his *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, for the discovery of a North West Passage, etc., 1769–72* (London, 1795); with some commercial prophecy, as in John Meare's *Voyages in the Years 1788–9, from China to the North-west Coast of America, with Observations on the Probable Existence of a North-west Passage, and Account of the Trade between the North-west Coast of America and China* (London, 1790).[1]



VAUGONDY, 1772.*

It was in 1817 and 1818 that the interest was revived, in a way that has been maintained ever since in a remarkable manner. One of the earliest of these new discussions, but before the new interest was fairly developed, is in Bernard O'Reilly's *Greenland, the adjacent seas and the N. W. passage to the Pacific Ocean, illustrated in a voyage to Davis's Strait in 1817* (Lond., 1818). His map indicates how there had grown up, as to the traditionary views of Baffin, a distrust, which it was the work of the rising interest to dispel.

No effort attracted much attention, however, till Capt. John Ross, of the royal navy, published his *Voyage of Discovery, made under the Orders of the Admiralty, in his Majesty's Ships Isabella*

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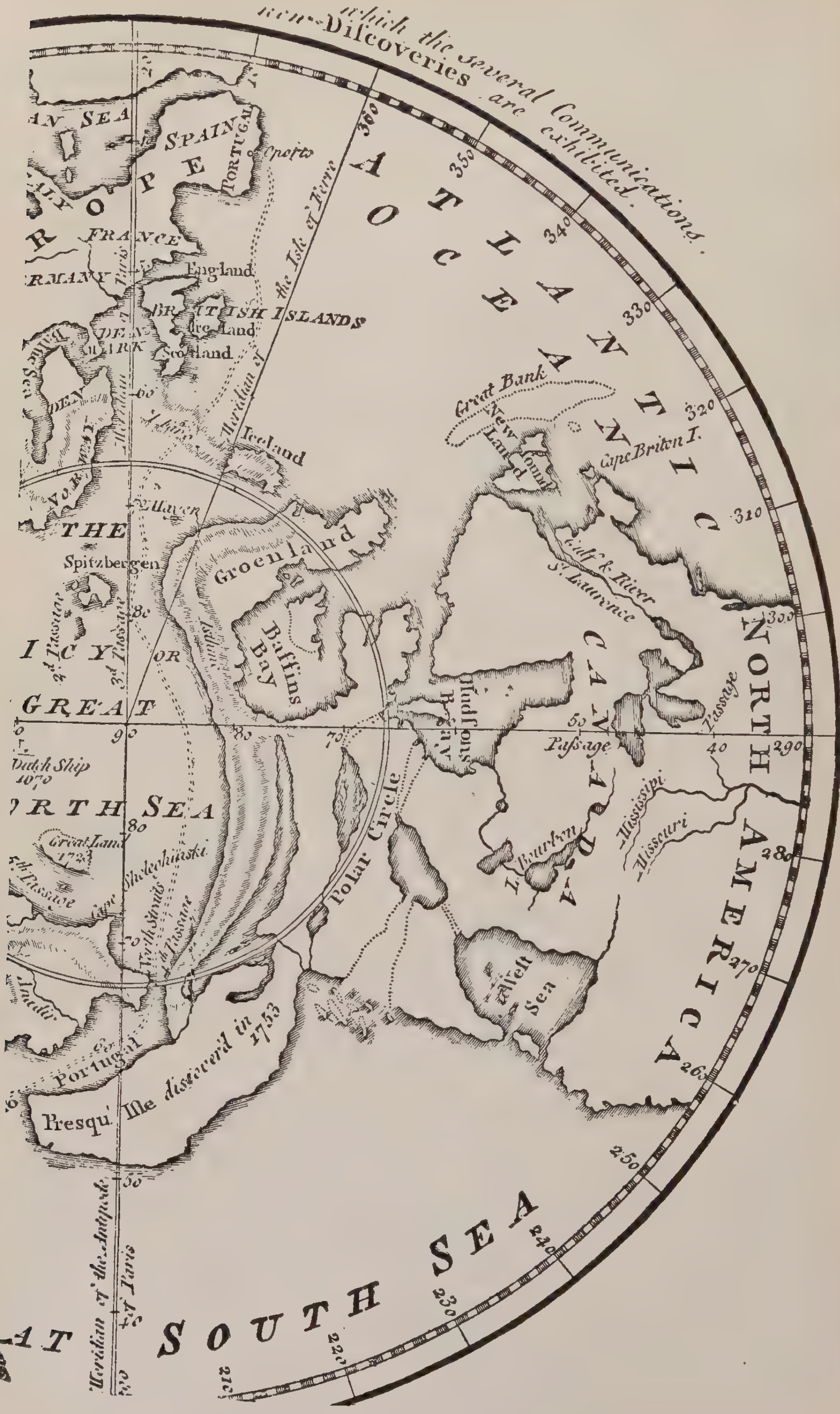
[1] There was a French translation, Paris, 1775, and a German, Berlin, 1796, with annotations by J. G. Forster.

* After the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777).

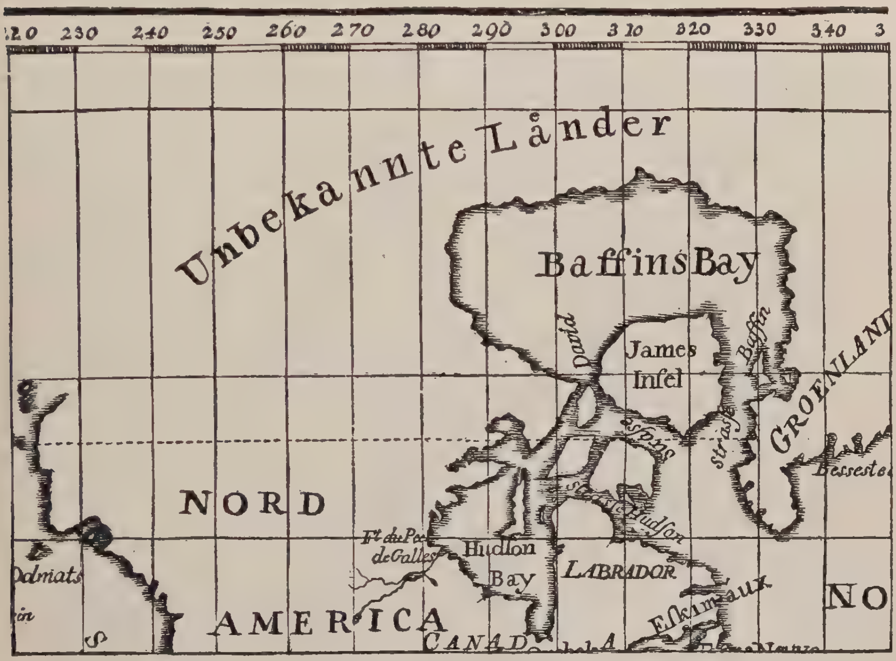


POLAR REGIONS, 1774.

and Alexander, for the Purpose of exploring Baffin's Bay, and enquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage (London, 1819).[1]

Capt. Wm. Edward Parry, of the British navy, having commanded the "Alexander" of Ross's fleet, had published a personal narrative of that expedition in his *Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions, Apr.–Nov., 1818* (London, 1819), and was put in command of a new expedition the next year, of which he gave record in his *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; performed in the Years 1819–20, in his Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper. With an Appendix, containing the Scientific and Other Observations. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1821).[2]

Capt. John Franklin conducted at the same time an overland expedition, which was printed as a *Narrative of a journey to the Shores of the*



ARCTIC REGIONS, 1782.*

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[1] There was a second edition the same year; a German translation at Jena in 1819; a French at Paris in 1819, 1821, and 1822; a Dutch at the Hague in 1821. A later English edition (1834) is not complete. There grew out of this publication a controversy represented in Edward Sabine's *Remarks on the account of the late Voyage of Discovery to Baffin's Bay, published by J. Ross* (London, 1819; two eds.), and Ross's *Explanation of Sabine's Remarks* (London, 1819). Ross's map shows his development of the geography of Baffin's Bay.

[2] This is usually accompanied by a reprint of a paper published on the ships: *The North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle* (London, 1821). Both were reprinted in Philadelphia (1821); a German version appeared at Hamburg, 1822, and a Dutch at Amsterdam, 1821, 1832.

A correlative account is Alexander Fisher's *Journal of a Voyage in the Hecla and Griper*, 1819–1820 (London, 1821).

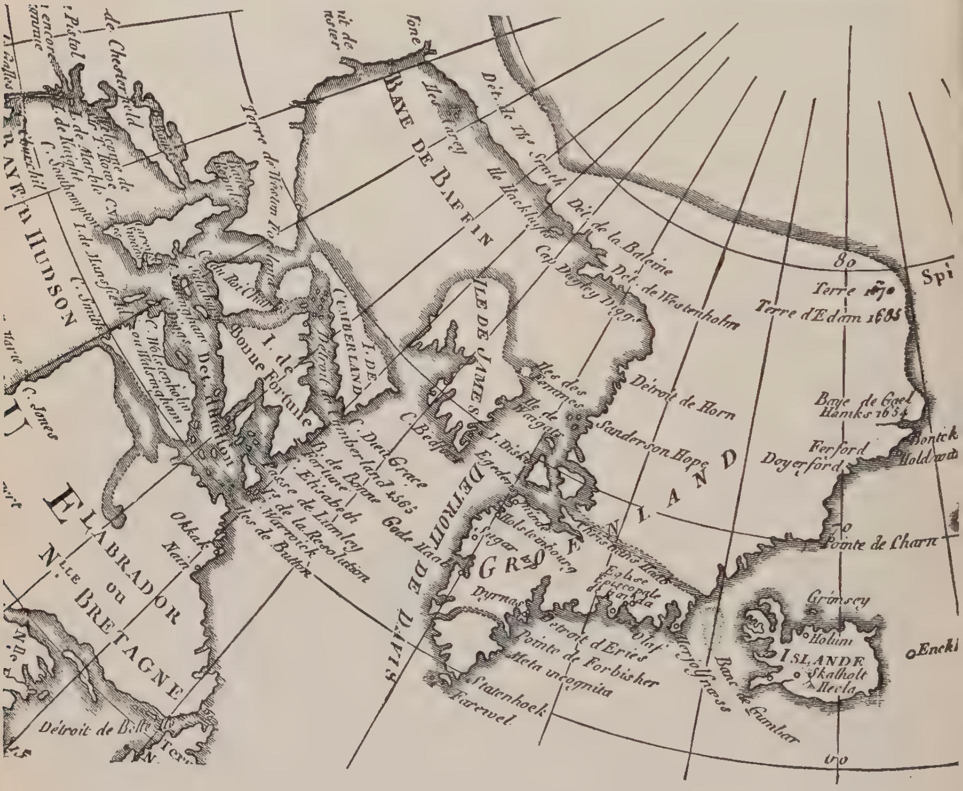
NOTE. — The opposite map is a part of the map given in *The Journal of a Voyage by the Hon. Commodore Phipps*, etc. (London, 1774).

* From *Historische, Statistische, Geographische Belustigungen* (Leipzig, 1782). The shape of Baffin's Bay here given accorded with a prevalent notion. Cf. Harris's *Voyages* (1705), vol. ii., and Prévost's *Voyages*, xv., and the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xvii. (1758). Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. 132; Gerard Mercator's Circumpolar map in Engel's *Neuer Versuch* (Basel, 1777); and that in E. A. W. von Zimmermann's *Dic Erde und ihre Bewohner, Dritter Theil. Die westliche arctische Welt* (Leipzig, 1811).

Polar Sea, 1819–1822, by John Franklin, Commander of the Expedition (London, 4° and 8°, 1823 and 1824 — 3 eds.).[1]

The accounts of Parry's next explorations were presented in his *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; performed in the Years 1821–22–23, in his Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1824),[2] and this was followed by his *Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; performed in the Years 1824–25, in his Majesty's Ships Hecla and Fury. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1826).[3]

A coöperating voyage by Capt. F. W. Beechey, on the Pacific side, is recorded in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions; per-*



ARCTIC REGIONS, 1783. (*J. R. Forster.*)

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[1] Reprinted (Philad., 1824). An ed. in 4 vols., to which was added a *Brief account of the second Journey, in 1825–27*, was published at London, 1829. Franklin's *Narrative of a second Expedition to the Shores of a Polar Sea, 1825–27*, was published in London, 1828, and reprinted in Philadelphia the same year. A German translation appeared at Weimar in 1829.

A. H. Beesly's *Sir John Franklin* (N. Y., 1881) is based on Franklin's narratives and on the monograph on Franklin by M. de la Roquette (Paris, 1860).

[2] It was reprinted in New York (1824), and Sabin gives a German version (Jena, 1824). Growing out of the same explorations, we have two further records by Captain G. F. Lyon: —

The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon of H. M. S. Hecla, during the Recent Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry (London, 1824). Reprinted, London, 1825, and Boston, 1824. It is of value as respects the characteristics of the Eskimos.

A Brief Narrative of an Unsuccessful Attempt to reach Repulse Bay, through Sir Thomas Rowe's "Welcome," in his Majesty's Ship Griper, in the Year MDCCCXXIV. (London, 1825). This is his official report.

[3] It was reprinted in Philadelphia (1826), and a German version was published at Jena, 1827. His *Three Voyages* was later included in Harper's Family Library (N. Y., 1840). Parry's narratives are of importance in the study of the Eskimos. Cf. Edward Parry's *Memoirs of W. E. Parry* (London, 1857).

formed in his Majesty's Ship Blossom, in the Years 1825, 26, 27, 28. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty (London, 1831).[1]

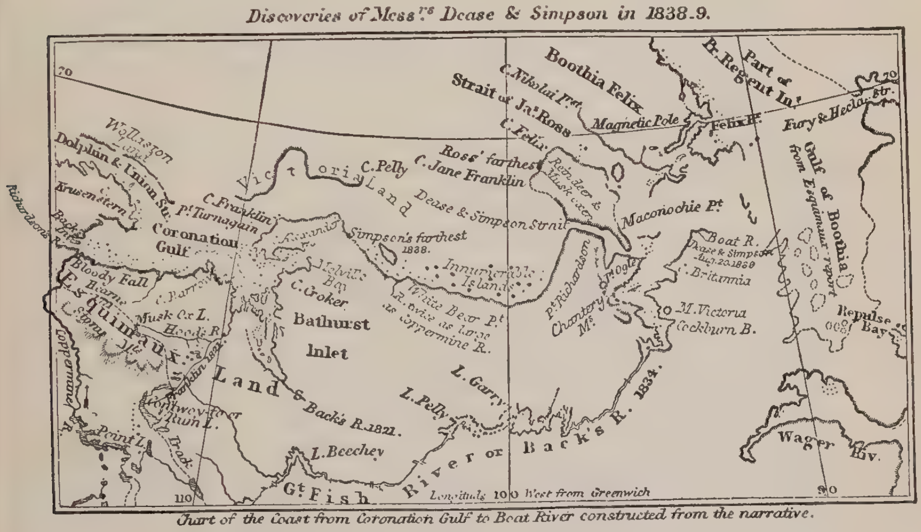
David Duncan's *Voyage to Davis' Strait, Apr. 1826–June, 1827* (London, 1827), commemorates "the only fishing ship that ever [up to that time] passed a whole winter with her crew on board in those regions."

Ross again appears in a *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions during the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833. Including the Reports of Commander, now Captain, James Clark Ross, and the Discovery of the Northern Magnetic Pole.* [With an Appendix.] (London, 1835).[2]

Captain George Back now proposed an expedition to follow a route north from the Great Slave Lake, in search for Ross, and published an explanation of his plan in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (1833, vol. iii. 64); and his communication on the route followed by him was made in the same *Journal* (1836, vol. vi. p. 1), and found a wider public in his *Narrative of the Arctic land Expedition* to the mouth of the Great Fish River and along the shores of the Arctic Ocean in the years 1833–35 (London, 1836; Philad., 1836). Richard King, in his *Journey to the Arctic Ocean, 1833–35, under Capt. Back* (London, 1836), reproaches that commander for his want of generosity in not acknowledging the assistance he received from others. Back's next voyage to follow up his first exploration is recorded in his *Narrative of an Expedition in H. M. S. Terror, undertaken with a View to Geographical Discovery on the Arctic shores, in the Years 1836–7* (London, 1838).

The explorations by Dease and Simpson on behalf of the Hudson Bay Company now followed, and it was to connect these with the coast that Parry in 1819 had found about Melville Island, which induced the expedition under Sir John Franklin, the search for which constituted for the next ten years, and even longer, the chief burden of the Arctic recitals.

Richardson, in his *Polar Regions* (ch. 10), gives a convenient summary of this Franklin search.



DISCOVERIES OF DEASE AND SIMPSON, 1838–39.*

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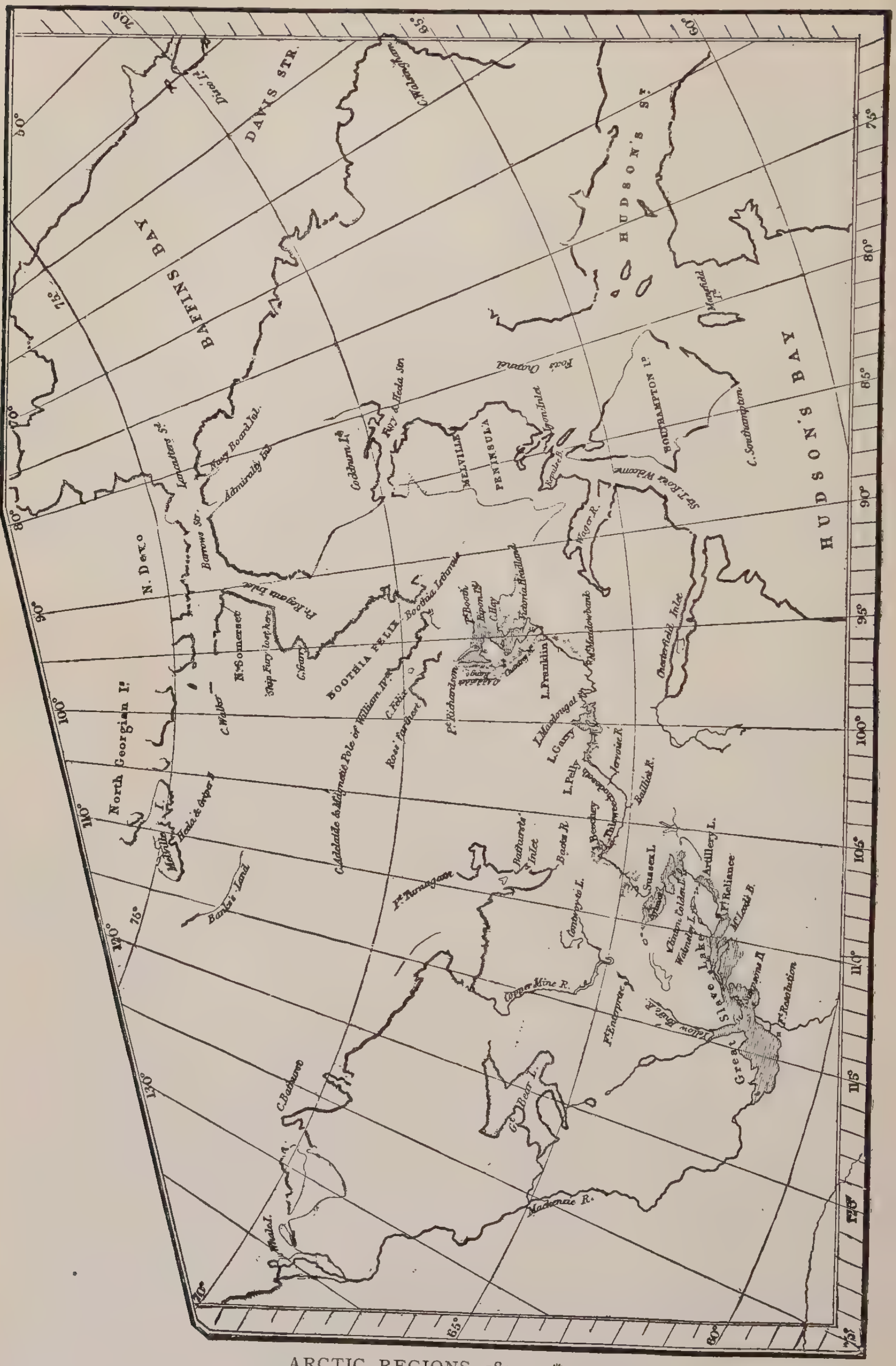
[1] There was an octavo edition the same year. It was reprinted at Philadelphia (1832), and Sabin gives a German version (Weimar, 1832). Beechey's earlier voyage (1818), recorded in his *Voyage of Discovery towards the North pole* (London, 1843), was on the side of Spitzbergen.

[2] The Appendix usually is found as a separate publication, *Appendix to the Narrative of a Second Voyage.* The *Narrative* was reprinted in Philadelphia, 1835; and at Brussels in the same year. A French translation appeared at Paris in 1835, and a German at Leipzig in 1835 and 1845, and at Berlin in 1835–36. Cf. Pilling's *Eskimo Bibliog.*; Sabin's *Dictionary*, and references in Allibone, ii. 119.

* From the *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, x. 274. Their eastern limit was later completed by Dr. John Rae, in the Hudson Bay Company's service, as recorded in Rae's *Narrative of an Expedition to the Shores of the Arctic Sea in 1846 and 1847* (London, 1850). Cf. *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* (viii. 213, with a map) for their account of their explorations, 1837, and again (*Ibid.*, Aug., 1839) for the progress of discovery in the summer of 1839, with a map.



ARCTIC REGIONS, 1833–34.*

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* Extracted from a map in Back's "Discoveries and Route of the Arctic Land Expedition, 1833–34," in the *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vi. p. 10. Cf. the circumpolar map in Wm. Scoresby's *Acc. of the Arctic Regions* (Edinburgh, 1820), and the map connecting the discoveries of Ross, Parry, and Franklin, in Frank-

The literature of it is enumerated in Chavanne's bibliography, under the heads of "Arctic America," the "Northwest Passage;" and Nourse, in his *American Explorations in the Ice Zones* (Boston, 1884, p. 34, etc.), makes a useful tabulation of the various relief expeditions.

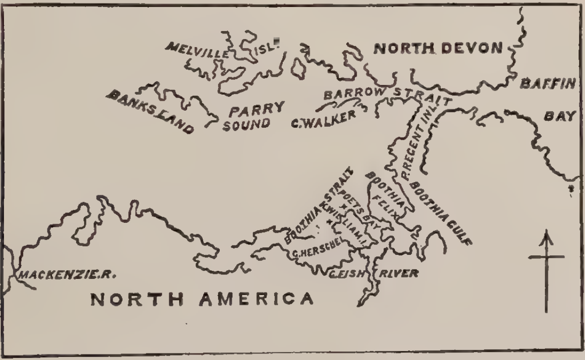
It is not intended now to mention more than the most prominent or characteristic accounts of these numerous adventures in the track of Franklin. W. J. S. Pullen's *Proceedings of a boat expedition from Wainwright inlet to Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River, July–Oct., 1849*, and Lieut. W. H. Hooper's *Journal*, in connection with the same expedition, were printed by the Admiralty in 1850, as well as Pullen's later *Proceedings of the party towards Cape Bathurst in search of Sir John Franklin, July–Oct., 1850*, printed in 1851.

Dr. Peter C. Sutherland's *Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits, in the Years 1850–1851, performed by H. M. Ships "Lady Franklin" and "Sophia," under the Command of Mr. William Penny, in search of the missing Crews of H. M. Ships Erebus and Terror: with a Narrative of Sledge Excursions on the Ice of Wellington Channel; and Observations on the Natural History and Physical Features of the Countries and Frozen Seas visited* (London, 1852). The author was the surgeon of the expedition.

From Berthold Seeman, the naturalist of the expedition, we have a *Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Herald during the Years 1845–51, under the Command of Captain Henry Kellett; being a Circumnavigation of the Globe, and three Cruizes to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin* (London, 1853.)[1]

Captain Sherard Osborn, who commanded the "Pioneer" in the expedition of 1850–51, gives his personal narrative in his *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal, or Eighteen Months in the Polar Regions* (London, 1852; Edinburgh, 1865),[2] and for the first time described Arctic navigation under steam. He also worked up the logs and journals of the commander of the expedition, and published the result as *The Discovery of the Northwest Passage by H. M. S. Investigator, Capt. Robert M'Clure, 1850–54* (London, 1856, 1857, 1859; Edinburgh, 1864, 1865).[3]

Sir John Richardson's personal share in these explorations is recorded in his *Arctic Searching Expedition: Journal of a boat voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea in search of Sir John Franklin. Published by authority* (London, 1851).[4]



CONDITION OF EXPLORATIONS, 1844.*

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[1] There is a German translation (Hannover, 1853).

[2] It was reprinted in New York in 1852, and a rival edition was called *The Polar Regions, or a Search after Sir John Franklin's Expedition* (N. Y., 1854).

[3] The coöperating expedition on the side of Behring's Straits is to be explained in a book not yet published, *Sir Richard Collinson's Journal of the Voyage of H. M. S. Enterprise in search of Sir John Franklin, with an Introduction by Maj.-Gen. Collinson* (London, 1889).

[4] It was reprinted in New York, 1852, and contains several chapters on the Eskimos and other northern tribes.

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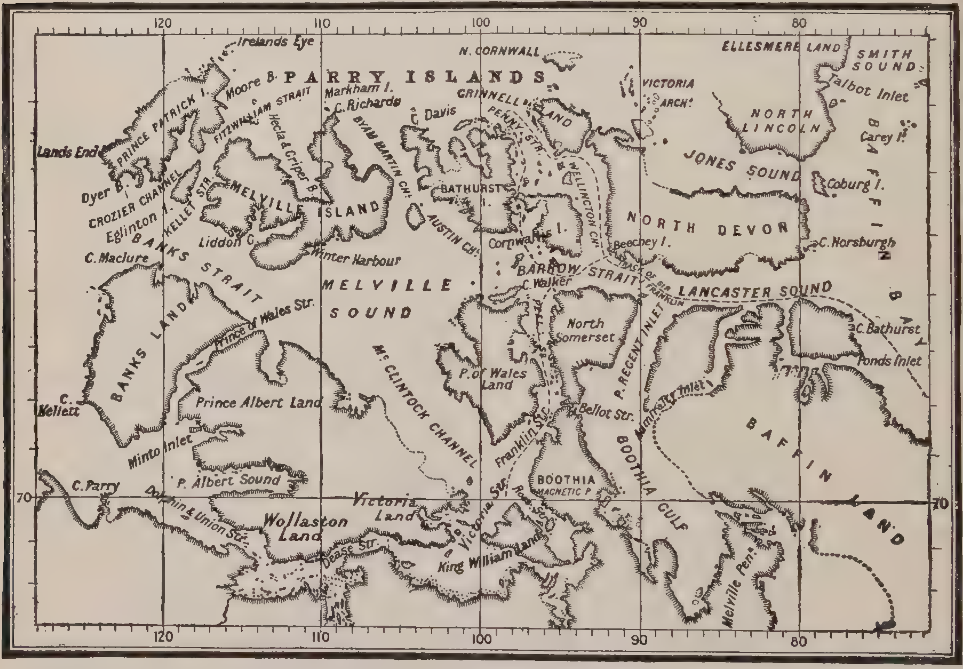
lin's *Narrative* (London, 1823). Dr. Rae's *Narrative of an Expedition to the shores of the Arctic Sea in 1846 and 1847* (London, 1850) contains maps in which the discoveries of Rae, Parry, Ross, Back, and Dease and Simpson are distinctively marked.

* Reproduced from the sketch map given by Osborn in his *Stray Leaves* (1865), p. 282, which represents the aspect of the northwest passage problem at the time Franklin was sent on his last voyage. The effort was to be made "to connect the water in which Parry had sailed to Melville Island in 1819 with Dease and Simpson's easternmost positions in 1838." Cf. the map of the Arctic regions as known in 1846, given in Hall's *Second Arctic Expedition*.

Geo. F. McDougall's *Eventful Voyage of H. M. Discovery Ship "Resolute" to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin and the missing Crews of H. M. Discovery Ships "Erebus" and "Terror," 1852, 1853, 1854. To which is added an Account of her being fallen in with by an American Whaler after her Abandonment in Barrow Straits and of her Presentation to Queen Victoria by the Government of the United States* (London, 1857).

Sir Edward Belcher's *Last of the Arctic Voyages; being a Narrative of the Expedition in H. M. S. Assistance, in Search of Sir John Franklin, during the Years 1852–53–54. With Notes on the Natural History, by Sir John Richardson, Professor Owen, Thomas Bell, J. W. Salter, and Lovell Reeve. Published under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1855).

What is known as the first Grinnell Expedition, fitted out at the charge of Mr. Joseph Grinnell of New York, was officially considered by its commander, Lieut. E. J. De Haven, in his *Report on the Sir John Franklin Search, Oct. 4, 1851 (32d Cong. 1st sess. Ho. Ex. Doc. no. 2)*; but the greater interest attaches to the story of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the surgeon of the party, in his *United States Grinnell Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin; a personal narrative* (New York, 1854).[1] Kane himself commanding the next expedition, his narrative appeared in *Arctic Explorations: the Second Grinnell Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, 1853–55* (Philad., •1856, 1860).[2]



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SEARCH FOR FRANKLIN, AND SOME OF THE DISCOVERIES OF HIS ERA.

FRANKLIN'S TRACK.*

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[1] A new edition, with a biography of Franklin, by S. A. Allibone, Philadelphia, 1857.

[2] Reprinted, London, 1860. Cf. *Explorations in Arctic Regions by Dr. Kane* (London, 1865); *Kane's Arctic Explorations* (Hartford, 1868). Cf. Kane's *Access to an Open Polar Sea* (N. Y., 1853); and Peter Force's *Grinnell Land* and *Supplement to Grinnell Land* (Washington, 1852 and 1853).

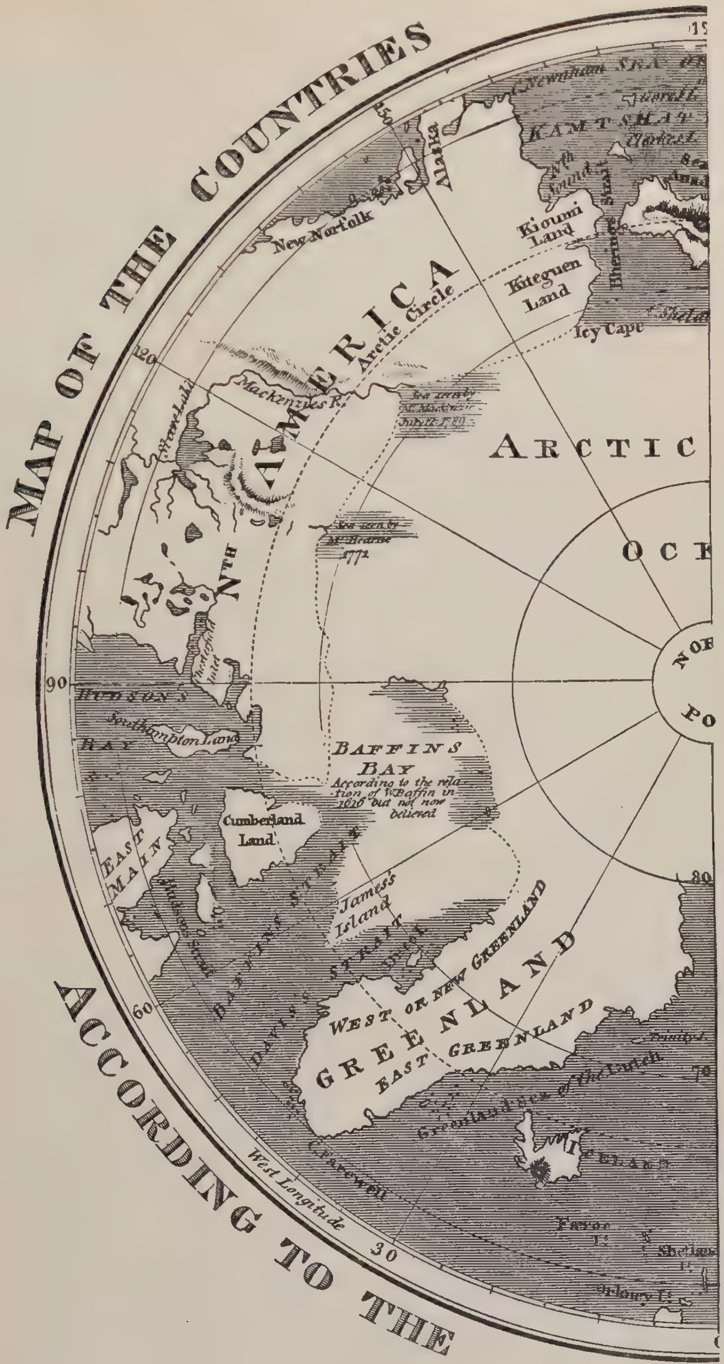
There is a life of Dr. Kane by Dr. Elder (1858), and a sketch by M. Jones (1866). Allibone and Poole will supply periodical sources. August Sonntag, the astronomer of the expedition, prepared a popular *Narrative of the Grinnell Exploring Expeditions 1853–55* (Philad., 1857).

Kane had been the first to explore Baffin's Bay since Baffin himself in 1616.

Cf. Dr. Emil Bessel's on "Smith Sound and its Exploration," from the time of Bylot and Baffin, 1616, to the present day, in *Proceedings of the U. S. Naval Institute*, vol. x. p. 333.

A curious interest attaches to the *Memoirs of Hans Hendrik, the Arctic traveller, serving under Kane,*

* Reproduction of a sketch map in A. H. Beesly's *Sir John Franklin* (N. Y., 1881).



O'REILLY, 1818.*

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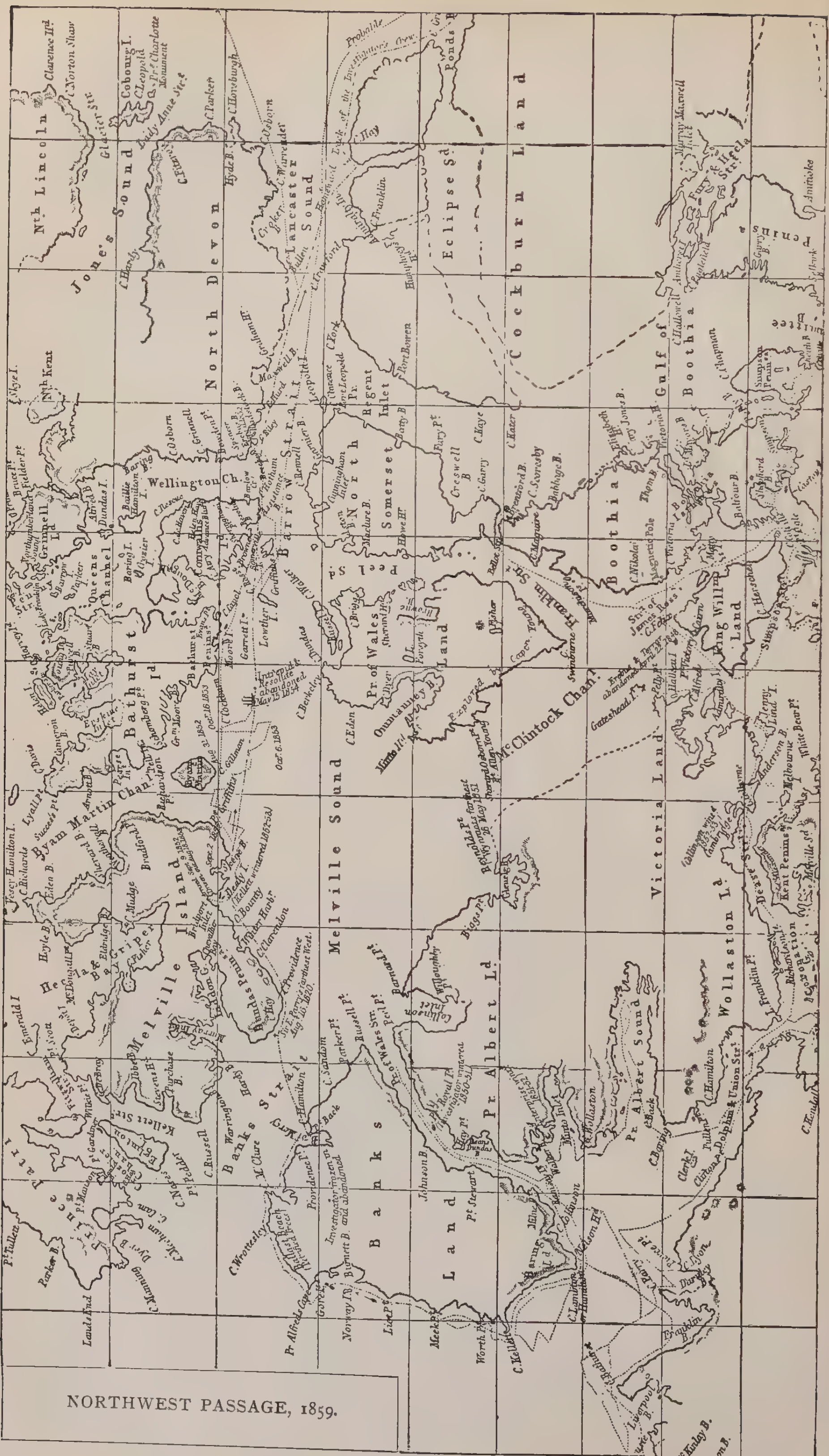
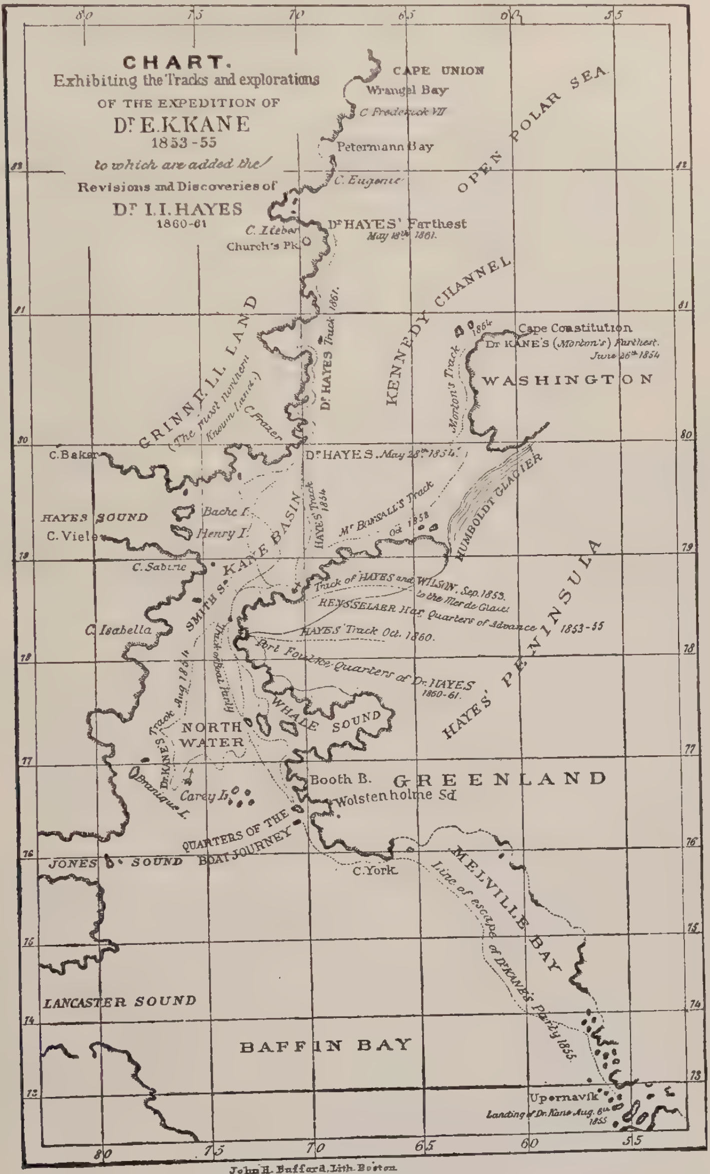
* Part of the map in Bernard O'Reilly's *Greenland* (N. Y., 1818). This map is selected as the latest of the old views. Nourse gives in his Hall's *Second Arctic Expedition* a circumpolar map, in which the condition of knowledge in 1818 is given in black, and the after knowledge in red. Belcher's *Last of the Arctic Voyages* has a large map showing the discoveries between Baffin's Bay and Behring's Straits from 1818 to 1854.



NORTHWEST PASSAGE, 1859.

Isaac I. Hayes' *Arctic Boat Journey in the Autumn of 1854* (Boston, 1860, 1867) records the experiences of a portion of Dr. Kane's party, who, leaving the "Advance" and the rest of her company, made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Upernavik in Upper Greenland.



John H. Bufford. Lith. Boston

SMITH SOUND, ETC., 1856–1861.*

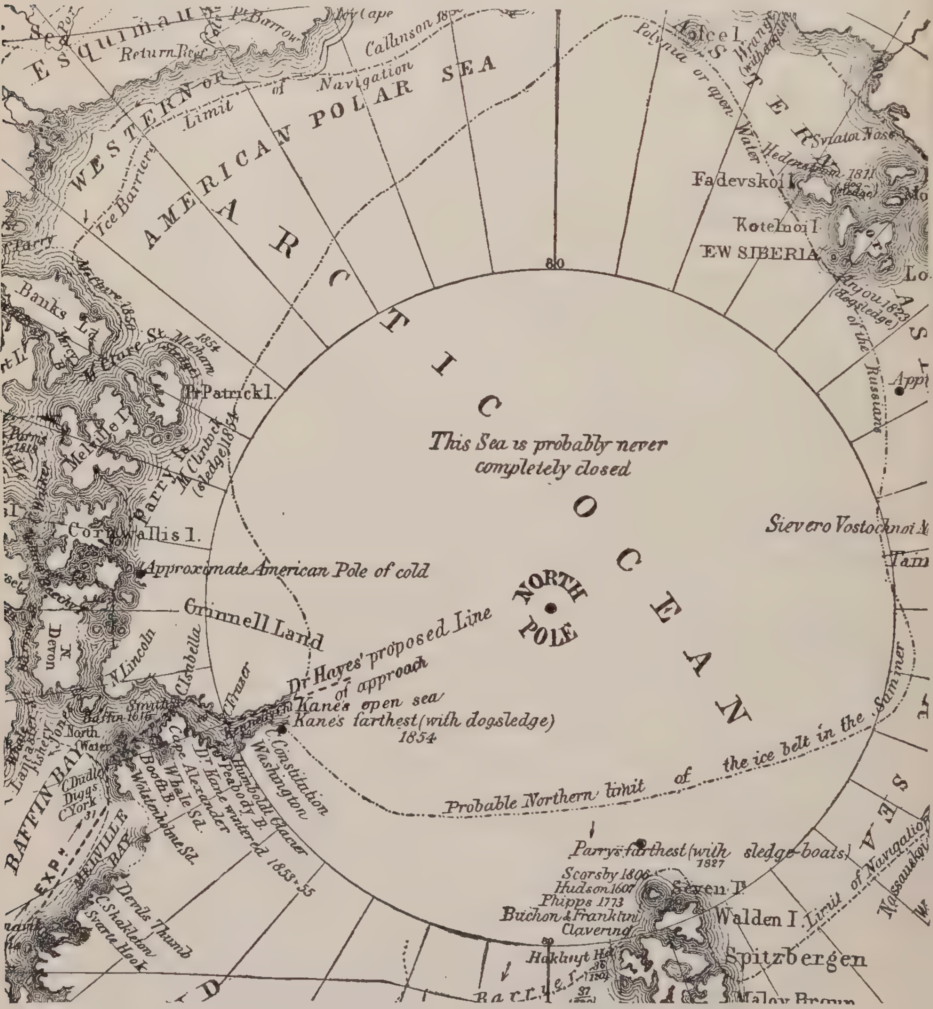
Hayes, Hall, and Nares, 1853–1876. Written by himself. Translated from the Eskimo language by Henry Rink. Edited by George Stephens (Lond., 1878). The book is said to be the unaided production of this famous Arctic companion of Kane and his successors.

NOTE. — The map opposite is from Osborn's *Discovery of a Northwest Passage* (Edinb., 1865), involving McClure's discoveries, and corrected to 1859 by Osborn. There is in Osborn's *Stray Leaves* a map showing the track of the "Pioneer" in 1851–52.

* After map in Dr. Hayes' *Arctic Boat Journey* (Boston, 1868).

Dr. John Rae, in behalf of the Hudson Bay Company, journeyed to Castor and Pollux River in 1853–54, and got some tidings of a part of the Franklin party, and his *Proceedings* were published by the Admiralty in 1855. Cf. Rae's *Voyages and Travels in Arctic Regions* (London, 1856).

Robt. M'Cormick's *Voyages of Discovery in the Arctic and Antarctic Seas, . . . and of an open-boat expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, under command of the author* (London, 1884, in 2 vols.). M'Cormick had earlier served under Parry in 1827, in his attempts to reach the north pole by the Spitzbergen route. The boat expedition is followed in his second volume.



HAYES' MAP, 1860.*

P. L. Simond's *Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Regions* (1851–53). The official *Papers relative to the Arctic Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin* (London, 1854, in 2 vols.). Sir John Ross's *Narrative of the Circumstances and Causes which led to the failure of the searching expeditions sent by government and others for the rescue of Sir John Franklin* (1855). Some "Eskimo reports respecting Sir John Franklin's expedition" are examined in the *Geographical Magazine*, Apr., 1878.

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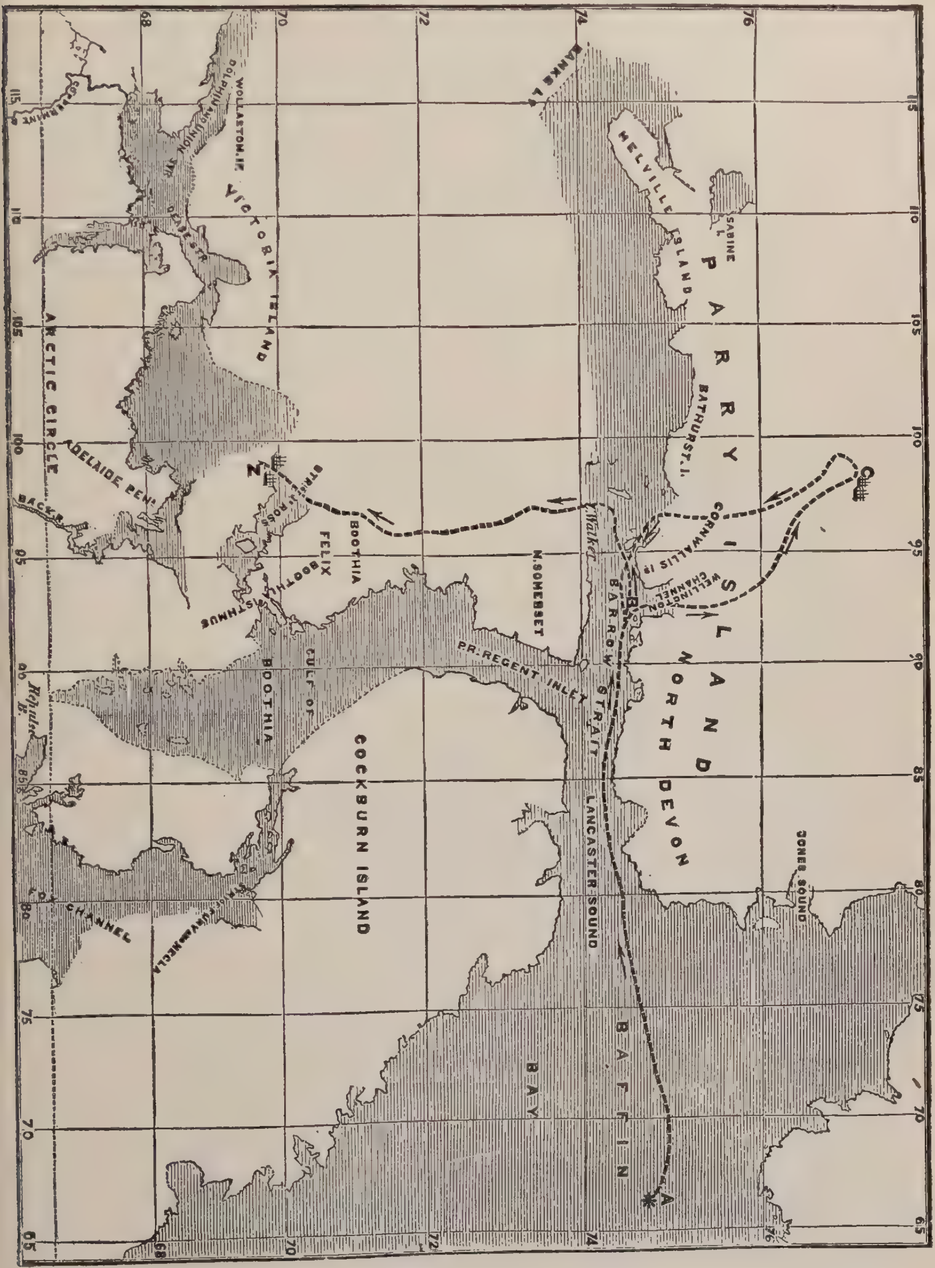
* The centre of the chart of the Arctic regions, in Hayes' *Arctic Boat Journey* (Boston, 1860). Cf. the map in Richardson's *Polar Regions* (1861).

Intelligence of the fate of the Franklin party was at last made known in Captain M'Clintock's *Voyage of the 'Fox' in the Arctic Seas.* — *A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions* (London, 1859, 1860, 1869, 1876; Boston, 1860, 1863).[1]



FRANKLIN'S SUPPOSED ROUTE.*

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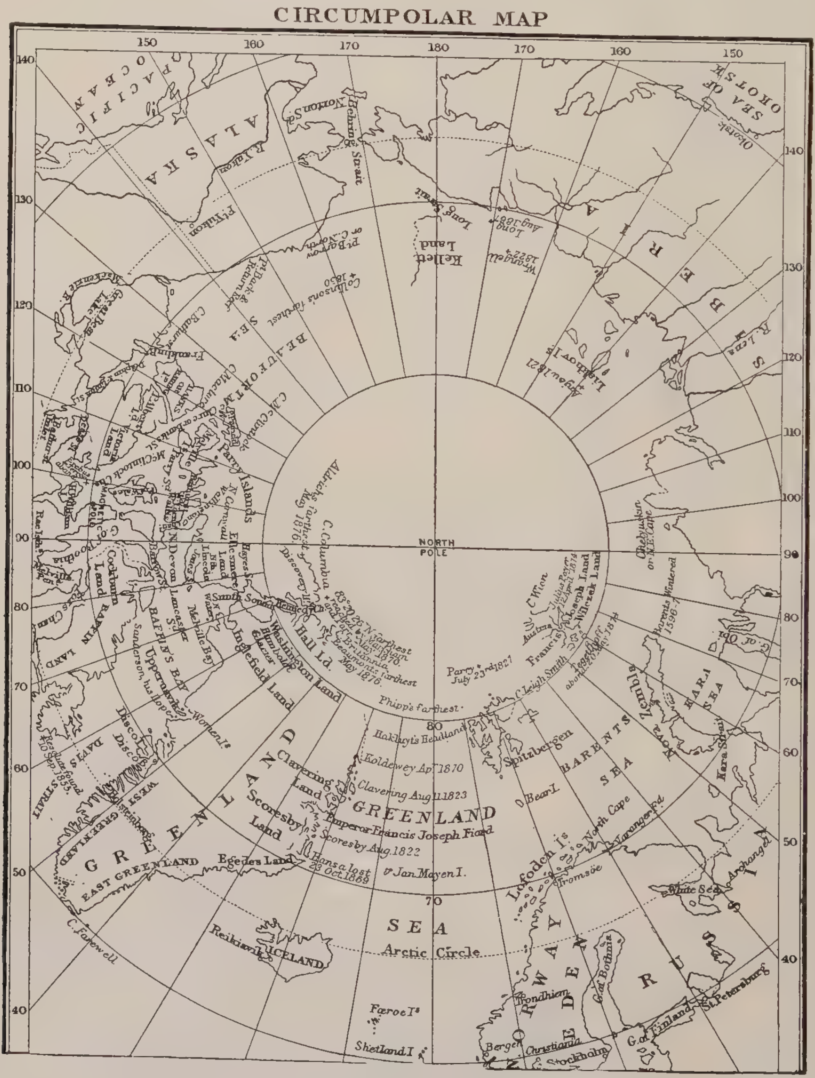
[1] Cf. the private journal of an officer of the "Fox," published in the *Cornhill Mag.* (Jan., 1860); *The Little Fox, the Story of McClintock's Arctic Expedition* (London, 1870, 1875); and Sherard Osborn's *Career*,

* Reduction of a sketch map in M'Clintock's *Voyage of the Fox* (London, 1859).

There is a further account of the Eskimo stories already referred to in W. H. Gilder's *Schwatka's Search* (N. Y., 1881), who says of that expedition: “It was the first expedition which established beyond a doubt the loss of the Franklin records. M'Clintock recorded an opinion that they had perished; Schwatka recorded it as a fact.” Gilder's book may be supplemented by Heinrich W. Klutschak's *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos* (Vienna, 1881). The author had been the draughtsman of the expedition, and he gives an interesting map, “Der Schauplatz der Franklinischen Katastrophe,” marking the position of the graves and other spots associated with the Franklin party.



CIRCUMPOLAR MAP, SHOWING ATTEMPTS TO REACH THE NORTHERN POLE.*

The modern efforts to reach the Pole as a distinct aim began on the side of Spitzbergen in the voyage recorded in Captain Constantine John Phipps's *Voyage towards the North Pole, undertaken by his Majesty's command, 1773* (London, 1774), which is also included in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. i. The admiralty was induced to dispatch Phipps largely through the recommendation of the Royal Society, moved thereto by Daines Barrington, whose somewhat credulous acts on the subject are well known: *Probabil- y of reaching the North Pole*; reprinted, with ol. Mark Beaufoy's comments, as *Possibility of pproaching the North Pole asserted* (London and ew York, 1818). Cf. also Barrington's *Miscel- nies*, 1781.

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* Reproduced from A. H. Markham's *Northward Ho!* (1879).

The voyage of William Scoresby in 1806, in hich he attained with his ship the great north- g of 81° 30′, was also on the side of Spitzber- en; and the explorations recorded in Dr. Scores- y's *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale ishery, including researches on the Eastern oast of Greenland* (Edinburgh, 1823), are also escriptive of exploits east of Greenland. The ounger Scoresby's *Account of the Arctic Regions, ith a history and description of the Northern Vhale fishery* (London, 1820), is in part a rec- rd of the whalemen's contributions to the explorations of the Arctic seas, including those of Baffin's Bay.[1] Chavanne (pp. 85, 125, 243) gives the bibliography of the explorations on the east side of Greenland.

Capt. Albert H. Markham, in his *Northward Ho!* (London, 1879), offers a distinct account of the attempts to reach the Pole, beginning with the sixth century, as introductory to a narrative of experiences by Thomas Floyd, a midshipman in Captain Phipps's expedition (1773). Markham then continues the story of these strictly polar efforts, in which the most important attempts have been made of late years on the side of Smith Sound, but they fall beyond the chronological limits of the present chapter, and are not in the same sense necessary to complete the story as was the case with the final results of the Franklin search.[2]

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ast voyage, and fate of Sir John Franklin (London, 1860), which is also included in the Edinburgh edition 865) of Osborn's *Stray Leaves.*

[1] Cf. J. A. Allen's *Papers rel. to the mammalian orders of Cete, etc.* (Washington, 1882).

[2] A good share of the efforts in this direction on the west of Greenland has fallen to Americans. Dr. Hayes ad demonstrated his plan of the practicability of reaching the North Pole in the *Amer. Asso. Adv. Science roc.* (1858, vol. xii.) and recorded his results in finding, as he held, an unobstructed Arctic ocean in his *Open olar Sea: a narrative of a voyage of discovery towards the North Pole* (N. Y., 1867).

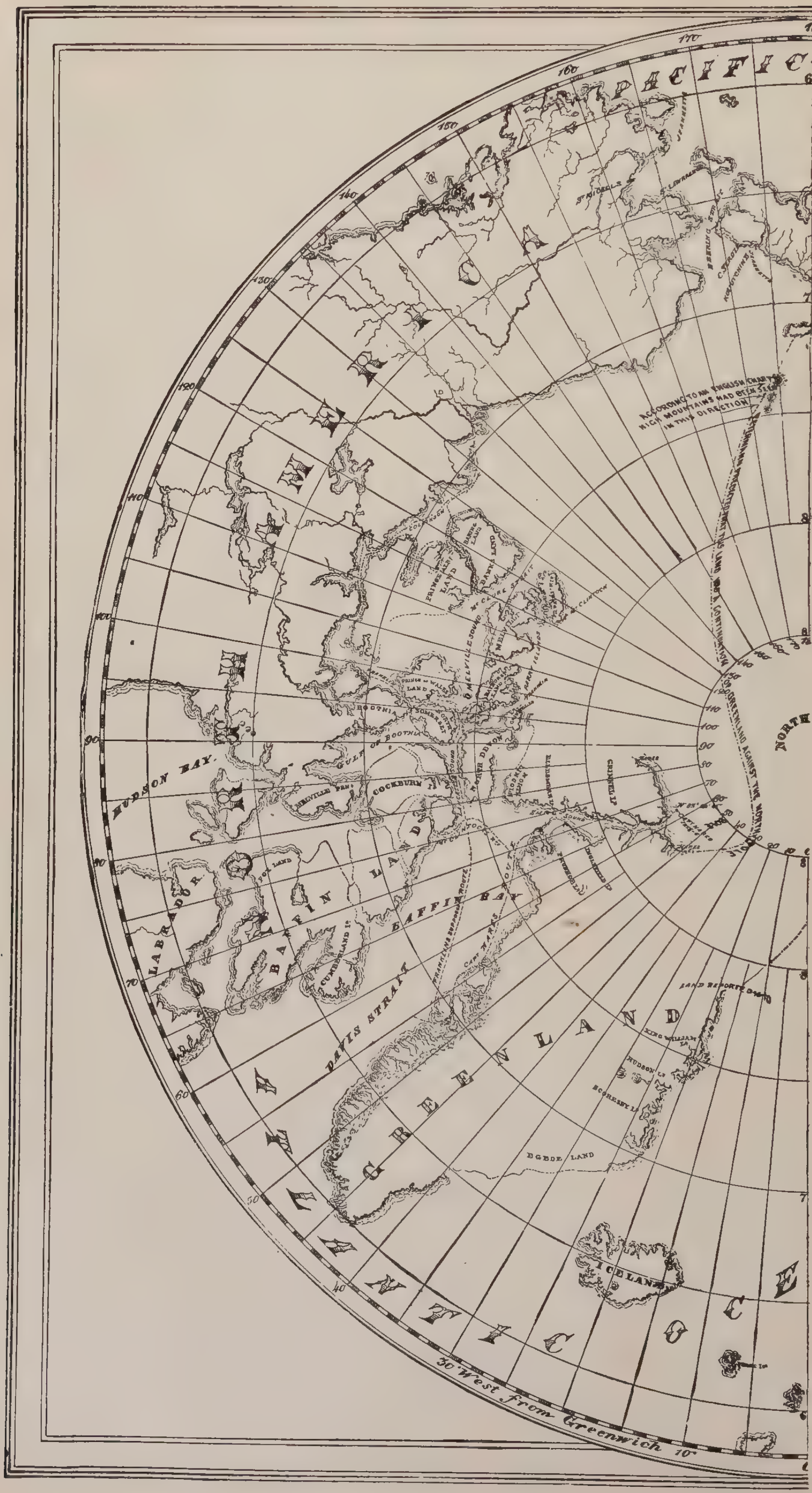
Captain C. F. Hall made three Arctic voyages: the first (1860–62) was commemorated in his *Arctic Re- earches* (1864); the second (1864–69), in his *Narrative of a second Arctic Expedition: Voyage to Repulse ay, 1864–69. Edited by Professor J. E. Nourse* (Washington, 1879). On a third voyage, in the "Polaris," he ied, Nov. 8, 1871. The government bought his papers of his family in 1874, and out of them, with other aterial, Professor Nourse constructed the account just mentioned, after Admiral Ch. H. Davis, with Nourse's ssistance, had earlier got into shape the *Narrative of the North Polar Expedition, U. S. Ship Polaris* Washington, 1876). The "Polaris" reached 82° 16′ north latitude. E. V. Blake's *Arctic Experiences* (N. Y. nd London, 1874) covers the drift of Captain E. E. Tyson, of the Polaris expedition, on an ice floe. The xpeditions of 1860–62 and 1864–69 may be considered in part a portion of the general Franklin search.

Meanwhile the interest in another purely polar effort was increasing in England. Osborn had discussed the roposed routes in the *Geographical Mag.*, Sept., 1874. We have two important records of the results of he expedition which followed: *Journals and Proceedings of the Arctic Expedition, 1875–76, under the Com- nand of Capt. Sir George Strong Nares* (London, 1877, — Blue Book), with the official charts; and the per- onal narrative of one of his officers, Capt. A. H. Markham in his *Great Frozen Sea* (London, 1878), which itle, it will be observed, is a criticism of Dr. Hayes's book. By sledges Markham attained to 83° 20′ 26″, or o within 400 miles of the Pole. Markham gives a map, illustrating the expedition, reduced by E. G. Raven- tein from the Admiralty chart. (Cf. *Bull. de la Soc. de Paris, 1876.*) Detailed maps of Markham's greatest orthing by sledges will be found in the official *Blue-Book of the Nares Expedition*, p. 126; in M'Cormick's *oyages of Discoveries*, vol. ii. Cf. the Lincoln Sea map in Hall's *Northern Polar Expedition* (1876), ed. y Davis, p. 356; others in *Recent Polar Voyages to 1876*; and in Alexander Leslie's *Arctic Voyages of . E. Nordenskjöld* (Lond., 1879).

The "Pandora" of Capt. Allen Young's voyage in 1875–76 (see map of her track from Baffin's Bay to Mel- ille Island in J. A. MacGahan's *Under the Northern Lights*, London, 1876) became, under a new name, the essel commanded by Captain De Long, whose exploits and fate are commemorated by De Long's widow in he *Voyage of the Jeannette* (Boston, 1883), and in J. W. Danenhower's *Narrative of the Jeannette* (Boston, 882).

The eventful experiences of the Franklin Bay Expedition, under Lieut. A. W. Greely, was told in his *Three Years of Arctic Service, 1881–84, and the attainment of the farthest north* (N. Y., 1886). Greely's official *Report on the Proceedings of the U. S. Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay* was not published till 1888. This ighest altitude, 83° 24′, was attained by Lieutenant Lockwood with a sledge party; and the story of the res- ue is told jointly by Commander W. S. Schley, of the relief expedition, and Professor J. R. Soley, in *The Rescue of Greely* (N. Y., 1885).

NOTE. — The circumpolar map given in Mrs. De Long's *Voyage of the Jeannette* (Boston, 1883), showing he highest point reached up to that date, is partly reproduced on the next page.


PACIFIC
AMERICA
ACCORDING TO AN ENGLISH CHART HIGH MOUNTAINS HAD BEEN SEEN IN THIS DIRECTION
BANKS LAND
BARING LAND
PRINCE ALBERT LAND
McCLURE STRAIT
McCLINTOCK
MELVILLE SOUND
MELVILLE I.
PARRY ISLANDS
PRINCE of WALES LAND
BOOTHIA
SOMERSET
NORTH DEVON
GULF OF BOOTHIA
COCKBURN I.
MELVILLE PEN.
GRINNELL
SMITH SOUND
NORTH
GREENLAND AGAINST THE NORTH
HUDSON BAY.
LABRADOR
BAFFIN LAND
BAFFIN BAY
CUMBERLAND I.
DAVIS STRAIT
FRANKLIN'S SUPPOSED ROUTE
CAPE FAREWELL
GREENLAND
LAND REPORTED
KING WILLIAM LD.
HUDSON LD.
SCORESBY LD.
EGEDE LAND
ICELAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
30° West from Greenwich 10°
170
160
150
140
130
120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40

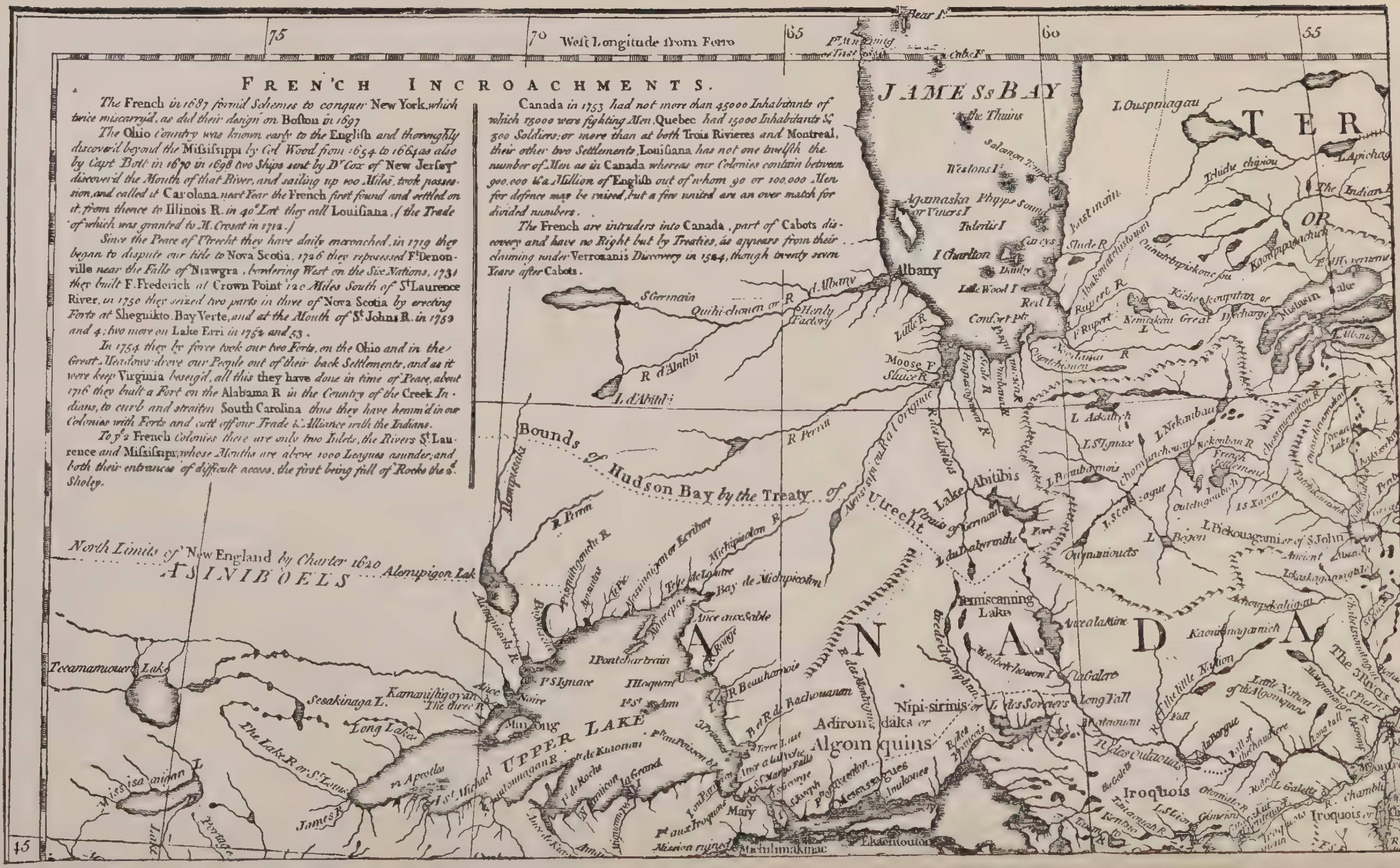
CHAPTER III.

CANADA FROM 1763 TO 1867.

BY GEORGE BRYCE, LL. D.

Professor in Manitoba College, Winnipeg.

THE experiment of transforming a hostile French population into good British subjects had failed in Acadia. The ill-fated Acadians fell on evil days when, in the opinion of British and colonial leaders alike, the only mode of governing them was to scatter them among the colonies of the Atlantic coast. Whatever else it meant, the Acadian deportation of 1755 was a confession that the resources of controlling power and expedient had failed. Another similar and yet greater problem confronted Britain in her assumption of the government of Canada after Wolfe's conquest in 1759. Acadia had contained probably 10,000 French people, all told. What must be done with 65,000 people of the same ardent nature, glorying in being descendants of the rivals of the British from the days of Crécy and Poictiers, and, moreover, differing in language and religion from their conquerors? No doubt the irritating effect of having French compatriots for neighbors, as in the case of Acadia, was absent; but, on the other hand, discontent was plainly rising against the mother country all along the Atlantic seaboard. No young monarch ever had a harder task thrown upon him than George III, coming to the throne with a newly acquired and hostile Canada, and with colonial America restless and querulous. On the acquisition of Canada, after the capitulation of Montreal, a capable and judicious British officer, General Murray, was put in charge of the conquered country. The promises made to the "new subjects," as the French-Canadians were called, had been liberal: "the inhabitants and merchants were to enjoy all the privileges granted to subjects of his Britannic Majesty." To a sensitive people, such as the French-Canadians, it was not likely that the new yoke would be agreeable. While General Murray was much respected, yet the four years following the capture of Quebec are contemptuously referred to as the "rule of the soldiery," which one of their historians has declared "constituted a formal violation of two capitulations." When the Treaty of Paris (1763) had finally destroyed all hope of a French reoccupation of Canada, a number of prominent officers and merchants, to whom the people under the paternal government of New France had looked as indispensable, departed for their mother country or for



FRENCH INCROACHMENTS.

The French *in 1687 form'd Schemes to conquer* New York, *which twice miscarry'd, as did their design on* Boſton *in 1697*

The Ohio *Country was known early to the* Engliſh *and thoroughly discover'd beyond the* Miſsiſsippi *by Col Wood from 1654 to 1664 as also by Capt Bolt in 1670 in 1698 two Ships sent by Dr Cox of* New Jerſey *discover'd the Mouth of that River, and sailing up 100 Miles, took possession, and called it* Carolana *next Year the* French *first found and settled on it, from thence to* Illinois R. *in 40° Lat they call* Louiſiana. *(the Trade of which was granted to M. Crosat in 1712.)*

Since the Peace of Utrecht they have daily encroached, in 1719 they began to dispute our title to Nova Scotia. *1726 they repossessed* Ft Denonville *near the Falls of* Niawgra, *bordering West on the Six Nations, 1731 they built* F. Frederick *at* Crown Point *120 Miles South of* St Laurence River, *in 1750 they seized two parts in three of* Nova Scotia *by erecting Forts at* Sheguikto, Bay Verte, *and at the Mouth of* St Johns R. *in 1753 and 4; two more on* Lake Erri *in 1752 and 53.*

In 1754 they by force took our two Forts, on the Ohio *and in the Great Meadows drove our People out of their back Settlements, and as it were keep* Virginia *besieg'd, all this* they have *done in time of Peace, about 1716 they built a Fort on the* Alabama R *in the Country of the* Creek *Indians, to curb and straiten* South Carolina *thus they have hemm'd in our Colonies with Forts and cutt off our Trade & Alliance with the Indians.*

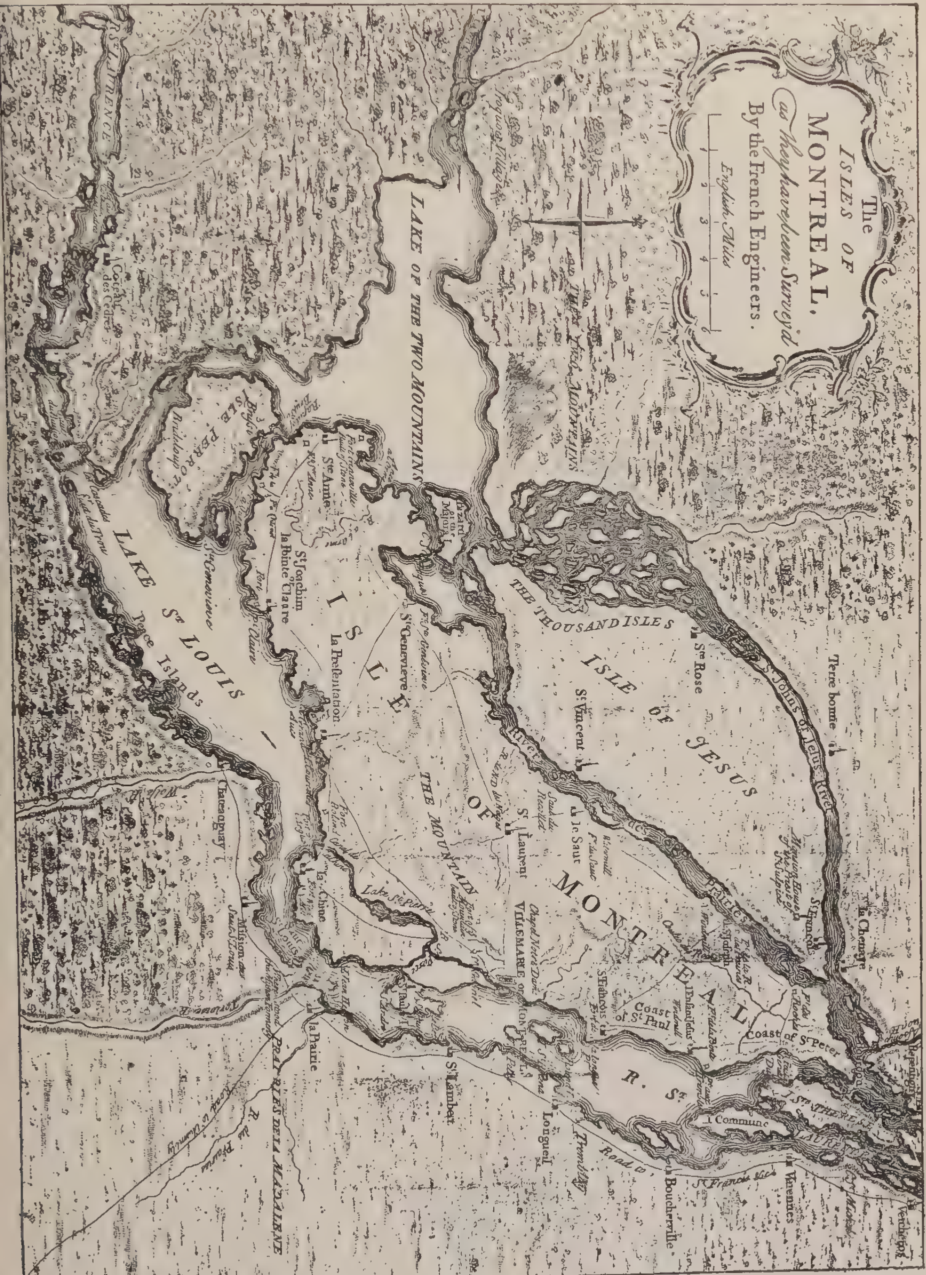
To ye 2 French *Colonies there are only two Inlets, the Rivers* St Laurence *and* Miſsiſsipi; *whose Mouths are above 1000 Leagues asunder; and both their entrances of difficult access, the first being full of Rocks the 2d Sholey.*

Canada *in 1753 had not more than 45000 Inhabitants of which 15000 were fighting Men.* Quebec *had 15000 Inhabitants & 800 Soldiers; or more than at both* Trois Rivieres *and* Montreal, *their other two Settlements,* Louiſiana *has not one twelfth the number of Men as in* Canada *whereas our Colonies contain between 900,000 & a Million of* Engliſh *out of whom 90 or 100,000 Men for defence may be raised, but a few united are an over match for divided numbers.*

The French *are intruders into* Canada, *part of* Cabots *discovery and have no Right but by Treaties, as appears from their claiming under* Verrozanis *Discovery in 1524, though twenty seven Years after* Cabots.

CANADA, 1763.

San Domingo. The vacant positions in the towns, and the unoccupied lands and forests of Quebec offered freely to officers and soldiers, were an invitation to adventurers from Great Britain and the Atlantic seaboard



From the *London Magazine*, January, 1761.

Note to opposite Map. — A reduced section of the map, "North America from the French of Mr. D'Anville," in Jefferys' *Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America* (London, 1760).

colonies. Thus the influx of strangers aroused the fear and jealousy of the timid colonists of the St. Lawrence. One of their writers has thus described the strange incursion: "Immediately after the Treaty of Paris, the English, who were seeking for their personal advantage to profit from the new colony, began to arrive amongst us. The greater part carried their bales of merchandise; others brought Bibles, while others the English laws. Of these last, some were lawyers, some judges, appointed, dispatched, and installed here by the crown. They arrived, some from the three kingdoms, but yet more from New England. To say the truth, they came from all parts." . . . General Murray had selected an executive council, but it was almost entirely made up of English-speaking people. There was no other plan. In a few years some even of the noblesse accepted the situation, and the pleasant story is told of Chevalier de Léry and his spouse being presented to George III in London, when the gallant monarch remarked with reference to the lady, "that if all the Canadian ladies resembled her, he had indeed made a fair conquest."

Practically, however, the acceptance of their new masters by the French-Canadians was slow, though on the other hand the small part taken by the people in government under the preceding French régime was continued in the form of a mere passive obedience under the new circumstances. Their priests and religion were respected; the British system of jurisprudence was introduced, but was not popular; and to their curés the people took most of their disputes for settlement. If General Murray had been a people's favorite, he was also succeeded by one of the most popular men of his time in North America. This was the noted general and diplomat, Sir Guy Carleton. Full of Irish spirit and wit, Carleton had been a favorite in the army, had seen many a bitter fight, and was the man to maintain the confidence of the light-hearted Canadians. Seven years after Wolfe's victory, which had made him a brigadier-general, he became governor. His associates were well chosen. Chief Justice Hey was capable; and a most distinguished lawyer, Francis Maseres, of French Huguenotic blood, was a councillor for three years, and afterwards returned to a high position in England. Charles Lamb speaks of him: "Baron Maseres, who walks, or did till very lately, in the costume of the reign of George II, closes my imperfect recollection of the old benchers of the Inner Temple."

No doubt the event most important at this time was the passage of the "Quebec Act of 1774." It is remarkable that almost every one had something to say for or against this famous act, except the French-Canadians themselves. Pennsylvania and New York objected because the boundaries of the new province seemed to invade their claims; the merchants of London were opposed to the introduction of the French civil law; many British parliamentarians disliked the act because it made no provision for representative institutions, but looked to a government by crown officers alone; the Congress meeting in Philadelphia urged the Canadians to resent the illiberal features of the act being passed in London. Jean Baptiste, however, if llowed to smoke his pipe in peace, speak his own tongue unmolested, and bey his good father-confessor, cared nothing for his other rights. The nain provisions of the act of 1774 are the preservation of their religion to he French-Canadians, the encouragement of the Protestant religion, the ontinuation of the criminal law of England, the permission of the French ode in civil causes, and the establishment of an executive council. The ct declares, "It is at present inexpedient to call an assembly;" and this vas probably done on the advice of Governor Carleton, who seemingly desired to conciliate the Canadians as to law and religion, but as a military man to keep the government very much out of their hands. The act is very well characterized by George Heriot (1807): "The system (introduced by the Quebec Act) was not contemplated with partiality even on the part of the statesmen by whom it was originally framed. But its temporary operation was considered as expedient on account of the symptoms of discontent which had then appeared in several of the British provinces on the continent of America." The French-Canadians hailed the return of Governor Carleton to Canada, after the passage of the act, with demonstrations of great satisfaction. General Carleton was, however, soon compelled to lay down the pen of the diplomat, and to seize the sword in the defence of Canada. An account is given elsewhere[1] of the expedition of Generals Montgomery and Arnold to take Quebec, after the English colonies had rebelled. For the defence of Quebec Carleton had but one company of regulars and the few seamen and marines of a sloop lying at Quebec. With his power of arousing enthusiasm, Carleton raised from among the people, most of them French-Canadians, a considerable body of defenders. His favorable standing on both continents as a soldier makes it difficult to explain the treatment given him, in superseding him as commander-in-chief, and sending General Burgoyne in his place. It may have been the intention of the British ministry to push the war in the enemy's country with more vigor, and thus leave Carleton more opportunity to devote himself to the management of a fickle people. Whatever the causes, Carleton felt and wrote keenly on the matter, and, Achilles-like, retired from Canada to his tent at home in 1778. The dissatisfied governor left Canada at a most inopportune time for the country. The closing years of the Revolutionary War were of great moment to Canada.

Carleton's successor did not gain so high a reputation as the free-hearted soldier, since called "the founder and saviour of Canada." General Frederick Haldimand, who was appointed governor on the retirement of Carleton, was born at Yverdun in Switzerland, and had entered the British service under the mercenary system so common at the time. Twenty years before the outbreak of the War of Independence he was in command of the British troops stationed at Philadelphia; and we find him under constant appointment by Britain, for more than thirty years, in her different American colonies, including those in the West Indies. He had been in many of the engagements of the Seven Years' War and the War of Independence, and after the capture of Canada was placed in command of Montreal, and then of Three Rivers in the time of General Murray. His continuous employment by Britain in important positions shows him to have been a man of ability, and a late writer is no doubt too severe when he says: "Like Clinton, Haldimand was nervous and sank under the weight of responsibility, and never saw or rose to the occasion. He was a good professional officer, honest, trustworthy, but devoid of insight." It was under Haldimand that the settlement of the loyalists took place in Canada.

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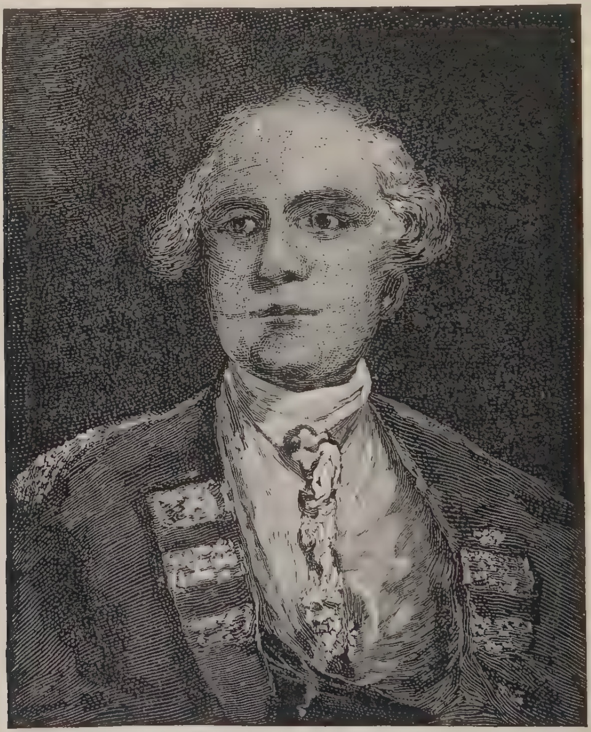
[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 161–7.



GENERAL HALDIMAND.*

Elsewhere[1] the condition of the loyalists in leaving the United States has been treated. Here a word as to their destination. From the seaboard States crowds of refugees fled to Nova Scotia. On the coast of Nova Scotia was built the temporary town of Shelburne, intended to be the Carthage of the fugitives, but it has long since disappeared. A strong and successful hold was taken of the river St. John by a military section of the loyalists. Here the feeling of desire for self-control became so strong that in 1784 a new province was set apart, and called New Brunswick. Already strongly military and patriotic, Nova Scotia, including the separated territory with the adjoining island of St. John, called afterward Prince Edward Island, received not less than twenty thousand of the refugees to be an element of strength in her population. And not only the maritime provinces, but inland Canada received its share of this patriotic element. In 1782 the irate officer Sir Guy Carleton had been soothed in feeling, and had been appointed to the command of New York in place of Sir Henry Clinton. The old friend of the Canadians naturally directed the eyes of the fugitives, many of whom had found a rendezvous in New York, to the banks of the St. Lawrence. Two ships, guarded by the brig "Hope" and laden with loyalists, left New York harbor in 1783, and sailed up the St. Lawrence to deposit these "pilgrim fathers" of Upper Canada at Sorel for the winter. Thither also, down the old military road along the Richelieu, came the soldiers of disbanded loyalist regiments, chiefly from the Johnson estates in New York State. The Sorel refugees in the next year took up their weary road and settled the country from Glengarry to the Bay of Quinté. By the Mohawk and past Oswego, another stream of loyalists made their way to settle along Lake Ontario, while the Niagara frontier was lined with the desperate Butler's rangers; and loyalist districts extended even to the neighborhood of Detroit along Lake Erie. Ten thousand loyalists, men and women of determination and principle, thus peopled and gave tone to what is now the province of Ontario, the backbone of the Dominion. For a century to come, every homestead taken up by a loyalist or his descendant was a centre of British sentiment, whatever might be the variations of opinion in the new land. Even loyalist Indians of the Six Nations were not wanting in this seed-sowing of patriotism. Joseph Brant, who had declared himself ready to "sink or swim" with the British, led large numbers of his people to settle on the Grand River and along the Bay of Quinté. The influx of thirty thousand new colonists into British America, and most of them dependent upon the government even for daily bread, brought much anxiety to the strict-minded Governor Haldimand. The unsettled condition of the border States, especially of Vermont, and the possibilities of the untried system of republican

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 185.

* [After a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, owned by W. L. Haldimand of Montreal, who kindly permitted it to be copied. There is a miniature likeness on ivory also owned in the family. I have traced these pictures through the aid of Mr. Brymner, the Dominion archivist. — Ed.]

STATUE OF BRANT AT BRANTFORD, ONTARIO.*

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* After a photograph.

government, gave rise to many complications. Haldimand saw everything from the soldier's standpoint. His first duty was to preserve Canada free of taint from republican opinion. No loyalist, with his permission, might settle immediately upon the frontier, and suspicious strangers must be closely supervised. A few restless spirits in Canada were in communication with the leading men of the United States. Among these was one Pierre du Calvet, a French Protestant, residing in Montreal and possessed of considerable means and property. Letters of his to General Washington were intercepted, and Du Calvet, with others, was promptly arrested. This proved a most troublesome matter, the French seignior carrying his case afterward to Britain, much to the distress of the governor. A most extraordinary person involved in the Du Calvet case, and a marplot in all Canadian affairs in the Colonial office, was a worthless Jesuit priest named Pierre Roubaud. The Du Calvet case, upon which much has been said, was ended by the principal being lost at sea on his return from Britain to Canada.

After eight years of turmoil and indefatigable, and let us say not unavailing, labor, the martinet governor returned to England, to be succeeded by the idol of the French-Canadian people, Sir Guy Carleton, but now with his services fully recognized, since he had been raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester. A pressing work was awaiting the practical-minded governor on his return to Canada. Just as the masterful loyalists to the north of the Bay of Fundy could not be satisfied till they had secured New Brunswick as a province to be moulded after their own thought, so in a still stronger degree did the fathers of Upper Canada desire to be separated from their French fellow-subjects, and to found a new province and new institutions after their own heart. But in political rearrangements it is inevitable that the greater good to many may crush out the life of some. The English-speaking people who had gathered into Montreal and Quebec now formed, twenty-five years after the Treaty of Paris, a considerable body. They had hailed the coming of the loyalists to the province of Quebec as giving them support and countenance in the face of French ideas, but now to have, as the western loyalists wished, the province divided roused their strongest opposition. Lord Dorchester had, however, the penetration to see that not only would a loyalist province on the St. Lawrence strengthen British interests in America, but it was plain that the narrow Quebec Act of 1774 had served its purpose, and freer institutions might with advantage be given to the people, in response to the petitions which had been forwarded to London for representation. The English-speaking people of Montreal and Quebec were represented by a doughty champion, Adam Lymburner, a Quebec merchant, and he fought against the proposed change with Scottish pertinacity. The opposition was, however, to no purpose; the die was cast; and the "Constitutional Act of 1791," dividing Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, became law, fixing for each province two houses of parliament, namely, a legislative council of appointed members and an assembly chosen by the people from fixed districts. Provision was made or the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, and the governors of the sepa- ate provinces were empowered to "erect parsonages and endow them, and o present incumbents of ministers of the Church of England." The chief eatures of the old "Quebec Act," except the government by the executive ouncil, remained in force. The news of the passage of this act of 1791 was well received in Quebec. The city was *en fête*. All made the good resolution that the distinction of "old" and "new" subjects now be forgotten. One hundred and sixty gentlemen — French and English — attended a public dinner in Quebec, and formed themselves into the "Constitutional Club."

The old circle of the British provinces had been rent by the American Revolution, but a new congeries of dependencies was rapidly forming, for there were now the four maritime provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, and there were the newly constituted Upper and Lower Canadas. These all, ruling their own local affairs, found their bond of connection to the mother country through the governor-general, the commander-in-chief of the forces, and a governor for each province appointed by the Home office. The proclamation made by George III in 1763, for the purpose of inducing loyal settlers by generous and free gifts of land, was continued with modifications after the coming of the loyalists. The unsettled condition of the several States along the Canadian border gave hope that a large immigration would, if encouraged, follow in the wake of the loyalists; for even Washington and the other leaders of the young republic were not blind to its besetting dangers, while it was quite a foregone conclusion among the governing class in Canada that the new government by the people must be a disastrous failure.

The officials chosen to rule the British provinces were, in the main, able men, though of intensely strong national prejudices. Over Nova Scotia was set as lieutenant-governor the sturdy old apostle of force, Sir John Wentworth. Sir John was a colonist born, had held high office, even that of governor in his native colony of New Hampshire. Trained in the old colonial official school, he was, though somewhat despotic, a good executive officer. For sixteen years he governed Nova Scotia. The pomp and show of the former days were fully maintained, and with his courtly manners he played his part well. As governor he had a horror of popular gatherings, on the ground that, being made up of "uneducated tradesmen, laborers, and farmers," they could only end in vulgar babble. The popular leader, Mr. Cottnam Tonge, was a thorn in the side of the oligarchist governor, and probably the mean of truth lay between the contention of the narrow but good-hearted ruler and the vigorous tribune of the people. During Sir John Wentworth's régime a large immigration came to Nova Scotia. Begun by the imperial colony of Halifax, Nova Scotia had shortly after received some two thousand German colonists, and even before the Revolution a considerable population had come from Boston, Philadelphia, and Rhode

Island to fill up the vacant Acadian lands. A stream of Celtic immigration had set in to the since famous county of Pictou in the company brought by the ship "Hector" in 1773; and this, stimulated by the agricultural distress in Scotland, led to an enormous increase of population, not only in this county, but in Cape Breton also. This sturdy people have always since vied with the loyalists in their devotion to the crown. A less desirable element of population, consisting of thousands of freed negroes from the colonies and of Jamaica maroons, vexed the soul of bluff Sir John, and his "thorough" plan of dealing with them resulted in the exportation of the bulk of these vicious and troublesome settlers to the negro rendezvous of Sierra Leone in Africa. Nothing more than the usual irritating features of infantile colonial life characterized the history of the other provinces encircling the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, although indications were not wanting thus early in Prince Edward Island of the worrying contest, to extend over three generations, as to the land tenure of the island.

Meanwhile, in Lower Canada, under General Prescott, who had succeeded the veteran Lord Dorchester, the French population were learning to accept British institutions. A considerable English-speaking element was also gathering in Lower Canada, especially in the districts known as the Eastern Townships. Undoubtedly the task of governing Lower Canada and of converting an alien race into British subjects was greatly promoted by the great gulf formed between the Canadians and their mother country by the French Revolution. French Canada was unmoved by the atheism of Voltaire or the philosophy of Rousseau; it was, in truth, in opinion the France of Louis XIV. The Churchmen of Canada were thus wrenched suddenly round from a French allegiance, and they brought with them their trustful flocks. It does not surprise us to find the French Bishop of Quebec, five years after the French Revolution, "thanking God the colony was English." When the strong hand of Prescott, however, had given place, in the early years of this century, to weak administrators, jealousy and desire for place led to the establishment of the first French newspaper, *Le Canadien*, in 1806, and in the heat of passion incited the French-Canadians to call their British fellow-colonists "étrangers et intrus." A conciliatory ruler could even yet have quieted the rising storm, but two years after the founding of *Le Canadien* there arrived in Quebec the stern old Scottish soldier Sir James Craig as governor-general. The firm disciplinarian, who had led his troops through the Peninsula, India, and Egypt in the French wars, had only contempt for the French clatter in the little parliament at Quebec, and dismissed the house to their constituents to learn wisdom. The new assembly was, as might have been expected, more fierce than ever. The governor took the summary method of throwing the violent editor of *Le Canadien* into prison, and along with him the more prominent and, as the governor considered, seditious members of the house. The war cloud looming up in the west, however, led the British authorities to prefer the recall of the honest old soldier as governor, to having the "dignity of the king's government" upheld in so unskilful a manner.

But it was in Upper Canada, in the period following the coming of the oyalists, that the greatest changes took place. Their trials had surely been ufficient in their hasty journey into the wilderness. But further hardships vere in store for them. The third year after their arrival was a famous year. Their small plantings on the new clearings in the forest were an absolute failure; and for a generation after, the matrons recited the narrow escape from starvation through which they passed in the "hungry year" of 1788. The year 1792 saw the organization of the loyalist province of Upper Canada under the "Constitutional Act." With great appropriateness the man chosen as governor of the new province was John Graves Simcoe, a loyalist officer of the Revolution. The son of a British officer, who had died of disease before Quebec in Wolfe's campaign, the young officer had seen service in the regular army, had been wounded, and had, after his recovery, raised and led the Queen's Rangers. He had, at the close of the war, returned to England, and was a member for Cornwall in the parliament in which the act of 1791 was passed. Governor Simcoe, while intensely loyal in opinion, was a thoroughly practical man, and had evidently the grasp of mind to lay good foundations for the future in the young province. Upper Canada was at that time a vast forest, with a few clearings along the lake shore. Simcoe called the first provincial parliament to meet him at Niagara on the 17th of September, 1792. Of eight acts passed, the three most important were for the establishment and maintenance of English law. The province was divided into counties, the lands were thrown open for settlement, and the governor issued, in the very year of his appointment, a proclamation inviting settlers; taking care, however, to exact from each landholder the oath, "I, A. B., do promise and declare that I will maintain and defend to the utmost of my power the authority of the king in his parliament as the supreme legislature of this province." The sanguine governor was not mistaken in regard to his invitation. Led by a German, Berczy, a thrifty band of German colonists from New York came over, and were the precursors of thousands who followed them to different parts of Upper Canada. Across the Niagara frontier came convoys of emigrants' wagons, herds of cattle, household goods, and invariably large families of children, to receive a welcome to the Niagara or

GOVERNOR SIMCOE.*

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* Follows the portrait engraved in Scadding's *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873).

London peninsula, or the district about Toronto. The land was largely unknown, and Simcoe with remarkable energy personally visited the different parts, chose for the new military depot London, as remote from the frontier, and on the new-world Thames selected a spot to be named Chatham as the dockyard for ships for the inland waters. Toronto, too, in his time was selected, after some discussion, as capital. The pioneer governor had a passion for road-making; and "Governor's Road," Dundas Street, and Yonge Street were laid out and, to some extent, built by soldiers of the Queen's Rangers under the direction of the people's governor. Though but four years governor, and in a province without laws or organization, and with a territory unknown except to the red man, marvels of advancement were wrought by the energetic and patriotic soldier. It is not strange that he should have been called "the father of constitutional, pure, and progressive government in Upper Canada." Though the population of the infant province had risen from twelve to thirty thousand during the short tenure of office by Governor Simcoe, the benefits of his policy were reaped in increasing measure after his departure. In spite of weak administrators and greedy land speculators, and the narrow-minded and selfish policy of the promoters of the "Sedition Act," passed in 1804, which gave power to arrest any person under suspicion who had been less than six months in the province, settlers poured in like a flood. They were as miscellaneous as they were numerous. During the last years of the century a band of royalists from France, of very high rank, formed a settlement a few miles north of Toronto. These included Comte de Puisaye, whom Lamartine declared to be an "orator, diplomatist, and soldier," Comte de Chalûs, who had been a major-general in the royal army of France, General Farcy, and others. These, known as the French émigrés, proved themselves unable to hew out a fortune from the forests of the new world. More practical, though less celebrated, was the colony of Highland soldiers and settlers, who, following their Roman Catholic chaplain Macdonell, afterwards their bishop, came forth to fill up the settlements along the St. Lawrence, which gave the name of the "Fencible regiment" to the district of Glengarry. An associate of Governor Simcoe in his explorations of the country had been a young Irish officer, Thomas Talbot. The vision of the stately forest trees of western Canada never left him, even when he had returned to the Green Isle. A few years after and early in the century, the somewhat quaint young Irishman emigrated to the new province, took up a tract of land on the shores of Lake Erie, and was successful before the end of his life in settling twenty-eight large townships. Colonel Talbot was long a legislative councillor of Upper Canada, and gave his name to the main artery of settlement, which is yet known as Talbot Street.

A political life, somewhat fitful and querulous, was beginning in the new province. Governor Simcoe was succeeded by governors chiefly noted for incompetency; and the loyalists — intense in their devotion as ever Jacobite had been to his cause — began to fear lest the mixed population which had flowed into the province should be of alien spirit, and defeat the very object for which they and their fathers had left the United States, for which they had clamored for the constitutional act of 1791, and which was the dearest idol of their hearts. This spirit naturally drove the proscribed classes into union for self-defence, and, as was usually the case in these new communities, a newspaper was begun to advocate the popular cause, for the loyalist opinions had grown to be looked upon as tyrannical. In 1807 appeared the *Upper Canada Guardian.* While Governor Craig was with a high hand upholding the prerogative in Lower Canada, the dominant party in Upper Canada, under the weak-minded Governor Gore, were persecuting their opponents. Strange that from the waves of the Atlantic to the shores of Lake Ontario, Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada as well, should have been, during the first decade of this century, the scene of turbulence and political strife. No doubt these were the signs of a life slowly rising among the unlikely gatherings of people with their varied political notions. One thing is most observable, — that up to this time a very large percentage of the settlers had been military. The leading elements of Lower Canada had been French officers and soldiers; Nova Scotia had a large proportion of soldiers in Halifax and among its loyalist settlers; New Brunswick was predominantly so; while Upper Canada, with its Niagara frontier peopled by Butler's men, the St. Lawrence district by "Royal Greens" and "Hessians," and Glengarry by the Highland Fencibles, was equally so. This military tone and direction must be ever borne in mind in studying the political and social life of Canada. But now the din of political strife was for a time to be drowned and the military spirit of the people to be drawn forth in the serious war declared in 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, and of which Canada was the principal theatre. It was no quarrel of Canada, though as a dependency of Britain the colony bore the brunt. Arising as it did from the discussion of rights upon the sea, it was to be expected that naval conflicts would make up a considerable part of the war. The account of these is given with some minuteness by another writer.[1] It is our task simply to outline the conflict which took place on Canadian soil.

The prevailing opinion at this time in the United States as to the state of feeling in Canada was quite erroneous. It was currently reported that there were many in Canada who desired to be freed from the British yoke. A little reflection as to the military elements of the Canadian population would have shown the absurdity of this. That there was a certain amount of sympathy for the United States in the western peninsula of Upper Canada, especially along the shore of Lake Erie, may be inferred from the passing of the "Alien Act" in 1804; but compared with the great volume of sentiment in favor of the crown this was insignificant. This misunderstanding goes to excuse somewhat General Hull for his ludicrous proclamation. His own countrymen have been especially severe upon the unfortunate general for his disastrous failure; and while his own plea certainly does not clear him, yet, with the seeming want of sympathy with him on the part of his superiors at Washington, and with the horde of savages let loose upon him after the capture of Michilimackinac, the key of the upper lakes, something may be said in his favor. His opponent, too, General Brock, was a trained soldier, and a man quick to see his advantage. Among the Canadians their leader inspired almost boundless enthusiasm. The winning of the battle of Queenston Heights was dearly bought with the death of so valiant a commander, along with that of his faithful aide, Macdonell. Brave Stephen Van Rensselaer was but badly supported by the war authorities of the United States, and the want of vigor of the whole campaign of the year 1812 was only too fitly closed by the empty proclamation of General Smyth, in which he said: "Soldiers! You are amply provided for war. You are superior in number to the enemy; your personal strength and activity are greater, your weapons are longer. The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies. They will not be able to stand before you — you who charge with the bayonet."

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 377–405.

THE BROCK MONUMENT.*

The only notable question of the first year of the war was the employment of Indians by the Canadians. General Hull had threatened no quarter to the "white man found fighting by the side of an Indian." The question is a large one, and at this distance of time more difficult. Perhaps the strongest point in favor of the British position is that given in General Brock's proclamation: "The brave bands of aborigines which inhabit this colony were, like His Majesty's other subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity by the loss of their possessions in the late colonies, and rewarded by His Majesty with lands of superior value in this province." In the second year of the war (1813) greater efforts were put forth by the United States, though much indifference on the part of the New England States in the war, and a marked inefficiency in the administration of the war department at Washington, still continued. The Canadians, while gaining an advantage at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, below Detroit, in the defeat and capture of General Winchester by the Wyandot chief Roundhead, had a serious loss in prestige by the bombardment and capture of their capital, York. The greater part of the small force stationed at York, however, retreated down the lake-shore. The American army also appeared in great force on the Niagara frontier. About the end of May the fortune seemed to turn. A successful night attack was made by the Canadians under Colonel, afterwards General Harvey, who also, at a later date, became governor of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. This advantage

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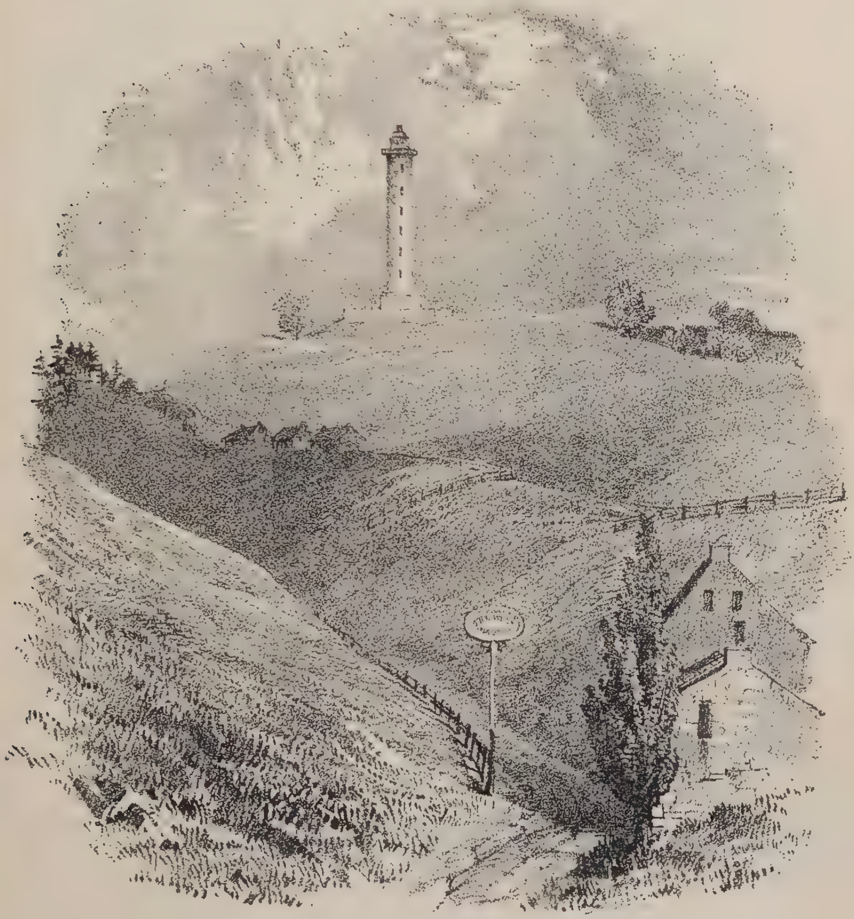
* From a photograph, secured through the kind interposition of G. Mercer Adam, Esq., of Toronto.



BROCK'S MONUMENT ON QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.*

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* Reproduced from Bouchette's *Upper Canada* (London, 1832). Cf. views in Lossing's *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, 163, 1174.

was followed immediately after by the capture of some five hundred troops by a small detachment of Canadians at Beaver Dams. These disasters led to the retirement of General Dearborn. But as the summer rolled on again the tide changed. The Canadian fleet on the lakes had all along been a chief dependence. The possession of Lake Erie meant the possession of the western peninsula of Upper Canada. It was the good fortune of the American Commodore Perry to capture the entire British fleet on Lake Erie. This left Colonel Proctor, who had borne his part well on the Detroit frontier, entirely helpless. His disastrous defeat, the attack upon him by General Harrison at Moravian Town, and the desperate conflict in which his brave colleague Tecumseh lost his life, are well known. Proctor was afterwards court-martialled and suspended from the service; but the sentence — considering his small force, not one half of his opponent's, the badness of the road, and his slow transport service up the Thames, as well as the confusion of his plans arising from the loss of the fleet — would seem to call for a more lenient judgment on the part of posterity.

SALABERRY STATUE.*

On the eastern frontier Canada won laurels. The affair at Chateauguay has always been regarded as noteworthy from the employment of French-Canadians, under their leader Colonel De Salaberry, himself, though an officer of the British regular army, a French-Canadian. Military critics give the closing battle of this year, Chrystler's Farm, on the St. Lawrence, where a Canadian force was completely successful, as the most scientifically fought battle of the war. The close of this year found the Americans in possession of the western peninsula of Upper Canada, but the Canadians full of hope on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. The last year of the war saw a powerful movement from the United States directed against the St. Lawrence region, but it was ineffectual, and Lake Ontario remained in possession of the British. In March of this year (1814) a strong delegation of Indians from the upper lakes, consisting of Ottawas, Ojibways, Shawanees, Delawares, Mohawks, Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos, and Winnebagoes, arrived in Montreal to swear allegiance to Britain. Their assistance was not so valuable as the encouragement given by the opinion of the red man — shrewd observer as he is — that the fortunes of war were with their ancient allies, and not in favor of the "Long-knives." The Niagara frontier was the last part of Canadian soil where the struggle continued, and here it was severe. A strong American force captured Fort Erie at the head of the Niagara River. The Canadians were repulsed in an attack on Chippewa, and were again compelled to fall back. But the arrival of General Drummond and strong reinforcements caused an advance, and then the bloodiest battle of the war, Lundy's Lane, was fought in a hand-to-hand struggle in the dark, for the contest lasted till midnight. Early in November the American force retired from the Canadian side, and the war, so far as Canada itself was concerned, was over. It was a joyful event when the news came that at Ghent, on December 14, 1814, the treaty of peace had been signed.

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* [After a photograph kindly furnished by Geo. Stewart, Jr., Esq., of Quebec. The statue was erected by a popular subscription in 1881. Cf. the portrait in B. Sulte's *Histoire des Canadiens-Francais.* — Ed.]

The three years' contest had an important effect on Canada. Coöperation in defending their country had brought the Canadians into acquaintance with one another, and undoubtedly aroused a certain *esprit de corps* previously unknown. Certain important political consequences, as we shall see, followed from the "war of defence." The war had a most powerful influence in promoting emigration from Britain to Canada, or rather of giving force to the movements already acquiring strength, which had been fostered by Governor Simcoe and others. The Glengarry emigration, begun, as we have seen, from Scotland in 1802 by the priest Macdonell, was but an evidence of a widespread necessity which compelled thousands of the peasantry to leave their native hills and seek the new world. This was called the "Highland Clearances," meaning by the name the economic movement on the part of the landlords of Scotland to take the small holdings of the crofters and make great sheep-runs of them. With the justice of this step, or the great sufferings following to the expatriated people, we have here nothing to do. Suffice it to say that thousands of the homeless Highlanders found shelter on Canadian soil. One of the sympathetic men of the period was the Earl of Selkirk, who, though a nobleman of the Scottish border counties, had an admiration for the Highlanders. In 1804, under his guidance, eight hundred colonists were landed on Prince Edward Island; and shortly after a small body of the same band settled in the extreme west of the peninsula of Upper Canada. But in 1811–15, this adventurous nobleman sent by way of Hudson's Bay the first settlers to the prairies of the Northwest, and founded on the Red River the Selkirk Colony, which no doubt, amid the disputes as to boundaries and the shifting claims, preserved to Britain by this early occupation what forms Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, a part of Canada to-day.[1] Immediately after the war many of the Highland refugees came to join their compatriots in the Glengarry district, and to form new settlements on Colonel Talbot's domain in Upper Canada. This stream of Scottish immigration was not, in the provinces by the sea, interrupted even by the war of 1812. Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were so occupied that the best lands were taken by 1820, but remoter districts kept on filling up for years after. The close of the war of 1812–15 was also the period of the close of the great Napoleonic wars. The disbanding of many British regiments led to the arrival in Canada of large numbers of military colonists. The close of the war also brought great derangement of trade in Britain, and many operatives from the congested trade districts found their way to the new world. What may be called the Ottawa district, or part of the region known as Central Canada, was thus settled. The district south of the St. Lawrence, in the neighborhood of Montreal, in Lower Canada, and the eastern townships received large numbers of this military and operative population. While this immigration was largely Scottish, the poverty and distress in Ireland resulted in the British government sending thousands of Irish colonists to Upper Canada. Many townships in the unoccupied Ottawa region were thus filled, while the Newcastle district, lying between Lake Ontario and Rice Lake, and to the north of this, was settled by thousands from the Green Isle.

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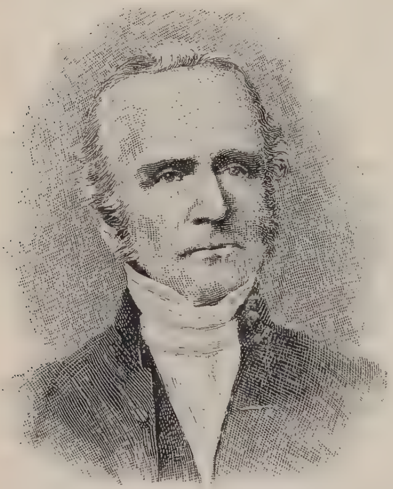
[1] See on this settlement, *ante*, ch. I.

Perhaps the most remarkable immigration agency working in Canada was an association formed in 1825, called the "Canada Company." This great English company acquired upwards of two millions of acres of land in Upper and Lower Canada. The district lying along Lake Huron, hitherto entirely unknown, became the great centre of the company's operations. Two men known in the literary world, John Galt, the author of many works of fiction, and Dr. Dunlop, who is met as a character in Christopher North's "Noctes Ambrosianæ," were prominent officials of the company in Canada. The towns of Guelph, Stratford, and Goderich are centres to-day of what were the great Canada Company's lands. Other private enterprises, usually under government favor, and military settlements, from England, Ireland, and Scotland, brought a population to Upper and Lower Canada that really transformed the forest wastes into scenes of energy and thrift. This was by no means the end of the immigration to Canada, but so important was the influx of this period that from the close of the war up to the year 1835 has been aptly called the "making of Canada." The incidents of this coming of the people are many; and while they are beyond our scope, yet we may mention the terrible cholera plague of 1832–34, which followed the settlers from the old world to the new, and devastated Upper and Lower Canada. Reference might also be made to the altogether phenomenal "Miramichi fire," which in 1825 swept like a hurricane across the northern part of New Brunswick, and left a memory of terror over that whole region.

The political history of Canada, as already said, takes its color from the loyalist and military character of its people. While there is much that is beautiful and admirable in the constancy and devotion of the United Empire loyalists, yet their political principles savor of narrowness and tyranny. The governors Bernard and Hutchinson, and men of their stamp, who were strong factors in bringing on the American Revolution, made no secret of their belief that the interests of the governing class were superior to those of the people. To certain persons fitted for the trust is committed the duty of ruling those who have no such faculty. The Roman patrician believed himself a heaven-born ruler, and trampled on the plebs ; the Jewish Pharisee, filled with the spirit of his order, asked with surprise in regard to the new teacher, "Have any of the rulers believed on him ?" English cavaliers thought it their right to domineer over the sharp-bearded Puritans ; Scottish Jacobites, holding themselves as the party constituted by divine right, even when overcome would not for generations surrender the lost cause ; so the loyalists, coming with principles which had proved themselves untenable in the United States, sought to plant them in their newly formed colonies. They succeeded well in New Brunswick ; in Upper Canada, where the elements of population were more mixed, they struggled with desperation, and for many years maintained a disturbed sway. The military immigration from Britain fell in well with the loyalists. The soldier is ever the advocate of a privileged class. As the ruler exacts submission because he is born to command, so the soldier demands special recognition because it is his business to defend the state. In Upper Canada the first governor, Simcoe, had his period of rule shortened because he was not subservient to the behests of the domineering land-grasping class. His successor gave full opportunity for building up, at the expense of the province, a band of landed favorites. In the last year of the last century arrived in Canada, as governor, General Peter Hunter. In his time of six years the loyalist feeling strengthened greatly. As already noted, in 1804 there was passed an act which showed at the same time the fears of the loyalists that they would be outnumbered, and made clear the unflinching character of their leaders and the extreme measures they were ready to adopt. The "Sedition Act" gave power to arrest any person who had been less than six months in the province, and who had seditious intent to disturb the tranquillity of the country. A civilian governor, Francis Gore, in 1806 came to rule the disturbed province. He was a good-tempered but inactive man, and became a tool in the hands of the loyalist leaders. The oligarchy was not, however, to have all its own way. A high-minded and popular judge, who was disposed to sympathize with the people, and who was, contrary to the will of the ruling powers, elected to the legislative council, was severely taken to task by the government *Gazette*. It was to defend the right that the journal already mentioned, the *Guardian*, was begun. Its editor, a fiery Irishman, Joseph Willcocks, soon felt the power of the oligarchy by being cast into prison for libel ; while Judge Thorpe, the real object of the rulers' dislike, was taken from the evil by being recalled to England by the Colonial office. Even to express a favorable opinion of the party of liberty was a fault ; as an Englishman of property and position, who ventured to raise his voice in favor of justice, soon learned. Writing a pamphlet, not by any means of an outrageous character, brought down upon this offender's head an address of the legislature to the lieutenant-governor, which expressed "abhorrence and detestation of an infamous and seditious libel signed 'John Mills Jackson.'" The temper thus displayed, while not able to injure the Englishman in his sea-girt isle, was a clear exhibition of the system of tyranny in vogue.



SIR JOHN BEVERLY ROBINSON.*

The war of 1812 hushed the noise of political strife, but, as has been said, produced political consequences of much importance. The loyalists and their military associates became the leaders in the defence of the country, and thus gained great influence. Accustomed to coöperate in war, their leaders from Kingston, Glengarry, Bay of Quinté, York, and the Niagara frontier were more firmly banded together after the war in their determined scheme to rule the province. To raise a finger against those who had saved the country to Britain was construed into a breach of loyalty to be instantly repressed. This coöperation was much assisted by the strong, formative mind of a shrewd ecclesiastic. Among the leaders of public opinion during the war of 1812–15, at the capital of the province, was the active rector of York, — a Scotchman, John Strachan, — not yet forty years of age, but zealous and intense. Amid the disasters and sufferings of the war he had established a benevolent organization, called the "Loyal and Patriotic Society"; it was at the earnest entreaties of the rector that the sparing of York from flames was granted by the Americans. This man was destined to become the dictator of Upper Canada. In the last year of the war so valuable was his aid that he was made a member of the executive council, and five years afterward he became a member of the legislative council. He was a thorough conservative in church and state; he was ardent and sympathetic; was determined and subtle; had the faculty of laying hold of promising young men and pushing them forward to be useful to his party. Chief Justice Powell was a leader of the party; and in the year 1821 there was brought forward a young lawyer of promise, of true U. E. loyalist stock, — John Beverly, afterwards chief justice, Robinson. These and others of like opinions and of much influence formed themselves into a cabal, probably apprehensive of the changes in political opinion or in religion that seemed to be threatening. This was rendered all the easier by the return as governor for three years, after the war, of the willing servant of the oligarchy — Francis Gore. The thorough conviction and earnestness of the loyalists gave their party its force, and while this does not carry our sympathy it wins our respect. By the year 1820 the dominant party was definitely formed, and for many years was known as the "Family Compact." In 1817 there had come to Canada a Scottish gentleman, of erratic disposition and changing fortune, — Robert Gourlay. He established himself as a land agent, and in the pursuit of his business circulated a list of queries throughout Upper Canada, which were regarded as an attack on the ruling powers. Gourlay became the object of the hatred of the junto. At Kingston, and again at Brockville, the agitator was arrested and tried, but acquitted; with singular animosity he was followed, and again arrested and tried, at Niagara, under the Sedition Act of 1804. The offender was certainly not within the range of that law, but a loyalist judge and jury found him guilty, and in the end the unfortunate man, worn out with persecution, was driven from the province. The executive council was supreme; it was not subject to either legislative council or assembly. Patronage was dispensed with lavish hands on the favorites of the rulers. The condemnation of Gourlay was an act of unpardonable tyranny, and sent a thrill of disgust through the hearts of the people. His cause they knew to be theirs; and so in 1824 there was elected a house of assembly hostile to the dominant cabal. This people's assembly was only laughed at by the oligarchy.

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* [After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *British Americans* (Montreal, 1868). Robinson was a descendant of Christopher Robinson, who came to Virginia as secretary to Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia. Sir John was the son of Christopher Robinson, who graduated at the College of William and Mary, and during the American Revolutionary War joined Simcoe's Rangers, and at the peace, settled with other loyalists in New Brunswick, whence in 1788 he removed to Canada, where Sir John was born, July 26, 1791, in the very year in which a Parliamentary act divided Canada into the Upper and Lower provinces, in the former of which he was destined to reach its highest judicial station as its Chief Justice (1829). He served under Brock at Detroit and Queenstown in the war of 1812. He died Jan. 31, 1863. — ED.]

In the mean time the pliable governor had been replaced by Sir Peregrine Maitland, a man of high English connection and strong oligarchic tendencies. The people's assembly contained, as friends of freedom and enemies of the government, the polished American Bidwell, the people's tribune, Perry, and the astute Englishman, Dr. John Rolph. These did yeoman service for the popular cause. In the same year was begun the *Colonial Advocate*, a popular newspaper, conducted by one of the men who most largely influenced his time, and of whom we must know more — William Lyon Mackenzie. This newspaper became a chief instrument in exposing grievances and helping the popular ferment. It became in consequence the main object of loyalist hatred, so that in two years it brought upon itself the wrath of the younger members of the loyalist party, who entered the office, tore the paper to shreds, and threw the type into Toronto Bay. The editor, Mackenzie, hitherto as poor as he was ardent and abusive, succeeded in recovering heavy damages, which gave new life to his newspaper enterprise. In two years more the persecuted editor was elected a member of the assembly. At the same time when Mackenzie was elected to the house, a gentleman of pure life and singularly attractive qualities, named Robert Baldwin, was chosen to represent the popular cause by the town of York, the very centre of the government party. The struggle continued with unabated fury. The dominant party was greatly assisted by a headstrong British officer, Sir John Colborne, sent at this time to replace Governor Maitland. Various cases of oppression were collected by the agitators, and the most made of them. A British officer who had espoused the popular cause was charged with disloyalty for having, in a time of hilarity, called on a band of strolling players for a selection of American airs; a judge who refused to become a member of the ruling faction was removed from his position; an innkeeper of Niagara had his buildings torn down by the hands of the military under the direction of the cabal; while a fierce libel case against a vituperative Irish radical editor raised popular feeling to the highest pitch.

The struggle had settled down to a life-and-death contest between executive council and legislative assembly. Fuel to the flame was supplied by a religious question, which in even the shortest sketch of Canadian history must have a chief place. This is what is known as the Clergy Reserve controversy. It was the thirty years' religious war of Upper Canada. The union of church and state was a prominent tenet of the loyalists. It was no wonder that the "Constitutional Act of 1791," obtained by the loyalist leaders from a sympathetic parliament, and in the face of the strong French and Roman Catholic element of the province of Quebec, should contain a provision allotting one seventh of all the crown lands for "the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy." It seemed to anxious souls the only safeguard when political power was being entrusted to the aliens of Lower Canada. The unorganized state of the country and the trifling value of the wild lands of the province led to this potent germ of dissension lying inactive for wellnigh thirty years, though shortly after 1791 two and a half millions of acres of the public domain in Upper Canada and about one million in Lower Canada were set apart for this purpose. Murmurs of discontent had been heard in Lower Canada; the radical Gourlay had called attention to the matter in Upper Canada; a member of the legislature had moved to have a portion of the lands sold, but Governor Gore shelved the question by a sudden prorogation; the case of a Scottish Presbyterian congregation in Niagara, which had lost its church during the late war, had raised a temporary building, and then proffered a request to the government for £100 from the clergy reserve fund, however brought up the question which was to be a bone of contention, and to ruin government after government. Lord Bathurst, the British colonial secretary, gave it as the opinion of the law officers that the expression "Protestant clergy" might apply to the ministers of the national Church of Scotland as well as to that of England, but not to dissenters, inasmuch as the last were not recognized by law. What the original intention of the act was has been much debated. It was even a matter of perplexity at the time of its passage. Lord Grenville then declared that the bill "meant to provide for any clergy that was not Roman Catholic." There can be no doubt that many members of parliament on the other hand took it to be simply a provision for the Church of England. The further clause in the act, giving power to "erect parsonages and endow them, and to present incumbents or ministers of the Church of England," is a pretty clear indication that the original intention debarred Presbyterians and all others outside the Episcopal Church. Sir Peregrine Maitland, though possessed of the opinion of Lord Bathurst, concealed this from the knowledge of the public. Other applications were made by the ministers of the Scottish Church in Canada for assistance. Early in 1823, the redoubtable leader Dr. Strachan, as chairman of the Upper Canada clergy reserves corporation, forwarded to Earl Bathurst a strong plea for the endowment of the Church of England alone. The tone of this petition may be seen from its opening sentiment: "That the province of Upper Canada was settled by loyalists from the United States, who were chiefly Episcopalians, ever distinguished in the colonies on account of their affection for the parent state and their incorruptible attachment to the king." To the petition was attached an "Ecclesiastical Chart," whose claims were indignantly contradicted by all the Canadians outside the pale of the doctor's own Church. Late in the same year, the Hon. William Morris, a member of the assembly, succeeded in carrying a series of resolutions, declaring the right of the Church of Scotland in the province to participate in the government provision for religion; the address was, however, by a narrow majority, rejected by the legislative council. Governor Maitland sent despatches to the Colonial office strenuously upholding the claim of the Church of England. This was soon followed by a visit of Dr. Strachan to England, which resulted in a decision to sell part of the lands to the Canada Company, then about to be established. On the occasion of the funeral of Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, Dr. Strachan took the opportunity in his sermon to speak in behalf of his own narrow position. Among other things the fiery partisan said: "The religious teachers of the other denominations of Christians, a very few acceptable ministers of the Church of Scotland excepted, come almost universally from the Republican States of America, where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments." The charge of disloyalty covertly contained in these words was mainly directed against the Methodist itinerants who were zealously advancing their cause. This unwarrantable attack drew forth an impassioned reply

BISHOP STRACHAN.*

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* After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *Brit. Americans*, vol. iii.

from a young Methodist preacher, afterwards of great fame, — Egerton Ryerson, the son of a United Empire loyalist. He pointed out that "the Methodists had no law to secure a foot of land for parsonages, chapels, and the burial of the dead; their ministers were not allowed to solemnize matrimony; and some of them had been the objects of cruel and illegal persecution on the part of magistrates and others in authority." On the 27th January, 1826, an address to the king was adopted by the legislative assembly, in which the claim was made "that the lands set apart in this province for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy ought not to be enjoyed by any one denomination of Protestants to the exclusion of their Christian brethren of other denominations, equally conscientious in their respective modes of worshipping God, and equally entitled, as dutiful and loyal subjects, to the protection of your Majesty's benign and liberal government." An alteration was now suggested, to the effect that "the clergy reserve fund should be devoted to the advancement of the Christian religion generally, . . . of whatever denomination, or to be applied to the purposes of education and the general improvement of the province." To this address a reply came from Britain, saying that the reserves had been "specially allotted by the Imperial Parliament to the Established Church." That the unfairness of the contention of those who desired to claim the whole reserve fund was recognized by the imperial authorities is shown by the fact that about this time it was decided to give from the funds arising from the sale of lands to the Canada Company £750 per annum to the Church of Scotland, and £750 to the Roman Catholics in Upper Canada, and these payments were made in 1827. In January of that year a series of strong resolutions passed the assembly by a large majority in favor of the several claimants, but these were again thrown out by the legislative council. The active ecclesiastic who led the movement was not at this time idle. Crossing to England, the "incomparable" doctor succeeded in obtaining a royal charter for an Upper Canadian university, to be called the University of King's College. This, though an entirely sectarian institution, whose every official was required to sign the "Thirty-nine Articles," was given an endowment of 225,000 acres of wild land, and a grant of £1000 a year for sixteen years.

During Dr. Strachan's visit in England he published a "letter and ecclesiastical chart," around which raged even a fiercer controversy than in the case of the former chart. Years of agitation were arousing the popular mind in Canada, and the charges of Jesuitry and bad faith were freely brought against the ecclesiastical politician. The popular excitement resulted in an inquiry by the assembly into the truth of the letter and chart, and the decision was given that they were likely to "produce erroneous impressions respecting the religious state of this province and the sentiments of its inhabitants." This report, dated 1828, states further that the whole province, and not only the loyalists, had passed through a war, "which had put to the proof the loyalty of the people," and declaration was made against the university that "it should not be a school of political or sectarian views." Another address was forwarded to the king, and the country was stirred to the very centre by public meetings and church courts declaring their views. The new governor, Sir John Colborne, a bigoted partisan, was forced in 1830 to transmit a petition for the dissenting Presbyterian clergymen, and even he was compelled to recommend consideration for "these most diligent ministers." Year after year, with changing front, this religious battle raged, till in 1836 the country was startled by Sir John Colborne erecting in a clandestine manner, under the clause of the "Constitutional Act" so long held in abeyance, forty-four rectories of the Church of England, and endowing these with extensive and valuable glebe lands. It had been intended to establish fifty-seven rectories, but the plot was discovered before all the patents were signed. The rebellion of the year after, to which we shall recur, was undoubtedly stimulated by this obnoxious course of action, and soon after it had been quelled the controversy assumed a new form. The ruling powers regarded the matter now simply as a difficulty to be adjusted. In 1840 the exclusive claim of the Church of England was denied, and that of all the other bodies of Protestants admitted, by the assembly, but this view was not taken in England. An act was, however, passed with the declared purpose of removing the matter from the field of controversy, by vesting the fund from the sale of lands in the "Imperial Parliament for religious purposes." This anomalous result was reached by the division which had been made between the subtle leader Ryerson and the political leaders of the agitation. Three years after, the revenue from the reserves proving trifling, Bishop Strachan began an agitation to amend the act of 1840, and Ryerson and the bishop and all the politicians of the country engaged in a most unseemly strife over this religious question. In three years more the bishop proposed to divide the lands among the several religious bodies. This device captured a number of his opponents, and added the charges of treachery to the tumult of the conflict. In four years more the legislature asked the transfer from imperial control to Canada again. In 1853 the transfer to Canada was made, as desired. The liberal ministry was led by Francis Hincks, one of the most determined enemies of church and state in Canada. He had long stood in the front of the battle, and was ready to apply a simple remedy to the clergy reserves difficulty; but his Lower Canadian Roman Catholic allies were afraid to

SIR FRANCIS HINCKS.*

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* After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *Brit. Americans*, vol. iii.

secularize what seemed to them consecrated funds, and popular will, rising in its strength, swept the halting ministry from power. In 1854 the McNab-Morin ministry — loyalists of the highest order — stole the thunder of their divided liberal opponents, and passed an act which secured the life interests of the clergy already receiving grants, and gave the surplus to education.

Thus ended a struggle, long and tedious, and made more so by the craft, instability, and selfishness of those who should have been models of simplicity and sincerity. It was, however, one of those powerful agents which welded the settlers together, and moulded them into a discriminating and liberty-loving people. The Clergy Reserve contest was but one of the incidents in the struggle for freedom against oligarchic rule.

LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU.*

In Lower Canada, as well as in the upper province, the struggle for freedom was going on. No sooner had the echoes of Chrystler's Farm and Chateauguay begun to die out than the spirit of French-Canadian political discontent appeared. Two years after the close of the war there was elected to the speakership of the Lower Canadian assembly a brilliant young French-Canadian, who had commanded a militia corps of his countrymen in the war. This was Louis Papineau. For twenty years, almost without interruption, Papineau was speaker of the house and leader of the French-Canadians. During this period of uncertainty, Lord Dalhousie, a stern but honest British general, was governor-general, having previously been governor of Nova Scotia. Fearing the dangerous tone of Papineau and his associates, one of whom was Dr. Wolfred Nelson, a Montrealer of United Empire loyalist blood, Lord Dalhousie refused to recognize the popular French-Canadian leader as speaker, and prorogued the assembly. The ensuing ferment led to the transfer of the governor to India, and to the appointment by the imperial parliament of the "Canada Committee," which gave in a wise and able report, recommending that the "legislative assemblies and the executive government of Canada (both Upper and Lower) be put on a right footing." All eyes were, however, too blinded with prejudice to adopt this remedy, which would have met the case. In 1832, to quiet public excitement, the British government gave over to the assembly in Lower Canada the control of the local revenue. The opportunity was thus in the hands of the French Canadians to tyrannize over the judges and civil servants, who were chiefly English, by refusing to pay their allowances. Within five years nearly £150,000 of arrears were due on this civil list. The case was so serious that an imperial commission had been appointed to consider it. In 1834 the French-Canadians had vindicated themselves in a quasi-claim of right by the passage of "ninety-two resolutions." Societies were formed by the English-speaking people of Lower Canada called "Constitutional Associations." These sought at the same time to keep up the oligarchic rule and to make themselves the defenders of British connection. The question of loyalty was really not at stake, but the heat of the agitation completely obscured the main questions of liberty. In 1837 Lord John Russell moved four resolutions in the British parliament, condemning the action of the legislative assembly, and yet preserving the non-elective character of the council, against which principle the Lower Canadians, along with the majority of Upper Canada, loudly inveighed. This action added fuel to the flame. A Lower Canadian journal declared: "Henceforth there must be no peace in the province — no quarter for the plunderers. Agitate! Agitate! Agitate! Destroy the revenue; denounce the oppressors. Everything is lawful when the fundamental liberties are in danger. The guards die — they never surrender!" During the year of Lord John's resolutions large and excited meetings were held throughout the districts in Lower Canada. At one of these, on the Richelieu River, twelve hundred people were present, and Papineau, the idol of the people, was lauded to the skies, and a fund called the "Papineau tribute" begun for the support of the *uncrowned king*. A meeting of five thousand persons was held a few months later at St. Charles on the Richelieu, and a "column" with the "cap of liberty" upon it was erected. Young French-Canadians banded themselves into societies called "Sons of Liberty," and members of the legislative assembly, in token of their disrespect for the ruling powers, appeared in the house dressed in homespun ("étoffe du pays"), thus showing their determination to purchase nothing of British manufacture. The more ardent spirits began to meet secretly to drill; collisions of the "Sons of Liberty" and the "Constitutionalists" took place, and the outlook became so threatening that the bishop, Monseigneur Lartigue, issued a pastoral to soothe the turbulent feelings of his countrymen. The determined soldier Sir John Colborne, now with headquarters in Montreal, and with almost all the troops from Upper Canada concentrated at that point, forbade drilling, and prepared to crush sedition wherever it should show itself. In November the blow fell. At St. Charles and St. Denis bands of insurgents were gathered together. Dr. Nelson at St. Denis made for a time a strong resistance, but afterwards gave way, while at St. Charles, the headquarters of revolt, a bold stand was made, to be, however, ended by the determined attack of Colonel Wetherall. Nelson was taken; and the leader of the St. Charles rebels escaped, as did also Papineau, to the United States. A few trifling demonstrations northwest of Montreal brought the fiasco to an end.

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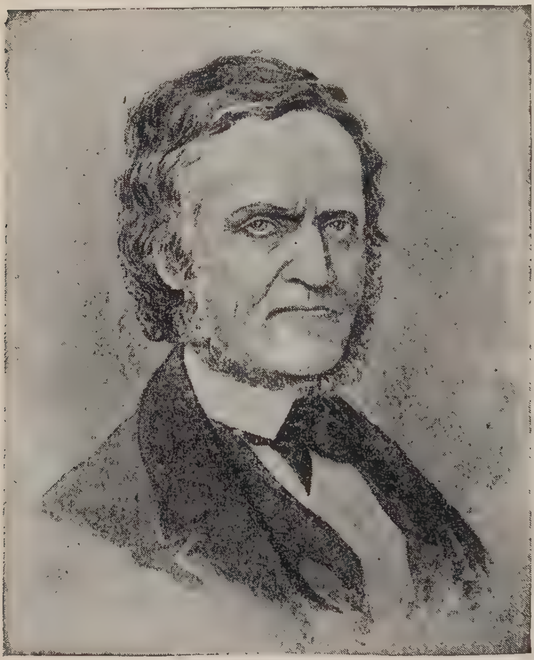
* After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *Brit. Americans*, iii. He was born in October, 1789.

Meanwhile, in Upper Canada, the fires of discontent had been burning also. Not only the clergy reserve agitation, but many other grievances, excited the people. The struggle centred in the legislative halls in York. Though the people's parliament had been elected so early as 1824, yet the "Family Compact" began to use the arts well known to tyrants, of misrepresentation, secret plottings, and social disparagement. Against William Lyon Mackenzie, fiery and radical Scotchman as he was, their arms were turned, for Dr. Strachan detested his impulsive fellow-countryman. Mackenzie was elected in 1828 to the assembly. But the fiery advocate of the people was more radical than men of the Bidwell and Baldwin type, and so about the year 1830 a line of cleavage began to appear among the opponents of the Family Compact. The wily politician Ryerson also began, as has been already said, to veer about on the Clergy Reserve question. The members of the Family Compact were too experienced and too shrewd to fail in adopting the motto of tyrants older than they: "Divide et impera." In consequence, the Family Compact in 1830 gained ground, and in the year following passed what was known as the "Everlasting Salary Bill," by which judges and members of the executive council were made independent as to salary of the vote of the assembly. In the elections for the new assembly, Baldwin, Rolph, and other leaders were defeated, though Mackenzie was elected for the metropolitan county of York. The majority of the house, encouraged by their victory, vented their spleen on the virulent editor by thrice expelling him from the house, though he returned in each case elected by a larger majority than before. Mackenzie was now in the zenith. He was the people's tribune, and on visiting England received the solemn assurance from the British law officers that his expulsion had been thoroughly illegal. Returning to Canada, the martyr was again elected, and followed to the house by a great crowd of his constituents demanding admission; but the same refusal was given by the



WILLIAM L. MACKENZIE.*

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* After a likeness in Charles Lindsey's *Life and Times of Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1863).

ominant majority. The persecuted editor had now become the most popular man in Canada, and in 1834 was elected first mayor of the city of Toronto, as the newly incorporated town of York then began to be called. This victory took place in the very centre of Family Compact influence.

In the same year, a letter received from a leading English radical of enown, Joseph Hume, was published in the *Colonial Advocate* by Mackenie. In this letter, referring to Mackenzie's expulsion, the English radical said such proceedings must "terminate in independence and freedom from the *baneful domination* of the mother country." This unfortunate expression thus adopted by Mackenzie alienated many of his associates, including the astute clerical politician, Egerton Ryerson. Notwithstanding the defection of some of their supporters, the opponents of the oligarchy carried the elections of this time, and Mr. Bidwell was elected speaker of the house by a small majority. This assembly was one of the most important that ever met in Upper Canada. A special committee on grievances was appointed, with Mackenzie as chairman. In April, 1835, there was prepared the *Seventh Report of the Grievance Committee,* a most comprehensive and telling exposure of the whole system of Family Compact government, and which led to the recall of Sir John Colborne, the oligarchist governor.

SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD.*

The friends of liberty, rejoicing over the departure of Governor Colborne, were in high expectations when it was announced that Sir Francis Bond Head, a distinguished author and traveller, and heralded as a "tried reformer," had been appointed governor. But the new governor was absolutely unacquainted with the duties of his office, and at once showed a strong dislike to the opponents of the government, considering that they were not a party of gentlemen. In the general election of 1836 the new governor took a prominent and undignified part. On Mackenzie's section of the liberal party suspicion had fallen in consequence of the "baneful domination" letter, as it was called, and of other utterances somewhat disloyal. The Family Compact organized the "British Constitutional Society," and their cry was, "Hurrah for Sir Francis Head and British connection!" The population of the province had nearly doubled by the influx of British settlers, and to the great surprise of Mackenzie and his followers these were found to respond to the misleading cry of British connection; and so overwhelming was the triumph of the Family Compact in the general election that Bidwell, Perry, Lount, and even Mackenzie himself were all defeated, and their party left in a hopeless minority.

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* After a likeness in Charles Lindsey's *Life and Times of Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1863).

Mackenzie was exasperated. His newspaper was resumed under the name of *The Constitution*, and its attacks were most virulent. The popular mind, however, soon reacted from the position taken in favor of Family Compactism, and public feeling turned against the governor who had interfered in so grossly unfair a manner in carrying the elections. Now would have been the time for wisdom and self-control. But these were the very qualities lacking in Mackenzie. Secret messages passed constantly between Papineau, the leader of the Lower Canadian sedition, and Mackenzie. Indeed, one of the main instruments in carrying the elections against the friends of liberty was an unwise letter from Papineau, which Bidwell, the speaker of the assembly, had read to the house while in session. About the end of July, 1837, a society called the "Committee of Vigilance" was formed, and Mackenzie was chosen as agent and corresponding secretary. There does not seem to have been any intention of rebellion in the forming of the organization. Bidwell was entirely opposed to violent measures; Rolph temporized; on the ardent Mackenzie must be the responsibility of shaping its action. The troops had all been taken to Montreal on account of Papineau's rebellion, and concerted action was intended by Mackenzie and Papineau. Less than twenty-four hours before the St. Charles attack in Lower Canada, Mackenzie left Rolph's house in Toronto to rouse his followers. On the following day a revolutionary manifesto was issued, headed, "Proclamation by William Lyon Mackenzie, Chairman pro tem. of the Provisional Government of the State of Upper Canada." In the document were such sentiments as, "Rise, Canadians! Rise as one man, and the glorious object of our wishes is accomplished."

MACLEOD.*

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* After a likeness in Charles Lindsey's *Life and Times of Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1863).

The rendezvous of the rebels was on Yonge Street, a few miles north f Toronto. On the 4th of December, 1837, some eight hundred insurgents ad assembled. The country was certainly very apathetic. Toronto, a own of twelve thousand people, had no defenders, and the rebels might asily have taken possession of it. No action being taken, time was given or Colonel Allan MacNab and the men of Gore district to arrive at Toronto or its defence. A skirmish ensued, in which the rebels were scattered, nd Mackenzie, with £1,000 reward upon his head, became an exile. A oilsome and dangerous journey led the arch-rebel to the United States, y way of the Niagara River. The provisional government was organized n Navy Island. The patriot flag, with twin stars and the motto "Liberty nd Equality," was then given to the breeze. A daring action, which hreatened international complications, was the cutting out the steamer Caroline" from under the guns of Fort Schlosser, an American vessel, hich was, on capture, sent adrift over the falls of Niagara. This was done y a band under Captain Drew, an officer of MacNab's command, and was articipated in by one Macleod, who by his action gave his name to a amous case in the diplomacy of the United States and Great Britain.[1] ther slight skirmishes brought the Upper Canadian rebellion to an end.[2]

The wrongs which led to the rebellion may justly be laid at the door f the Family Compact. Both in Upper and Lower Canada there was a irect refusal, in the existence of the executive and legislative councils, hich were crown-appointed, to acknowledge the popular will. Undoubtedly the most beneficial results followed these rebellions. They broke own the unfair system of governing French Canada; they sounded the nell of Family Compactism in Upper Canada; but they reflect no glory — ot even credit — on those who led them. Mackenzie, by constitutional eans, by patiently awaiting the tide which had turned in his favor, might ave secured all that was obtained. Desolated homes, himself and his ompatriots in exile, hatreds and bitter feelings which took a score of years o allay, might all have been avoided, had more pacific and considerate ounsels prevailed.

The rebellions in Canada led to a rude awakening of the authorities in ondon. Too often it has been the case in colonial affairs that only after erious injury has been done is attention paid to the storm of discontent. The young Queen Victoria had just ascended the throne, and her reign was o be one of benevolence. A brilliant young statesman of Britain, of the iberal school, was sent to Canada as governor-general in 1838, to study the ants of Canada and recommend a remedy for the grievances. This was John George Lambton, better known as the Earl of Durham, a cultivated, een-sighted man, albeit somewhat sybaritic in his habits. Amid much splendor the new governor arrived in Quebec. A difficulty met him on the ery threshold. This was the disposal of the prisoners taken in the Lower

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[1] See *ante*, VII. 494.

[2] On the battle of Fighting Island (Detroit River), see *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, vii. 89.

Canadian rebellion. Intending it as a merciful expedient, Lord Durham, contrary to the law of the land, exiled sixteen of these rebels, including Wolfred Nelson, sending them to Bermuda. His political enemies in Britain were not slow to take advantage of the earl's mistake. They contemptuously denounced him as the "Lord High Seditioner," and made out so clear a case that the home government was compelled to disallow his exile ordinance. This stung to the quick the mettlesome governor, and led him into the grave error of publicly attacking his British superiors, and made his stay in Canada but a short one. Notwithstanding this irritation and his delicate health, Lord Durham undertook his work with immense energy and rare skill. No one in the whole range of colonial governors ever showed such keen insight into Canadian affairs and was so fertile in expedients to remedy the evils. The report which was prepared by the earl, with his band of skilled assistants, chief of whom was Mr. Charles Buller, is, with its elaborate appendices, a monument of wonderful industry and acuteness. It declares "that the same grievances to a large extent prevail in all the provinces; while the present state of things is allowed to last, the actual inhabitants of these provinces have no security for person or property, no enjoyment of what they possess, no stimulus to industry." These were strong words, but they were equalled by the decided opinion expressed of Lower Canada. While Lord Durham admired the French-Canadians for their mildness and amiability, he saw danger to the state in their being "an utterly uneducated and singularly inert population." "They remain," he continued, "an old and stationary society in a new and progressive world." He boldly asserted that "in Lower Canada the real struggle was not one of principles but of race." The report stated that in all the colonies "there was a collision between the executive and representative bodies." Lord Durham struck the keynote of the reforms of later years in declaring that "since 1688 the stability of Britain had depended on the responsibility of the government to the majority of the legislature."

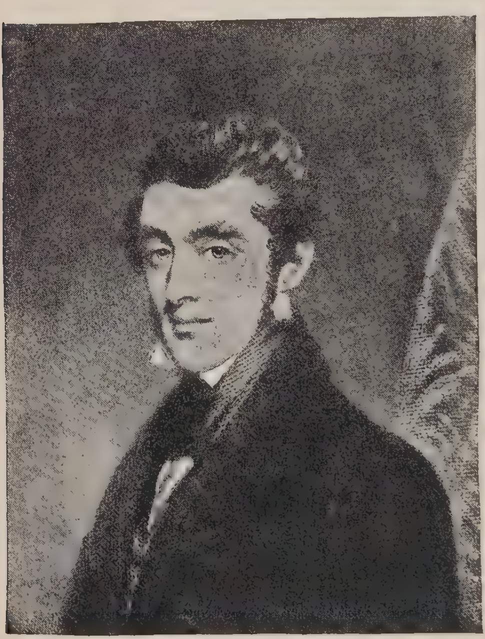
Lord Durham's report suggested a union of all the provinces, and was thus the prophecy of confederation, though for immediate action the union of Upper and Lower Canada only was recommended, and the establishment in united Canada of a responsible government. No grander work was ever done for Canada than the writing of this report. John Stuart Mill spoke of it as "laying the foundation of the political and social prosperity not of Canada only, but of all the other colonies of Great Britain." Justin McCarthy, in his *History of Our Own Times*, thus sums up Lord Durham's mistakes and successes: "But if Lord Durham's personal career was in any way a failure, his policy for the Canadas was a splendid success. It established the principle of colonial government. One may say, with little help from the merely fanciful, that the rejoicings of emancipated colonies might have been in his dying ears as he sank into his early grave."

In 1839 Lord John Russell introduced a bill into parliament embodying Lord Durham's suggestions; but before its final passage a messenger was ent to Canada to feel the pulse of the provinces regarding it. The envoy harged with this delicate task was an English merchant, John Poulett Thomson, and well did he accomplish his work. In Lower Canada the egislative assembly had been suspended during the rebellion, and its substitute, a crown-appointed body, accepted the act because it emanated from he Colonial office, and this without consulting the French-Canadians. In Upper Canada it needed all the commissioner's skill to gain its acceptance. The loyalists, flushed with their victory over the rebels, were in no humor to give up any advantage, which they saw must be done should the radicals of Upper Canada, aided by the vast majority of Lower Canada, be banded against them. A strong appeal to their patriotism, however, at length gained their consent. After this consultation with the provinces the matter again came up in the British parliament, and the "Act to reunite the provnces of Upper and Lower Canada" became law, July 23, 1840. The chief new features of the measure passed were that the legislative assembly was o consist of an equal number of members from Upper and from Lower Canada. The English language alone was to be used in parliament, but this was modified in after years. A new, fixed civil list was made, over which the assembly had no control, and ecclesiastical rights also were under the immediate protection of the crown, while the assembly was given exclusive power to levy taxes. The "burning question" in the minds of the people was the direct control of the executive by the legislature. This was not specifically declared in the new act, but there was a proviso that the governor should only exercise power according to instructions from Her Majesty. The intention of this provision was shown shortly after by a despatch received by the governor-general in 1841, that "the governor must only oppose the wishes of the assembly when the honor of the crown or the nterests of the empire are deeply concerned."

The people waited now with anxious expectation to see whether their long struggle for liberty was really to be fruitless, for experience had shown them that fair promises were often deceptive. The various elements of the people received the new constitution in different ways. The moderate opponents of the Family Compact were delighted with the changes; the rebel party of Upper Canada were only partially satisfied; the French-Canadians of Lower Canada showed their want of appreciation of the act by sending a petition signed by 40,000 persons to the imperial parliament against it; while the loyalists were naturally nervous lest all their privileges should be shorn away by the new measure, which they thought the outcome of the democratic tendencies of Lord Durham.

The golden mean had evidently been gained, and the astute commissioner, Mr. Thomson, was raised to the peerage as Lord Sydenham, by an appreciative government in London.

The influx of British colonists not only to Upper and Lower Canada, but to the maritime provinces, more especially to New Brunswick, was very great during the years from 1830 to 1850. The two years of the rebellion, 1837 and 1838, checked somewhat the flow that was setting in with such force, but the passage of the Union Act immediately restored confidence abroad. The introduction of the new constitution was looked to with great expectancy by the people of both provinces concerned. The chief responsibility fell upon Lord Sydenham, who was a nervous and delicate man. Pursuing a most conciliatory policy, he chose his cabinet from the moderate members of both sides of politics. The champion of the moderate liberals was Robert Baldwin, a man of high character and equable disposition, and whose name has a sweet odor in Canada even to this day. With him was associated as a moderate loyalist Mr., afterwards Chief Justice, Draper. As a condition of support from the opposite side, Draper was pressed to declare his policy on the question of responsible government. There being only seven of the now discredited Family Compact in a house of eighty-four, Draper temporized.


LORD SYDENHAM.*

Lord Sydenham survived but long enough to see the new constitution fairly at work, and passed away amid general regret. His successor lived only two years, but in 1843 came a ruler of the old oligarchic type. This was Governor Metcalfe, who had filled important posts in India and Jamaica. He derided the very theory of responsible government so dear to the Canadians. In speaking of the restriction of his powers, he declared his position to be no better than that of "an Indian governor compelled to rule by means of a Mahommedan ministry and a Mahommedan parliament." Egerton Ryerson, who had been looked to as an exponent of liberty, was found among Governor Metcalfe's apologists. The governor, having previously differed with the great commoner Robert Baldwin, as to the question of responsibility, brought on a crisis in the autumn of 1843 by making an appointment without the advice of his council. The ministry at once resigned, and suitable successors were only found with difficulty. The governor, however, succeeded in keeping the favor of his superiors in London, who raised him to the peerage, but he had so evidently lost public respect in Canada that he soon after resigned and returned to Britain.

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* After a plate in George Poulett Scrope's *Life of Charles, Lord Sydenham*, 2d ed. (London, 1854).

In the provinces by the sea a similar struggle took place. In Nova Scotia an oligarchy held sway. This was also known as the Family Compact. Against an arbitrary governor, Sir Colin Campbell, who refused to e advised by the assembly, and chose as members of the executive and egislative councils only his own creatures, popular feeling ran high. To oth Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, after the reception of Lord Durham's report in 1839, had been sent by Lord Russell a despatch containing the new Canadian constitution. Sir John Harvey, governor of New Brunswick, had commended it as worthy of imitation in the maritime provinces. New Brunswick, which had from the first been exclusively loyalist in opinion, rejected this suggestion. In Nova Scotia, Sir Colin shamelessly suppressed the despatch. A man of great influence among the people had been for three or four years rising to prominence in the legislative assembly of Nova Scotia. This was Joseph Howe, the son of a United Empire loyalist. In 1840 the Nova Scotian assembly, led by Howe, passed four resolutions upholding the doctrine of responsible government and declaring want of confidence in the executive. The stern soldier-governor declared his advisers satisfactory to himself, and refused any advice. At length the assembly was compelled to request from Britain the governor's recall. This took place, and Viscount Falkland came as successor. Foot by foot the battle of responsibility was fought, till at length in Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick as well, the same principles prevailed as those which had been secured in Canada.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN HARVEY.*

The general election of 1844 in Canada, on account of Lord Metcalfe's interference, resulted in a small majority being returned for the loyalist party, who now sought to adjust themselves to the new conditions. In the next year in the assembly came a claim, because for the first time since the rebellion the loyalists were in power. This was for losses incurred by loyal subjects during the rebellion. An amount of £10,000 was voted for the loyalists of Upper Canada. As was natural, from Lower Canada came a similar demand, as there the rebellion had been much more widespread and the destruction of property greater. In fairness this could not be refused, and yet the loyalists of Upper Canada charged that so general had been the rebellion in Lower Canada that it was but subsidizing the very aggressors in the troubles. At length, most unwillingly, a sum of nearly £10,000, to be met by a special fund, was granted, and this was not one twenty-fifth of the claim. Into this scene of turmoil came as governor one of the greatest administrators Canada has seen, James, Earl of Elgin, married to a daughter of Lord Durham, and of the same political school as his Lordship.

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* From plate in Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle's *Newfoundland in 1842* (London, 1842). He was successively governor of New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia.

JOSEPH HOWE.*

Lord Elgin was possessed with the desire to work out the great scheme proposed by his father-in-law. Completely reversing the policy followed by Lord Metcalfe, the new governor won golden opinions as a constitutional ruler, and by his affable manner recommended himself to the people. The principle of responsible government being now fully conceded, the Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry was formed, and this carried out justly the settlement of the rebellion losses in Lower Canada. This gave great offence to the loyalists of Upper Canada, whose rallying cry became, "No pay to rebels!" Great excitement prevailed in Montreal, at which place the assembly was then meeting. The oppositionists, with strange inconsistency, failing in every other expedient, signed a manifesto in favor of annexation to the United States. The ministry, strongly intrenched in the right, as they believed, carried the "Losses Bill." Then ensued a scene of wild disorder. Lord Elgin's carriage was beset by ruffians as he was returning from assenting to the bill. That evening the parliament-house was sacked, the speaker's chair was occupied by one of the rabble, and in the end the public buildings were burned to the ground. Montreal has never since been the meeting place of parliament. The French-Canadians were now revenged, for the ruffians concerned in the attack were not the "new" but the "old" subjects.

A serious land question next agitated the parliament of United Canada. The settlement of Lower Canada had taken place on the basis of a modified feudal system. A noblesse descended from the old French nobility, or in a few cases ennobled in Canada, owned the land, which was divided into seigniories. For this the "habitants," or petty farmers, paid certain dues. A system so restrictive and burdensome seems inconsistent with the genius of the new world. Accordingly it became a serious public question how the "censitaires," as the farmers were called, might be relieved. The

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* After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *British Americans*, vol. i. His father was a New England loyalist, who became Postmaster General of the Lower Provinces, dying in 1835, the son having been born in Nova Scotia in 1804.

Hincks ministry, which had proved itself unable to cope with the Clergy Reserve question, failed here also. Many in Upper Canada maintained that it was purely a question with which Lower Canada must deal, but the reply was made that the two provinces were now one, for "better and for worse." The loyalist coalition ministry, led by MacNab and Morin, with rare boldness grappled with the question, and by a payment of two and a half millions of dollars relieved the struggling "habitants," and honorably compensated the seigniors. It was certain to rouse animosities among the English of Upper Canada to have so large a sum spent upon Lower Canada. Now began the cry of French domination, and the politicians urged that such large expenditures for Lower Canada could only arise from undue French influence in the cabinet and in the assembly.

The din of political strife was interrupted by great rejoicings on the part of Canada over the Reciprocity Treaty negotiated at Washington by Lord Elgin and his able minister, Mr. Francis Hincks. This removed restrictions in trade between the two neighboring countries so far as unmanufactured products of the "soil, the forest, the mine, and the sea" were concerned. Not only was the wealth of the two countries thus increased, but the difficult question of the fisheries was, for the eleven years during which the treaty stood, solved.

The fisheries dispute between the United States and the British provinces had begun so early as the treaty of 1783, at which time the New England colonies seem to have claimed the right to fish along the coast given by that treaty to Britain. In the convention of London in 1818, following the Treaty of Ghent, the British commissioners gained the point that no American fisherman should fish within three miles of the British coast, there being a dispute, however, as to the bays along the shore.[1] The Treaty of Reciprocity gave to the two nations free use of all watercourses, canals, and fisheries belonging to both. The lapsing of the treaty in 1865, however, opened all the old questions again, and led to a new line of policy on the part of Canada. The Reciprocity Treaty has always been held by Canada to reflect great honor on Lord Elgin.

About this time came into prominence in Canada the son of a Scottish journalist, who had come to Canada in 1843. This was George Brown, a man of stalwart proportions, immense energy, and great logical and vituperative power as a public speaker. When the union of 1841 had taken place Lower Canada had a preponderance of population, but the representation in the house was only equal to that of Upper Canada. As years rolled on, Upper Canada became the more populous. The politicians, who raised the cry of undue French influence, maintained that this should be met by giving Upper Canada increased representation, and the strong agitation grew up in favor of what was called "representation by population." The Lower Canadians contended that when the union was formed they had not representation based on numbers, and that the case was similar with Upper

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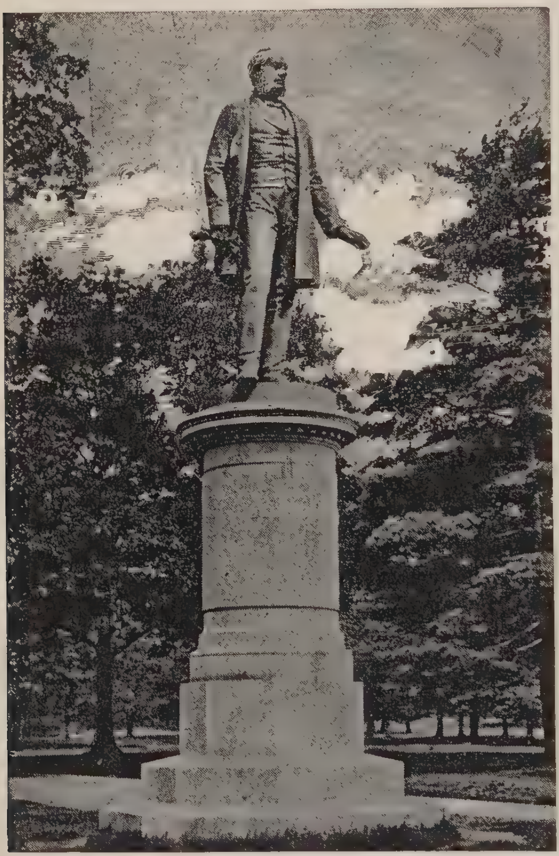
[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII.



STATUE OF GEORGE BROWN, AT TORONTO.*

Canada now. The defence of their rights brought to the front, as a leader of the French, an ardent and successful lawyer, George Etienne Cartier, who claimed descent from the famous discoverer of Canada. The struggle became exceedingly bitter. Mr. Brown fulminated against the French in the well-known journal, his own creation, the *Toronto Globe.* Upper Canada, by a double majority in the house, demanded increased representation; Lower Canada stood upon the constitution. The French feeling, which had lingered even from the conquest, was fanned into a flame; it was a national enthusiasm to preserve existence; "les lois, la langue, et les institutions" were in danger, and Cartier led a solid phalanx of his race, albeit, in a furore of patriotism, he declared himself to be "an Englishman speaking French." In 1862 Cartier's government was defeated ostensibly on a Militia Bill, but it was the burning question of representation which brought his fall. The compact French party made any stable government impossible. One government after another was defeated, and the parties came back from the country almost equally balanced. A dead lock had come. At this juncture an act of patriotism, rarely exceeded, was seen. The leaders of the opposing political parties — Mr. Brown on the one hand, and Messrs. John A. Macdonald and Cartier on the other — came to an understanding to deliver the country by a combination ministry. This was in 1864, and the country was electrified by the news, and generally overjoyed. The policy of the coalition ministry was to bring in a measure to introduce the union principle into Canada, coupled with such provision as would admit the maritime provinces and the Northwest into the union. It was the grand conception of a British North America, "to be connected under a general legislature, based upon the federal principle."

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* From a photograph. There is also a likeness in F. Taylor's *British Americans* (vol. i.).

During these years of agitation the attention of all parties was twice diverted by threatenings of international complication with the United States. The breaking out of the Civil War in the United States in 1861 drew upon the sympathies of the Canadian people. The majority of Canadians were opposed to the Southern Confederacy on account of its institution of slavery, and large numbers of Canadians joined the Northern army. An act of invasion of the British steamer "Trent" on the high seas by the United States steamer "San Jacinto," and the capture from it of two Southern gentlemen, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, roused the British people, and caused great excitement in Canada. The angry discussion which ensued seemed to forebode war, and thousands in Canada who had never seen a company drilled were enrolled, prepared for the worst. The horrors of war were happily averted through the efforts of diplomacy.

The conclusion of the American Civil War had its perils both for the United States and for Canada. The enforced idleness of many thousands of discharged soldiers caused much anxiety. Many of them were Irishmen, and in their dislike of Britain and lack of occupation there were organized what were called "Fenian Associations" for the relief of Ireland. Canada was again and again threatened by bands of these desperadoes. In June, 1866, some hundreds of them effected a landing on the Niagara peninsula, and, after several skirmishes, returned to Buffalo, where the forces of the United States arrested them. Attacks were also made at various other points.

STATUE OF SIR GEORGE CARTIER, AT TORONTO.*

Returning to an account of the political difficulties of Canada, it may be stated that not only Upper and Lower Canada, but the maritime provinces also, impressed by the fact of their like environment as provinces, sought union with one another, and the latter met to consider the question at Charlottetown, the capital of Prince Edward Island. The Canadian coalition ministry now suggested the feasibility of sending representatives to this meeting in the lower provinces, and also commissioners to England to obtain the imperial assistance. Accordingly eight delegates from Canada sailed down the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and sought admission to the conference of the representatives of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The meeting was hopeful, and it was decided to hold a future conference; and this took place in Quebec in October, 1864. This was a remarkable gathering. "They came together for friendly conference on the historic ground of old Quebec, where French Catholic and French Huguenot, Champlain's colonists and Kirke's invaders, Frontenac's regiments of old France and New England militia, Montcalm's veterans and Wolfe's troops and Highlanders, Carleton's medley and Montgomery's borderers, had met in conflict." It was, moreover, remarkable as a great constitution-forming gathering. Less than a hundred years before, a conference of British colonies had met in congress in New York, but then under the imperial frown; now the consulting provinces are assembled under the smile of the mother country. Thirty years before, in this very city, the anti-British French-Canadians had passed, amid great excitement, ninety-eight resolutions of a hostile nature; here, with their British compatriots, they are now agreeing to a confederation of the northern American colonies under the British flag. The conference ended with an agreement in the form of seventy-two resolutions, to be submitted to the various legislatures. After much discussion and the passage of the agreement by Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, though in the last-named seemingly without due consideration so far as the people were concerned, an imperial measure was carried called "The British North America Act," and the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia entered upon their new life as a confederation on July 1, 1867, to be joined by Manitoba in three years, by British Columbia in the year following, and by Prince Edward Island in three years more. Thus the seven sister provinces are united together, and the Dominion of Canada has just passed the year of its majority.

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* From a photograph kindly furnished by George Mercer Adam, Esq., of Toronto. Cf. portrait in B. Sulte's *Hist. des Canadiens-Françaises.*

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE important period from the conquest of Canada in 1763 to the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791 is somewhat lacking in original documents of value, arising, especially in its earlier years, from the unsettled and unhappy state of the country. The period has been spoken of in French Canada as "Le temps de malaise et de confusion." The Abbé Verreau in 1870 edited a number of valuable official documents under the auspices of the Société Historique of Montreal, these having been collected by the Hon. Jacques Viger. To Baron Masères, for three years the legal adviser of Sir Guy Carleton, must be assigned the credit of giving the views of the British residents of Quebec, and of gathering valuable information. *An account of the proceedings of the inhabitants of Quebec*, published in 1775; *Additional papers*, in 1776; three most interesting volumes of the periodical known as *The Canadian Freeholder;* besides a *Collection of Commissions*, etc., in 1771; a *Review of the government and grievances of the province of Quebec since the conquest*, published in 1788; and *Occasional Essays*, in 1809, — all bear testimony to the industry of the clear-headed adviser of the ruler of the province of Quebec.[1] An interesting document, published in 1774, is the letter from the Congress of the United States *To the inhabitants of the province of Quebec.*[1] A very useful work, showing the conflicting views of the different party elements interested in the passage of the "Quebec Bill" in 1774, is found in the *Debate on the Quebec Act, published by J. Wright, from notes of Sir Henry Cavendish, Bart.* (London, 1739).[2] *Justice and policy by the late act assisted and proved*, by W. Knox (1774), is a view of the loyalist position.[3] *A letter to Lord Chatham on the Quebec Bill* (1774)[4] was much sought for in its time, and was no doubt properly attributed to Sir William Meredith. The invasion of Canada by Montgomery and Arnold in 1775–76, coming in this period, has been fully treated elsewhere.[5]

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[1] [Cf. *ante*, VI. p. 104. — ED.]

The most remarkable service done to the history of this period, as well as to that of several years following, has been accomplished by the Canadian Archives Department, Ottawa, whose collection, begun in 1872, under the indefatigable management of Mr. Douglas Brymner, has grown with marvellous rapidity in the few years of its existence.[6] Among the most valuable documents are one hundred and sixty-four volumes of the *Haldimand papers.* The original documents were presented to the British Museum in 1857 by Mr. W. Haldimand, nephew of General Haldimand, the governor of Canada from 1778 to 1786, and exact copies have been made for the Ottawa Archives.[7] In late years much service has been rendered to the public by the calendar or contents published in successive numbers of the Archives Department, 1883–89, and still continuing. Materials are here found for reconstructing opinions as to the "Du Calvet affair." Cf., for instance, Brymner's *Report*, 1888, Introd., on the Jesuit priest Roubaud, and the work and influence of General Haldimand. Du Calvet, who has succeeded in giving to history his version of his quarrel with General Haldimand, writes it in a *Recueil de lettres au roi*, etc.[8] An enormous collection of military correspondence, contained in hundreds of volumes, including the Seven Years' War and War of the Revolution, is to be found in the Archives, having been removed thither from the chief British military station in America, Halifax, N. S. The printed reports of the archivist are also giving the contents of these.

No one should attempt to pronounce on the Canadian history of this period without studying the Constitutional Act of 1791, for it shows the effect of the American Revolution upon the imperial lawmakers.[9]

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[1] [Cf. *ante*, VI. p. 104. — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. *ante*, VI. p. 102. — Ed.]

[3] [Cf. *ante*, VI. p. 104. — Ed.]

[4] [Cf. *ante*, VI. p. 102. — Ed.]

[5] [Cf. *ante*, VI. pp. 215–229; Brymner's *Report on the Archives*, 1888, p. xii. — Ed.]

[6] [The history of this development can be traced in Brymner's *Reports.* Cf. also Kingsford's *Canadian Archæology*, p. 33. — Ed.]

[7] [Cf. *post*, Appendix. — Ed.]

[8] [Cf. the *Case of Peter Du Calvet, containing an acc. of the long and severe imprisonment he suffered by order of Gen. Haldimand* (London, 1784). — Ed.]

[9] [Mr. John George Bourinot, clerk of the House of Commons at Ottawa, in outlining to its Speaker the project of a work to be called *The Federal and Provincial Constitutions, Colonial Charters, Organic Laws, Imperial Despatches and other Documents, illustrative of the Constitutional History of Canada, from 1540 to 1888*, points out the following pivotal documents as coming within the period now under consideration: —

Commission and royal instructions to Sir John (General) Murray, 1763.

An act for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, 1774.

An act to establish a fund towards further defraying the charges of the administration of justice and support of the civil government within the province of Quebec, 1791.

Constitutional Act, 1791.

Proclamations in Upper and Lower Canada, bringing the act into force.

Commission of Lord Gosford, 1835.

Imperial act suspending the constitution and making temporary provision for the government of Lower Canada, proclaimed March 29, 1838.

Instructions to Lord Durham for the constitution of a special council.

Lord Durham's proclamation dissolving the special council.

Lord Durham's letter to the members of the executive council, dispensing with their attendance.

An act to reunite the provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and for the government of Canada, 1840.

Proclamation declaring the provinces united, 1841.

In Lower Canada, during the last forty years, has grown up a school of French-Canadian historians, whose polished style and national spirit have made their work of much value. As was to have been expected, their sympathies have been drawn out toward the earlier period of Canadian history, though they have also given us detailed histories down to the date of their writing.[1] We propose, on account of their forming a distinctive school of Canadian historians, to give their works a complete notice here, though they deal specially with this earlier time. Of foremost rank in this band, if not among all Canadian historians, is François Xavier Garneau, who, in three volumes, writes *L'Histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1852). Though fairly treating his subject, he aroused the susceptibilities of some of the clerical opponents, and his book was later in some points modified. The work has reached its fourth edition (Montreal, 1882). It is a well-written, accurate, and judicious history.[2] A compact French history from the conquest to 1818 is that of Bibaud the younger, *Les institutions de l'histoire du Canada* (1855). Of Michael Bibaud's (d. 1857) *Hist. du Canada sous la domination anglaise* mention has been already made (*ante*, IV. p. 367). The wrath of the Church in Quebec was visited upon the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, when there appeared his *Histoire du Canada, de son église et de ses missions* (1852). It was an ill-digested and incorrect view of Canadian affairs, given by a visitor from France. The learned Abbé J. B. A. Ferland wrote his excellent and fair *Cours d'Histoire du Canada* largely to correct the French abbé's errors.[3] The latter part of this work was, however, finished by Abbé Laverdière on the death of Ferland. A work now somewhat past its meridian is the *Histoire de Cinquante Ans* of M. Bedard (Quebec, 1869), covering the fifty years from 1791. In 1882–84 appeared a voluminous *Histoire des Canadiens Françaises* (1608–1880), by Benjamin Sulte (Montreal), 8 vols.; while a French-Canadian littérateur, Louis P. Turcotte, had a few years before given to the world an octavo volume, 616 pages, *Le Canada sous l'Union, 1841–1867* (Quebec, 1871), and two years later his *Biographies politiques*. A distinguished literary man, whose polished and genial manner and wide sympathies make him one of the attractions of

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Return to an address from the House of Assembly to the governor-general, August 5, 1841, on the despatch of Lord John Russell to the governor-general on responsible government, October 14, 1839.

Her Majesty's instructions to Lord Sydenham on his assumption of the government, Sept. 7, 1839.

An act for enabling colonial legislatures to establish inland posts.

Imperial act respecting coasting trade of the British possessions.

Despatches relative to removal of restrictions on Canadian commerce.

Imperial act relative to the use of the English language in legislative instruments, August 14, 1848.

Imperial act to empower the legislature of Canada to alter the constitution of the legislative council, etc., Aug. 11, 1854.

British North America Act, 1867.

Proclamation uniting the provinces into one dominion.

Mr. Bourinot has already sketched the progress of constitutional principles in Canada in his *Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada from the earliest period to the year 1888. Including the British North America act, 1867, and a digest of judicial decisions on questions of legislative jurisdiction* (Montreal, 1888). This useful little book is based on the author's larger treatise on *Parliamentary Practice and Procedure*. Cf. Goldwin Smith on the Political History of Canada in *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1886; E. Hulot on "The French Canadians and the development of parliamentary liberty in Canada, 1763–1867," in the *Annales de l'Ecole des Sciences Politiques*, July, 1887; and Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *Speeches and Addresses, chiefly on the Subject of the British American Union* (London, 1865).

Mr. Bourinot has also printed in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies, 5th series, nos. 56*, a monograph on *Local government in Canada* (Baltimore, 1887), in which he thus divides his subject: —

Contents. — Introduction; The French régime, 1608–1760; Lower Canada, 1760–1840; Upper Canada, 1792–1840; The maritime provinces; The establishment of municipal institutions in provinces of the Dominion. — Ed.]

[1] [Four of them, Bibaud, Garneau, Ferland, and Faillon, are passed in review by J. M. Lemoine in "Nos quatre historiens modernes," in the *Roy. Soc. of Canada, Trans.*, vol. i. — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. *ante*, IV. 359; and a paper by Casgrain in *Roy. Soc. Canada, Trans.*, i. 85. — Ed.]

[3] [Cf. also Ferland's *Observations sur un ouvrage intitulé Hist. du Canada* (Quebec, 1853; also Paris). — Ed.]

Quebec city, is Mr. J. M. Lemoine, an English-speaking French-Canadian. Many choice historical sketches are found in his *Maple Leaves* (1863); *Monographies et esquisses; Monographies de nos modernes historiens; Picturesque Quebec* (1882); and in many lesser monographs on the old Quebec gates, fortifications, and environs. In 1855, at Montreal, J. G. Barthe published *Souvenirs d'un Demi-Siècle*, and a brochure embodying the hope of his race in gaining by political means what they had lost by war at the conquest, *Canada reconquis par la France*, (also Paris, 1855.)[1]

Les servantes de Dieu en Canada, by C. de Laroche-Heron, is an eulogy of the distinguished women who have served the Church in Lower Canada; while a work on the French-Canadian people, *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens françaises de la découverte jusqu'a nos jours* (Paris, 1884), by the Protestant Frenchman Eugène Réveillaud, who visited Canada a few years ago, is severely criticised by the Lower Canadians.[2]

If the songs of a people are elements of their history, the *Chansons populaires du Canada*, by Ernest Gagnon (Quebec, 1865), 8vo, 370 pp., is worthy of examination, the more that it was found a few years since that old French ditties, which had entirely disappeared in Normandy, were still sung in Canada.[3] Sir Hector Langevin in his earlier days wrote a prize essay on Canada which is favorably viewed.

Two works remain to be spoken of in closing our sketch of Lower Canadian histories, and both of these written in English. One of these is *History of Lower Canada*, by Robert Christie (Quebec, 1848), 6 vols. While not written in a pleasant style, this is the most complete history of Lower Canada up to 1848. Its writer was a member of the assembly for Gaspé, and was a most industrious and successful collector of facts. His differences with his French-Canadian fellow-members do not seem to have disturbed his judicial frame of mind as a historian. Christie's work extends from 1791 (with a sketch from 1759) to 1841.[4] The other writer, who may be called a British Frenchman, is Joseph Bouchette, the author of *The British Dominions in North America* (London, 1832), 3 vols. These volumes are a vast collection of the historical, geographical, topographical, and statistical data of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, as well as of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.[5] The position of surveyor-general of Lower Canada filled by Bouchette makes his work of considerable value. The part taken by Lower Canada in the peopling of the interior of Canada and Rupert's Land, as also of the Western States, is well shown in two volumes published in Montreal (1878), by Joseph Tassé, entitled *Les Canadiens de l'Ouest*. They are of much interest, and very full of national pride.[6]

Elsewhere (Vol. VII. 185–214) the authorities have been given on the removal of the loyalists from the United States; it remains for us to point out the materials for their history after their arrival in the British provinces. The main source of loyalist information is the Haldimand collection in the Archives at Ottawa. It awaits the labor of a painstaking historian to reproduce the life of the loyalist settlements. A useful book, but not very valuable on account of its being chiefly gathered together from tradition and hearsay, and not from documents, is the *Settlement of Upper Canada* (1872), by William Canniff. Of United Empire loyalist descent himself, Dr. Canniff deserves credit for his industry, though the work is fragmentary and might have been better arranged.[1] *The Loyalists in America*, by Dr. Egerton Ryerson (Toronto, 1880), 2 vols., deals with the growth of loyalism in the New England and Cavalier colonies, and adds little of local interest to what Canniff has given. The late J. C. Dent, in his *Canadian portrait gallery* (Toronto, 1880), 4 vols., in sketches of Lord Dorchester, Haldimand, Simcoe, and others, has given many details of the loyalist period. The Mohawk chieftain Brant and his Six Nations Indians were to all intents and purposes United Empire loyalists, coming to Canada as they did after the loss of their lands near the Johnson estates in New York, and companions of their neighbors from that locality. Accordingly, in Brant's life by W. L. Stone (New York, 1838), 2 vols.,[2] and in the pamphlet by Ke-che-ah-gaw-me-qua, there is much of interest belonging to this time. Dr. Henry Scadding, the archæologist, of Toronto, has, in his interesting history of *Toronto of Old* (1873), told the story of many of the early loyalist families and their influence on Upper Canada. In the Ottawa parliamentary library is a manuscript of three or four hundred quarto pages, giving Colonel Clarke's recollections and reminiscences, and it is held in high esteem for its account of the fathers of Upper Canada. The *Travels in North America, 1795-96-97*, by Isaac Weld (London, 1800, 1807), in 2 vols., contains a picture of the country of the loyalists in their first generation; and *Travels through the Canadas* by George Heriot (London, 1807) is worth examination.[3] The *Travels to the interior inhabited parts of North America in ten years*, by P. Campbell, in 1791-92 (Edinburgh, 1793), has an account of the author's contact with many of the United Empire leaders, and he speaks of their condition. Also, see *Travels of Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt*, 2 volumes, 1799. The memorials of the United Empire loyalists have been greatly neglected in Nova Scotia[4] and New Brunswick, much

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[1] [E. G. Scott in a striking paper on "La Nouvelle France" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept., 1889, tracks the development of the Gallic spirit in Canada in its progress towards an apparently inevitable domination. — ED.]

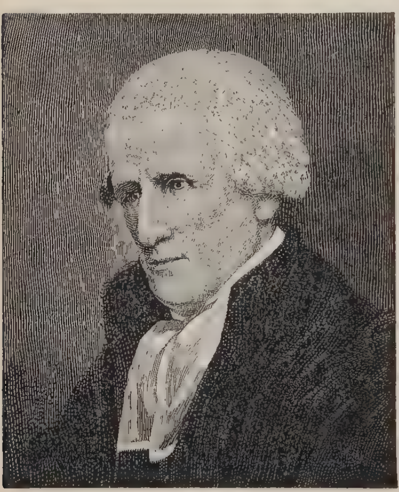
[2] [Eugène Réveillaud's "Langue et littérature Françaises au Canada" in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* (August, 1883), was reprinted in the App. of his *Hist. du Canada*. Cf. Prosper Bender's *Old and New Canada, 1753–1844. Historic scenes and social pictures, or, The life of Joseph François Perrault* (Montreal, 1882), and John Lesperance's Analytical Study of Canadian History, in the *Roy. Soc. Canada, Proc.*, vol. v. — ED.]

[3] [There is a later ed. of Gagnon, Quebec, 1880. — ED.]

[4] [Later ed., *Hist. of the late Province of Lower Canada* (Montreal, 1866). Cf. also his *Memoirs of the Administration of the Colonial Government of Lower Canada, by Craig and Prevost, 1807–15* (Quebec, 1818), and John Fleming's *British Settlers' Polit. Annals of Lower Canada* (Montreal, 1828). — ED.]

[5] [Cf. *ante*, VII. pp. 172, 177. — ED.]

[6] [These and other works on Canadian history are also characterized elsewhere. Cf. *ante*. Vol. IV. pp. 157, 367–368. These books are also passed in review in good part in J. C. Dent's *Last Forty Years of Canada* (1881), and in *Canadiana* (1889), an historical periodical begun in Montreal, under the editing of W. J. White, in 1889. — ED.]



JONATHAN SEWELL.*

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[1] [An early *Sketch of his Majesty's Province of Upper Canada* (London, 1805), by D'Arcy Boulton, is of little importance, and so is D. M'Leod, *Brief Review of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the U. E. Loyalists and Scotch Highlanders in 1783; and of the Grievances of 1837-38, together with a Sketch of the Campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814* (Cleveland, 1841).— ED.]

[2] [There are later editions. See Vol. VI., Index. — ED.]

[3] [Cf. Hugh Gray's *Letters from Canada, 1806-1808* (London, 1809).— ED.]

[4] [For local traits of the Nova Scotia loyalists, see G. S. Brown's *Hist. of Yarmouth* (Boston, 1888); T. Watson Smith respecting those at Shelburne, in the *Nov. Scot. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 53, and references, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 214. — ED.]

* [Following a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *Portraits of British Americans* (Montreal, 1867), vol. ii. His father was Jonathan Sewall, a royalist in Massachusetts, the last attorney-general of that province, who at the outbreak of the Revolution fled to England, where visiting the tombs of his ancestors he found the name spelled with an *e* and adopted the form Sewell. His son, whose likeness is here given, was born in Cambridge, Mass., June 6, 1766. Educated in England, he came to New Brunswick in 1785, and was established as a lawyer in Quebec in 1789, and in time reached the elevation (1808) of chief justice of Lower Canada. As early as 1814 he advocated a plan of forming a federal union of the British provinces in North America. He died Nov. 12, 1839. — ED.]

to the disgrace of their descendants. In 1883, by a centennial celebration, the children of the loyalists and others of St. John, New Brunswick, sought to atone for this long want of recollection, and the addresses made are published in a *Loyalists' Centennial Souvenir* (St. John, N. B., 1887). In the same year General J. W. De Peyster prepared an address on the fathers for the Historical Society of New Brunswick, which was published in New York (1883).[1]

The materials for the history of the period in Upper Canada from 1791 to 1804 have hitherto been very scant. The first years of the life of new states or provinces are apt to be unchronicled. Last year (1888) a discovery was made which will enable historians to reproduce this lost period. Along with Governor Simcoe in 1791 came to organize the new province of Upper Canada the Hon. Col. D. W. Smith of the Fifth Regiment, surveyor-general of Canada. Stationed chiefly at Niagara, the capital, Col. Smith was not only the central figure of the settlement, but maintained an extensive correspondence with distinguished persons both in Britain and America. What was perhaps more fortunate still, he treasured up every plan and survey, as well as the letters he received. Col. Smith returned to Britain, and though his children have been communicated with by those who knew the colonel's habit of preserving documents, no information could be obtained. It turned out, however, that Col. Smith's widow had married again, and this second family had inherited under another name the surveyor-general's collections. Last year a London dealer came into possession of the documents, and sent word to Canada. On the same day three cablegrams went to London: one from Mr. Brymner of the Archives Department, Ottawa; another from Premier Mowat of Toronto; and a third from Librarian Bain of the Toronto Public Library. Mr. Bain, who is one of the chief authorities on "Canadiana," was fortunate in reaching the dealer first, and for £32 obtained this invaluable series of documents. They consist of twenty-four large volumes of many thousand pages. The original documents cover all the details of government and social life in the province for twelve years, and comprise disbursements and receipts of moneys, land claims, memorials, petitions, accounts, land sales and grants, with beautifully executed plans of the towns laid out, and of Col. Smith's estates, which amounted to twenty thousand acres, and were scattered over twenty-one different townships of Upper Canada. The autograph correspondence is extensive, and in volume after volume. Among his correspondents are Earl Percy, the Duke of Northumberland, Duke of Rutland, Duke of Portland, Count de Puisaye, General Simcoe, Governors Russell and Hunter, Chief Justice Osgoode, the Bishop of Quebec, and scores of other distinguished persons, and on all imaginable subjects.

In the maritime provinces the history of the early settlement has been given by a number of writers. The *Nova Scotia Archives*, edited by Dr. T. B. Akins, commissioner of public records (Halifax, 1869), though excellent, only cover the time 1714–55, not thus reaching our period, a thing to be regretted; also five volumes of the *Proceedings* of the Nova Scotian Historical Society are chiefly taken up with the earlier period; while the well-written *History of Acadia*, by James Hannay, only reaches the Treaty of Paris. Dr. George Patterson, who has written a number of excellent sketches of church and missionary enterprise, including the memoir of Rev. James McGregor, D. D. (Philadelphia, 1859), the Nova Scotian pioneer, published at Montreal (1877) his valuable *History of Pictou.* Beamish Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1865–67), three vols., is to be spoken of rather as annals than history, and does not come later down than 1828; while the North British Society of Halifax has also published *Annals, 1768–1868.* Murdoch's collection has been made with pains, and awaits the polished writer to weave the facts into

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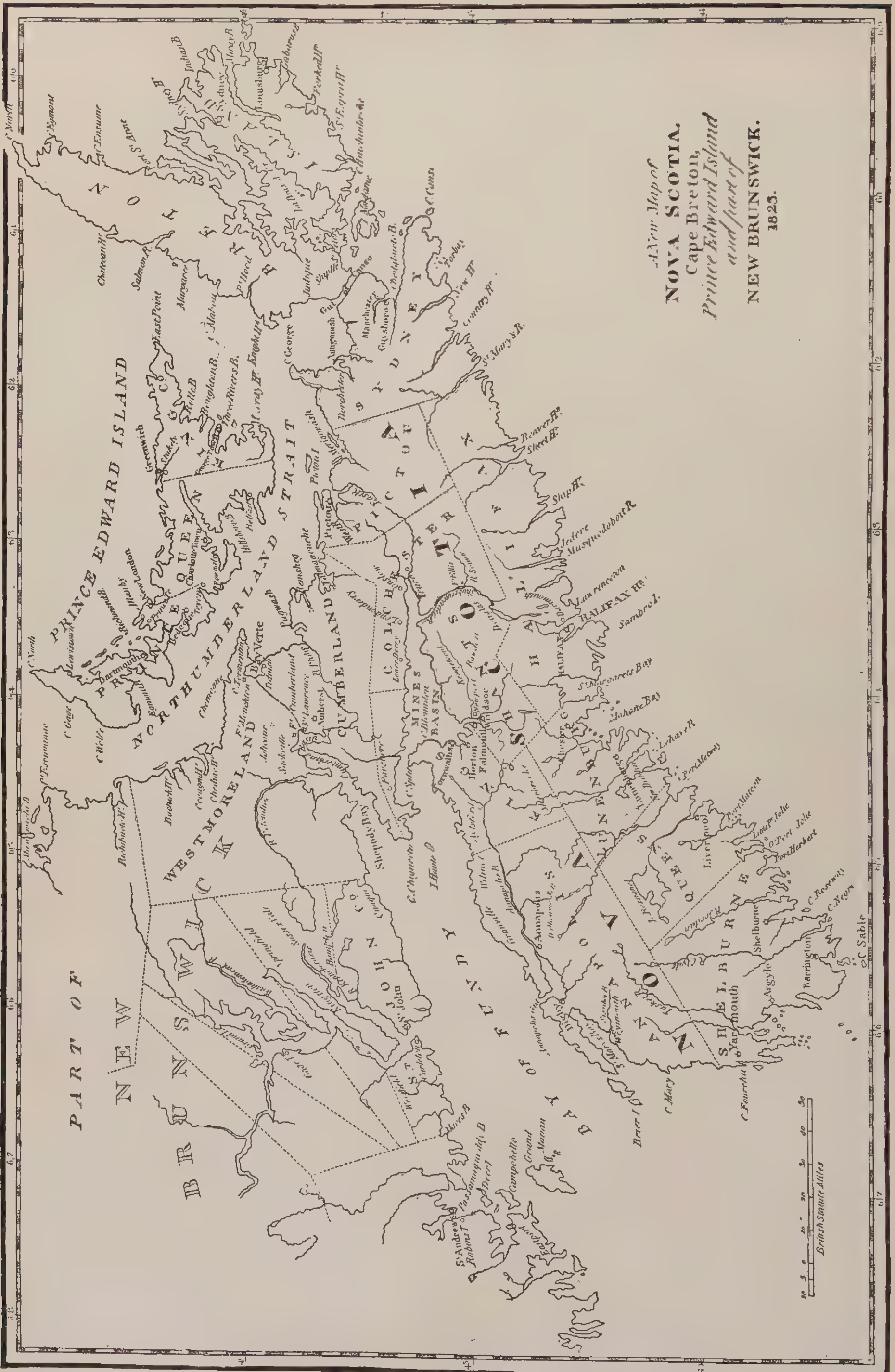
[1] [For other notes on the New Brunswick loyalists, see *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 213, as well as for those in Canada in general. Cf. J. W. Lawrence's *Foot-prints, or incidents in the early hist. of New Brunswick, 1783–1883* (St. John, 1883), and a paper on the Pioneers in the *St. James Mag.* xxix. 575. — Ed.]



NOTE. — The above map is reproduced from *A General Description of Nova Scotia illustrated by a new and correct map* (Halifax, 1823). The book is thought to have been prepared by Judge T. C. Haliburton.

a finished web. A common-sense *History of Nova Scotia*, in its mercantile and commercial relations, is that of Duncan Campbell (Montreal, 1873).[1]

The resources of the neighboring province of New Brunswick were described by Thomas Baillie in *Account of New Brunswick* (London, 1832), and by Abraham Gesner, surgeon (1849), following his immigration work of 1847. New Brunswick history and statistics have been treated by Rev. C. Atkinson in his *Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick* (Edinburgh, 1844), and in a *Compendium Hist. of New Brunswick* (Halifax, 1832), written by Rev. Robert Cooney. See also Martin's *History of New Brunswick* (1844).[2]

The history of Prince Edward Island has been written by Duncan Campbell (Charlottetown, 1875), while *An account of Prince Edward, &c.*, by John Stewart (London, 1806), treats the topography, statistics, and history of the island. In 1805 the Earl of Selkirk had published in London his work *On Emigration and the State of the Highlands*, in which there is a description of his Highland settlement in Queen's County, P. E. I.

HALIFAX.*

Newfoundland as it was and as it is in 1877 was published by the Rev. Philip Tocque (Toronto, 1878). Reeves' *History of the Government of Newfoundland* appeared in 1793. Anspach's *History of Newfoundland* (1819) is mentioned, as also Pedley's (1863). In 1883 the veteran authority on Newfoundland, Rev. Moses Harvey, published in company with another writer, *Newfoundland, the oldest British Colony;* while two years after Judge Pinsent wrote a paper, "Newfoundland our oldest colony," which appeared in vol. xvi. of the *Royal Colonial Institute Proceedings*.

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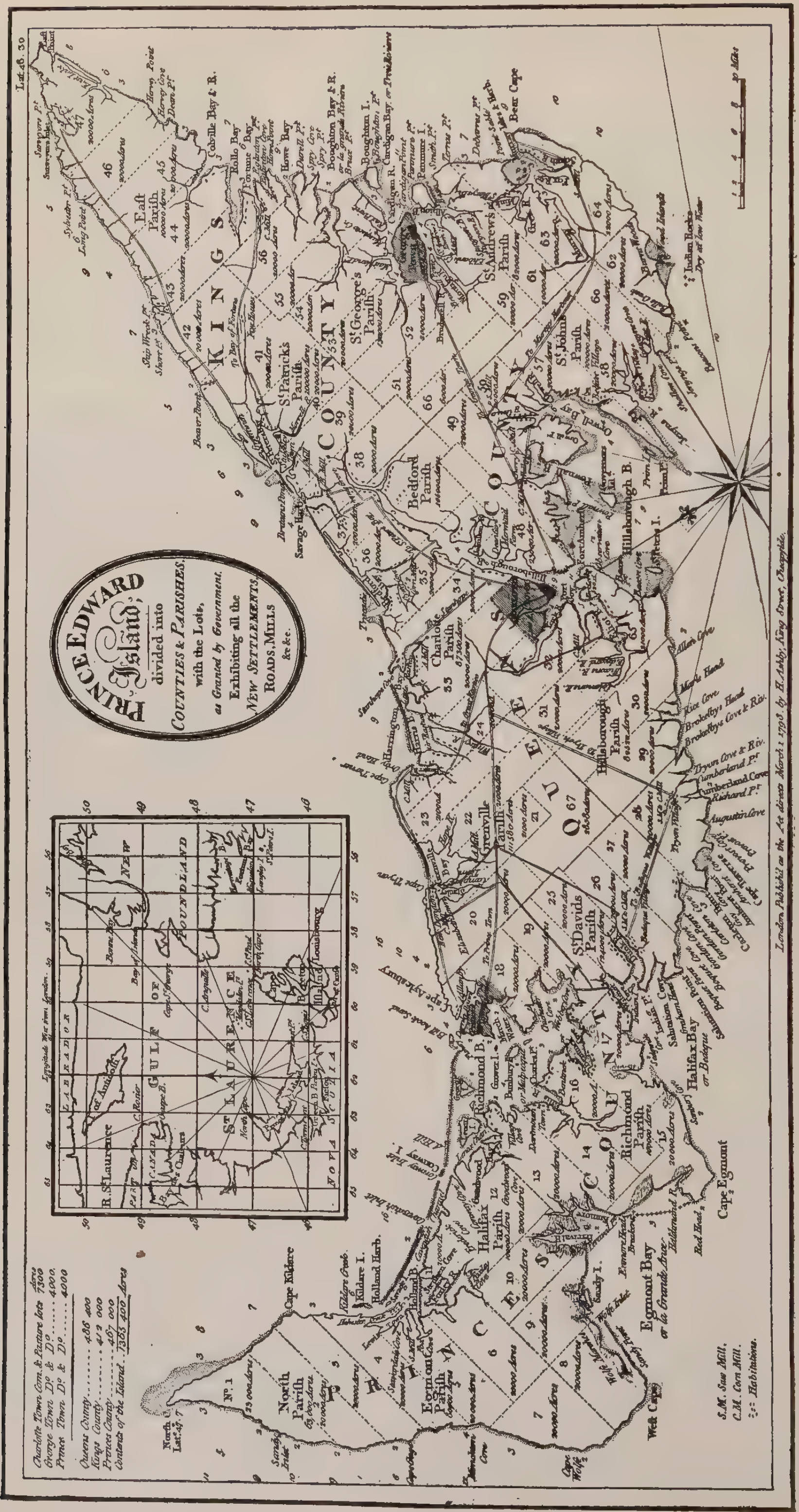
[1] [Cf. *ante*, V. p. 419. The condition of the province immediately after the Peace of Paris is gathered from an account prepared by order of Jonathan Belcher, Jr., the lieutenant-governor. The Shelburne Papers, vol. xlviii., show a copy of it as given in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. 217. S. Hollingsworth's *Present State of Nova Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1786; 2d ed., 1787) points to the conditions just after the close of the American war. An early *Hist. of Nova Scotia*, by R. M. Martin (London, 1837), is of little moment. For later aspects, see Capt. W. Moorsom's *Letters from Nova Scotia, sketches of a young country* (London, 1830). — Ed.]

[2] [Local politics make the staple of G. E. Fenety's *Political notes and observations; or, A glance at the leading measures that have been introduced and discussed in the house of assembly of New Brunswick, extending over a period of twenty-five years* (Fredericton, 1867). — Ed.]

* [From R. M. Martin's *History of Nova Scotia* (London, 1837). — Ed.]


PRINCE EDWARD Island; divided into COUNTIES & PARISHES, with the Lots, as Granted by Government. Exhibiting all the NEW SETTLEMENTS, ROADS, MILLS &c. &c.
Charlotte Town Com. & Pasture lots 7300 Acres
George Town Do & Do 4000
Prince Town Do & Do 4000
Queens County 488 400
Kings County 412 000
Princes County 467 000
Contents of the Island 1365 400 Acres
KINGS COUNTY
QUEENS COUNTY
PRINCE COUNTY
East Parish
St Patrick's Parish
St George's Parish
St Andrews Parish
St Johns Parish
Bedford Parish
Charlotte Parish
Hillsborough Parish
Grenville Parish
St Davids Parish
Richmond Parish
Halifax Parish
Egmont Parish
North Parish
GULF OF ST LAURENCE
NEW FOUNDLAND
LABRADOR
NOVA SCOTIA
CANADA
Cape Kildare
North Cape
West Cape
Cape Egmont
Egmont Bay
Halifax Bay
Richmond B.
Bear Cape
Lat. 46. 30
Lat. 47. 7
S.M. Saw Mill.
C.M. Corn Mill.
Habitations.
London Publish'd as the Act directs March 1 1798. by H. Ashby, King Street, Cheapside.

Upon the history of New Brunswick and the other maritime provinces, Dr. Harper, in 1876, issued a work at St. John, N. B. The writer of special note in connection with literature and history in the lower provinces is Thomas Chandler Haliburton, a judge of Nova Scotia, who was born in Windsor, N. S., 1769, and died in England in 1865, and whose writings under the pseudonym of "Sam Slick" have given amusement and much shrewd wisdom to thousands. Haliburton wrote an *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1829), two vols. The historical portion of the work only reaches to the time of the Treaty of Paris; but a great part of the first volume and all of the second is statistical. In his literary works, *The Clockmaker* (Sam Slick), three series; the *Attaché* (two vols.); *Letter-bag of the Great Western*, and *The old Judge* (two vols.), Haliburton has drawn many graphic pictures of colonial life, infinitely more valuable as showing the social condition of the Lower Provinces than his history. A brochure by F. B. Crofton has just been published (Halifax, N. S., 1889), entitled *Haliburton, the Man and the Writer.*

The literature on the war of 1812 is very considerable, and in Vol. VII. pp. 420–437, the bibliography has been largely given. Of Canadian writers, Gilbert Auchinleck first wrote his *History of the War* in Maclear's *Anglo-American Magazine.*[1] Col. Coffin's *Chronicle of 1812*,[2] though not arranged with literary grace, is an earnest and honest view of the British side of the war. The *Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock* (London, 1847), by C. F. Tupper, is of first importance.[3] Major Richardson, who took part in the war of 1812, and afterwards became a bishop of the Methodist Church in Canada, states his views (Brockville, 1842) with a thorough admixture of loyalist feeling.[4] Historical documents relating to the war of 1812 were published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec in 1877; and the same society issued in 1879 the paper by Mr. J. Stevenson on the *Cause and Commencement of the War of 1812.*

As in many other instances, the war called attention to Canada, and on peace being established the settlers flowed in from all quarters. Various books of travel now become of use: Lt. Francis Hall's *Travels in Canada and the United States, 1816, 1817* (London and Boston, 1818, 1819). James Strachan's *Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819* (Aberdeen, 1820). Two volumes called *Statistical account of Upper Canada*, by R. Gourlay (1822), and a volume of Introduction by the same author, give a good account of the state of the country. *Hints to Emigrants*, by Rev. William Bell (Edinburgh, 1824), was an exhibition of the crude condition of things in Upper Canada. A book of travels by John Howison, Esq. (Edinburgh and London, 1821, 3d ed. 1825), is called *Sketches of Upper Canada, domestic, local, and characteristic.* The author spent two and one half years in Canada. John M. Duncan, a Scottish traveller, passed through the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819, and (2 vols., Glasgow, 1823) gives a graphic description of Niagara Falls and other national objects, as well as of the Six Nations of Indians. An officer of the royal navy, F. F. De Roos, in a work published at London (1827), presents an appreciative account of Montreal and Kingston, and of the future of America. Another British officer, Basil Hall, R. N., in his *Travels in North America*, 1827–28 (Edinburgh, 1829), depicts in a lively manner the life of the settlers in western Canada. The novelist John Galt, in his *Autobiography* (London, 1833), describes the Canada Company, whose affairs he managed, and pictures the social condition of Upper Canada. Major Dunlop also wrote *Statistical sketches of Upper Canada* (1832). *Three years in Canada, 1826–1828* (London, 1829), by McTaggart, is a lively and useful sketch by one of the British engineers employed in building the Rideau canal. *Five Years' residence in the Canadas*, 1818–23 (London, 1824), by Edw. A. Talbot, presents the mixed society of Canada as viewed by a young Irish subaltern. There are pictures of the Canadian winter in George Head's *Forest Scenes* (London, 1829), and in Mrs. Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (New York, 1839). Some *Notes of a Journey through Canada and the United States and West Indies* (Edinburgh, 1838) was written by James Logan, advocate. He gives an account of Quebec and Montreal, but especially of the opening district of the western peninsula of Upper Canada. Canniff Haight describes *Country life in Canada fifty years ago* (Toronto, 1885). Capt. R. G. A. Levinge, in his *Echoes from the backwoods*, etc. (London, 1846), describes the huntsman's paradise of New Brunswick, the rebellion in Lower Canada, and the settlers' life in Upper Canada. T. R. Preston gives us an account of *Three years' residence in Canada, 1837–39* (London, 1840). An English writer, James S. Buckingham, dedicated to Governor Metcalfe his *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and other British Provinces* (London, 1843), containing a plan of national colonization. The rebellions of Upper and Lower Canada, the state of the Indians, and the features of the chief towns are discussed. *Canada and the Canadians* (London, 1846), by Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle, is the picture of colonial life as seen by an officer of high rank, and seen through the spectacles of imperial interests.[1] E. Ermatinger prepared a useful little book (1859) containing the biography of the quaint Irish officer Col. Talbot, who settled many townships along Lake Erie. The *Imperial papers on Emigration* (London, 1847–48) tell of the outflow of the British people, mainly at this time to New Brunswick. In the archives at Ottawa there is a considerable correspondence with the British quartermaster's department on the immigration of the period. *Roughing it in the bush*, by Mrs. S. Moodie (London, 1854; New York, 1877), is one of the most successful and attractive pictures given of Canadian life. It is by an officer's wife, a sister of Miss Agnes Strickland, the well-known British authoress. Major Strickland's *Twenty-seven Years in Canada West* (London, 1853) is another sketchy account of the emigrant's coming told by a brother of the preceding writer. The author was in the employ of the Canada Company while it was making settlements in Upper Canada. *The Emigrant* (London, 1847) is a series of sketches by Sir Francis Bond Head, some of them being interesting views of colonial life. There is no occasion to enumerate more of these later travels.

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[1] Toronto, 1852–53, 2 vols.

[2] [Cf. *ante*, VII. p. 427. — Ed.]

[3] [Cf. *ante*, VII. p. 459. — Ed.]

[4] [Cf. *ante*, VII. p. 427. *Operations of the right division of the army of Upper Canada.* He also published *Personal Memoirs* (Montreal, 1838). There is something to be gathered from Brymner's *Reports* (cf. 1887, p. civ), and J. W. de Peyster's *Miscellanies of an officer* (N. Y., 1888). — Ed.]

Note. — [The opposite map is reduced from one in John Stewart's *Account of Prince Edward Island* (London, 1806). — Ed.]

The literature connected with the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837–38 is somewhat extensive. The rebellions were the outcome of an agitation for twenty years in Upper, and for perhaps more than thirty years in Lower, Canada. The gradual growth of the feeling of inquietude in Lower Canada is thus shown by Mr. John Reade in *Canadiana* (March, 1889): "The *Report of the Gosford commission* gives some idea of the state of this (Lower Canada) province in the years preceding the rising. In 1824 was published a number of pamphlets for and against the union of the Canadas as a remedy for the existing dissatisfaction. Later a volume was published showing the alleged defects of the Constitutional Act. In 1828 appeared the *Report* of the select committee on the civil government, with the evidence of a number of prominent men. In 1832 was published a *Review of the proceedings in the Legislature of Lower Canada* in the previous year, with an appendix containing important documents. In 1832 a book was published in Montreal comprising the ninety-two resolutions, with debates on them. These successive publications (of which I have mentioned only a few of the many) indicate the increasing tension in the relations between the malcontent portion of the population and the authorities."

The French Canadian standpoint is taken in Carrier's *Les evenèments de 1837–38*, and in L. O. David's *Les patriotes de 1837–38*. So late as 1883 a controversy arose by an attack on M. Globensky, who had taken part on the loyal side, which drew forth a history of the rebellion by his son C. A. M. Globensky: *La rebellion de 1837 à Saint-Eustache* (Montreal, 1884).[1] M. Globensky's story was severely criticised by L. O. David, M. P. P. The Upper Canadian rebellion was no doubt hastened by Gourlay's writings, and especially by the *Seventh Report of the Grievance Committee of the Legislature of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1835). This publication embodied the results of indefatigable efforts to collect the records of wrongs, some real enough and others imaginary, which were made by the excitable William Lyon Mackenzie. A work published in London (1837), known as *Canadiana*, described the danger of the state of matters in Upper Canada, and no doubt influenced the authorities at the colonial office towards considering Canadian affairs. The most important work on the rebellion was, for years, *The life and times of William Lyon Mackenzie, with an account of the Canadian rebellion* (Philadelphia, 1862; Toronto, 1863). This was written by Mr. Charles Lindsey, a government officer in Toronto, and a son-in-law of Mr. Mackenzie. While a capable writer, Mr. Lindsey could hardly be expected to take a dispassionate view. The strong personality of William Lyon Mackenzie led to serious differences with his colleagues. The case "ex alterâ parte" was taken up by a young Canadian litterateur, since dead, Mr. J. C. Dent, who in 1885 published at Toronto *The story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion.* Mr. Dent had obtained from Dr. Rolph's family the documents of Dr. Rolph, who was Mackenzie's chief opponent after their quarrel. These papers, which were afterwards obtained by Mr. Brymner, and are now in the archives at Ottawa, were skilfully used by Mr. Dent, who made out a case to Mackenzie's disadvantage. Mr. Dent's work as a literary performance deserves praise, and throws much light on the complications of the rebellion. Fairness, however, demands an opinion which, while by no means exonerating Mackenzie, yet by no means supports Mr. Dent's positions. The work brought out a keen rejoinder entitled, *The other side of the story* (1886), by Mr. John King, a lawyer, and another son-in-law of Mackenzie.

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[1] [Later, *Canada as it was and may be, with additions by Sir James Edw. Alexander* (London, 1852). Cf. his *Newfoundland in 1842, a sequel to his Canada in 1841* (London, 1842), the latter book being published at London in 1841. — ED.]

The despatches received by Sir Francis Bond Head (1839), Sir Francis' despatches (1837), and Sir Francis' *Narrative of his government in Upper Canada* (Toronto and London, 1838, 1839) give the loyalist side, with an attempted defence of the governor's conduct.[2] Judge Haliburton also wrote *The Bubbles of Canada* (London, 1839), in which

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[1] It contains a reprint of a *Journal de Messire Paquin, Curé de St. Eustache pendant les troubles de 1837–38.*

[2] [Head's *Narrative*, together with the *Report* of the Earl of Durham, constitute the *App. to the Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1839). Durham was the high commissioner "to inquire into, and, as far as may be possible, to adjust all questions depending in the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, or either of them, respecting the form and administration of the civil government thereof." His *Report on the affairs of British North America* was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, Feb. 11, 1839, and is included in the *Sessional Papers, Reports from Commissioners*, vol. xvii. (London, 1839). An appendix contains a variety of papers illustrative of the condition of the provinces.

Contents of the Appendices. — A. Special report on the excessive appropriation of public land, under the name of clergy reserves; militia claims to grants of land; state of the hospitals, prisons, charitable institutions, etc., in Lower Canada; addresses presented to the Earl of Durham in 1838; letter from William Young on the state of Nova Scotia; letter from A. Macdonell, catholic bishop of Kingston; memorial of A. Manahan complaining of the exclusion of Roman Catholics (Irish) from places of emolument and honor in the government of Upper Canada; memorial of representatives of Scotch Church in Montreal; address from the Constitutional Association of Montreal to the inhabitants of British America.

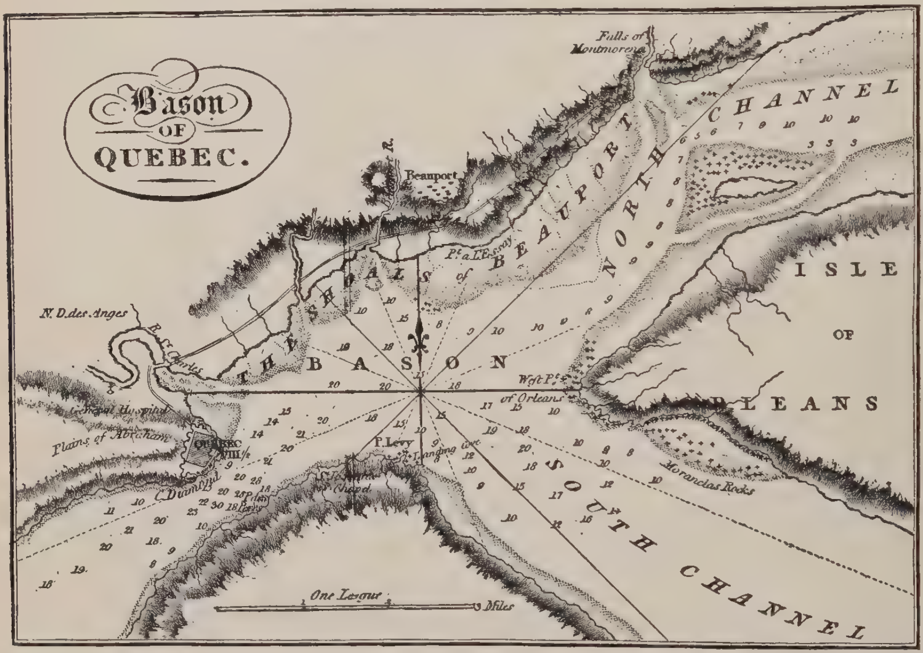
B. Commission appointing C. Buller to inquire into the past and present methods of disposing of waste lands, woods, forests, and other domains and hereditaments, the property of the Crown in Lower Canada, etc.; circular despatches from the governor-general to the respective lieutenant-governors of her Majesty's colonies in North America; report to the governor-general [on public lands and emigration]. Minutes of evidence taken before assistant commissioners of crown lands and emigration.

C. Reports of commissioners of inquiry into the municipal institutions of Lower Canada; report of the bishop of Montreal on the state of the church within his diocese.

D. Commission appointing A. Buller to inquire into and investigate the past and present modes of disposing of the produce of any estate or funds applicable to purposes of education in Lower Canada, etc.; report of the commissioner of inquiry into the state of education in Lower Canada; Jesuits' estates. Returns made to education commission, 1838. Jesuits' estates; report of Mr. Dunkin.

E. Report on the commutation of the feudal tenures in the island of Montreal, and other seigniories in the possession of the Seigniory of St. Sulpice of Montreal; ordinance of the governor-general and special council of Lower travelling over the antecedent ground he endeavors to show the unreasonableness of the Canadian people, and to cast contempt on the remedies employed to pacify them. *Sutherland's letters to Her Majesty* (1841) and E. A. Theller's *Canada in 1837–38* (Philadelphia, 1841), bear on the events of the same stirring time. Theller was an American sympathizer who for a while was a prisoner in Quebec.

The trials and the subsequent action of the executive in sending a number of the prisoners after the rebellion into banishment led to a literature of its own. There were very soon made public two important records of the history of the revolt. The first was the *Report of the State Trials before a General Court-martial at Montreal, 1838–39, exhibiting a complete history of the late rebellion* (Montreal, 1839, in two vols.). The other was Fry's *Case of the Canadian prisoners.* Other works like Miller's *Notes of an Exile of Van Dieman's Land* (1846), D. Heustis' *Adventures in Canada and Van Dieman's Land* (1847),[1] Wait's *Letters from Van Dieman's Land* (1843), and Prieur's *Notes d'un condamné politique de 1838* are memorials of this unfortunate crisis in Canadian affairs.[2]



From *Letters from Canada* (London, 1809).

A considerable number of works on the history of special localities are worthy of our notice. Some of these are merely gazetteers, but some embody research, and will be of service to the general historian. We can but mention several of the best: Dr. Poole's *Early Settlement of Peterboro'* (1867); James Young's *Galt and its Neighborhood* (Toronto, 1880); James Croil's *Dundas* (1861); *Contributions to the history of the Eastern Townships* (Montreal, 1866), and *Shefford* (1877), by C. Thomas; Mrs. C. N. Day's

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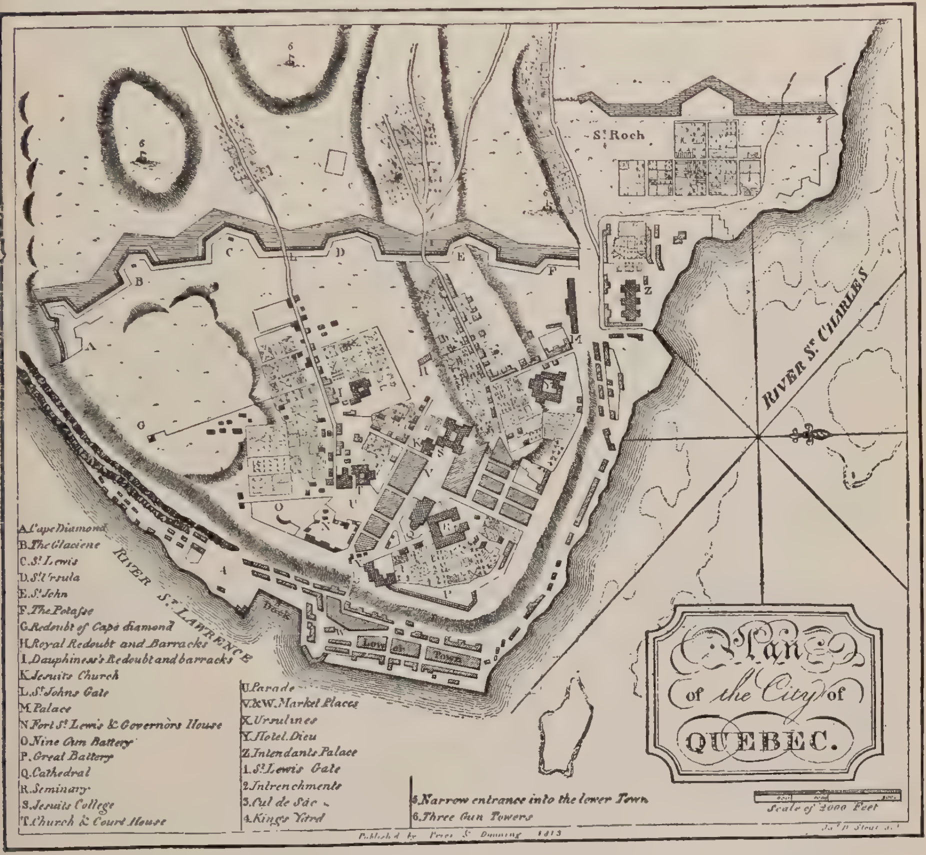
Canada, for incorporating the Seminary of St. Sulpice of Montreal; report on the establishment of a registry of real property in Lower Canada. — Ed.]

[1] [The Boston ed. (1817) is called: *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Capt. Daniel D. Heustis.* — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. also Felix Poutré's *Echappé de la potence. Souvenir d'un prisonnier d'état Canadien en 1838* (Quebec, 1869, 1884). Statements regarding the losses and compensations as resulting from the rebellion make vol. xxxv. (1849) of the parliamentary blue books, *Accounts and Papers.* There is a recent account of the rebellion, by D. W. Cross, in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.* February and March, 1888. — Ed.]

Pioneers (1863), and *History of the Eastern Townships* (1869); B. F. Hubbard's *History of Stanstead County*, revised by John Lawrence (Montreal, 1874); Acton Burrows' *Guelph* (1877); *Halifax and its business*, by G. White (1876); Leavitt's *Leeds and Grenville* (1879); *Montreal and its fortifications*, by A. Sandham (1874), *Its prison*, by Rev. J. D. Borthwick (1880); *Hochelaga depicta*, by Newton Bosworth (Montreal, 1846); *Ottawa (past and present)*, by C. Roger (1871); Hawkins' *Picture of Quebec* (1834); *Chronique Trifluvienne*, by B. Sulte (Montreal, 1870); numerous works on Toronto — Dr. Henry Scadding's (1878) *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873); and other books by C. Mulvaney (1884), G. M. Adam, C. C. Taylor (1886); Robert Sellar's *History of the County of Huntingdon and of the Seigniores of Chateaugay and Beauharnais, to 1838* (Huntingdon, Q., 1888); *Esquisse sur la Gaspesie*, by J. C. Langlier; and Buie's *Saguenay*.



From D. W. Smyth's *Gazetteer of the Province of Upper Canada* (N. Y., 1813).

Among special histories may be classed, *The Irishman in Canada*, by Nicholas Flood Davin, and the *Scot in British North America* (Toronto, 1880–85), by W. J. Rattray, these works being largely biographical.

In the discussion on the Hudson Bay Company,[1] mention is made of the works on the Red River country. The chief books of reference on Canadian Northwestern history are Alexander Ross's *Red River Settlement* (London, 1856) — rather onesided in some particulars, but useful; *Red River*, by J. J. Hargrave (Montreal, 1871), written by a Hudson

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[1] [*Ante*, ch. I. For the Hudson Bay Company's relation to Canada, see E. W. Watkins' *Canada and the States, 1851–1886* (London, 1887). — Ed.]

Bay Company officer, and intended to be a vindication of the company in some points, especially valuable for chapters vi., vii., viii., which give the principles of the company's rule; *History of Manitoba* (Ottawa, 1880), by Hon. Donald Gunn and C. R. Tuttle — the portion up to 1835 written by the former of these two, being the story of an eye-witness who came out in Lord Selkirk's ships; Rattray's *Scot in British North America*, which in its early chapters covers fur-hunting experience and those of the Selkirk colony; and *Manitoba, its infancy, growth, and present condition* (London, 1882), by the present writer.[1]

Of the most western province of Canada, British Columbia, much has been written. The best works on its history belonging to our period are, Fitzgerald's *Charter and proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, with reference to Vancouver's Island* (1849); *Vancouver Island and British Columbia* (London, 1850), by J. D. Pemberton; *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, as described by Matthew McFie (London, 1865); and *Four years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), by R. C. Mayne.

QUEBEC, 1816.*

A considerable literature has arisen in Canada in connection with the founding and growth of its churches. These involve continual references to the general history of the country. We mention only some of the more important. *Rise and progress of the Church of England in the British American Provinces* (Halifax, 1849), by Dr. T. B. Akins; *Missions of the Church of England in North American Colonies* (London, 1848), by E. Hawkins; *History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (London, 1845, 1856), by Rev. J. S. M. Anderson; *History of the Secession (Presbyterian) Church in Nova Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1847), by Rev. J. Robertson; *Story of the Kirk in the Maritime Provinces* (1875), by James Croil; *Life and times of Dr. Robert Burns*, by his son R. F. Burns, in Halifax, N. S. (Toronto, 1872); *Life and discourses of Rev. Alex. Mathieson, D. D.* (Montreal, 1870), by James Croil; *Memoir of Dr. John Bayne, of Galt* (Toronto, 1871), by Dr. Smellie; Wm. Bettridge, *Brief History of the Church of Upper Canada* (London, 1838); *Memorials of John Machar* (Toronto, 1873), by his daughter ("Fidelis"); *History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1885), by Dr. William Gregg; *History of St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal* (1887), by Robert Campbell, containing many facts about the Northwest Fur Company; *History of the Methodist Church of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, 1877); *Memoirs of William Black, Wesleyan* (Halifax, 1839), by Dr. William Ritchie; *History of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto, 1862), by George F. Playter; *Case and his contemporaries* (Toronto, 1882), by John Carroll, D. D.; *Fifty years with Baptist ministers of Maritime Provinces* (St. John, N. B., 1880), by Rev. I. E. Bill; Howley's

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[1] [The *Canadiana* (March, 1889) recognizes the value of this work. Professor Bryce has contributed a paper on the "Five Forts of Winnipeg" to the *Roy. Soc. Canada, Proc.* iii. (2) p. 135. Cf. also G. M. Adam's *Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1885). The first Canadian woman who went to the Red River region was Marie Anne Gaboury, who is commemorated by the Abbé G. Dugast in *La Première Canadienne du nord ouest* (Montreal, 1883). — Ed.]

* From the *Colonial Journal* (London, 1816), vol. ii.

Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland (Boston, 1888); Abbé Chaudonnet's *Notre Dame des Canadiens* (1872); Gosselin's *Histoire populaire de l'Église du Canada* (1887); *History of the Guibord Case* (1875); Henri Têtu's *Les Évêques de Québec* (Quebec, 1889).

The field of political history and biography has been by no means neglected in Canada. The public men of Canada have been treated by several writers in general biographies. Most notable of these is *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (Quebec, 1862), by H. J. Morgan, including nearly one hundred biographies. Another of these is *The Canadian portrait gallery* (Toronto, 1875, 1882), by J. C. Dent, with letterpress description, and in many cases well-executed portraits, of one hundred and fifty of Canada's prominent men. Still another is *Portraits of British Canadians* (Montreal, 1865), by Fannings Taylor; and a more extended series of biographies than any is *Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1886), by G. M. Rose. A work of ethnographic importance, and reflecting credit on its author for marvellous industry, is the *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles Canadiennes* (1871–1887, in 4 vols.), giving, it is said, the descent of upwards of a million of the French Canadians. This has been the *Magnum opus* of the patient Abbé Tanguay. The learned Abbé Casgrain published in French, *Biographies Canadiennes* (1873), and three years later, L. O. David followed with *Biographies et portraits* (Ottawa, 1880).

QUEBEC, 1837.*

Of the lives of the governors there are G. L. Scrope's *Memoir of Lord Sydenham* (London, 1844); *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin* (London, 1872), a very interesting work, by Theodore Walrond;[1] John W. Kaye's *Life and Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe* (London, 1854, 1858),[2] and *Uncle Ben's Life of Governor Metcalfe* (1846) (a pamphlet).

The Clergy Reserve struggle has a considerable literature which may be found in the ecclesiastical histories just given, as well as in Charles Lindsey's *History of the Clergy Reserves* (Toronto, 1851), and in the lives of the great politico-ecclesiastical leaders of the time.[3] *The Story of my Life* (Toronto, 1883) is by one of these leaders, Egerton Ryerson, and is edited by Dr. Hodgins. It is interesting and important. The *Memoir of Bishop Strachan* (Toronto, 1870), by his successor, Bishop Bethune, presents a personality of great power, though a more powerful biographer would have drawn the lines more strongly.[1] Fannings Taylor, in *Last Three Bishops appointed by the Crown* (Montreal, 1869), gives a history of Lower Canadian affairs as related to Bishops Fulford and Mountain, and of Upper Canadian, in which Dr. Strachan took so foremost a part. The *Reminiscences of his Public Life*, by Sir Francis Hincks (Montreal, 1884), is a record since 1830 of one of the most active-minded politicians Canada ever possessed — and a determined opponent to State Churchism, as is shown in his *Religious Endowments in Canada* (London, 1869).[2] One of the chief moulding men of his time was Hon. George Brown; and his life (Toronto, 1882) has been fairly well written by Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, on whom his mantle fell as exponent of the principles of the liberal party. Mr. Brown's great political opponent was Sir John A. Macdonald, whose life has been written by J. E. Collins, in the *Life and Times of the Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald* (Toronto, 1883). The distinguished Lower Canadian colleague of Sir John Macdonald was Sir George Etienne Cartier, who had a marvellous magnetic power over his countrymen as a leader. A short sketch of his life was issued (1873), by L. O. David. An interesting history of legal affairs in Upper Canada has this year (1889) been published under the title, *The Lives of the Chief Justices of Upper Canada*, by D. B. Read, a lawyer of Toronto. For many years one of the most prominent figures in the history of the Lower Provinces was Joseph Howe, leader of the liberals. His name was long one to conjure by, and his influence in Nova Scotia was at times almost unbounded. His *Speeches and Public Letters* were published (1858) by William Annand, a political admirer. Howe's only opponent of note in later years was Honorable, now Sir Charles Tupper, whose life has been sketched (1883) by C. Thibault.

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[1] [Cf. *Condition and Prospects of Canada in 1854, as portrayed in the Despatches of the Earl of Elgin* (Quebec, 1855). — Ed.]

[2] [Sir Francis Hincks (*Polit. Hist.*, 1877) speaks of this life as "casting the vilest imputations on all who differed in opinion with his hero." — Ed.]

[3] [Some of the documentary illustrations will be found in *Papers relative to Clergy Reserves*, presented to parliament, February 11, 1853, in Sir

* After a cut in *The Mirror*, February 11, 1837.

Two men who were intimately bound up with the commercial development of Canada have been kept in remembrance by friends or admirers. The first of these is Hon. Richard Cartwright, a public man of note in Kingston, whose *Life and Letters* (1876) was published by his son Rev. C. E. Cartwright. A man worthy of being remembered is Hon. William Merritt, of great public spirit, the promoter of the Welland Canal, and a man of just and upright mind. His *Biography* (1878) contains an "account of some of the most important public works in Canada."

It remains to notice what may be called the general histories of Canada, and these vary very much in excellence. Hugh Murray's *Hist. and Descriptive Account of British America* (Edinburgh, 1839, in 3 vols.) is a book of a past generation. *The Last Forty Years; or, Canada since the Union of 1841* (Toronto, 1881), by J. C. Dent, is the best example of true historic research in our Canadian history, if, perhaps, Garneau be excepted. It deals with the affairs of Canada in a truthful and skilful manner. *Canada: Past, Present, and Future* (Toronto), by W. H. Smith, is more of a gazetteer than a history. Portions of it are, however, useful. A *History of Canada* (Montreal, 1862 and 1866), by Andrew Bell, is a distorted translation of Garneau. No translator has a right to take such liberties with his author as is done in this case. While somewhat useful, the work is not one to be approved. Of the *History of Canada* (Brockville, 1868, and London, 1869), by John McMullen, *Canadiana* (January, 1889) says: "It was written at a distance from original sources of information, and is therefore defective." Two large volumes make up the *Illustrated History of the Dominion* (Boston, 1887), by C. R. Tuttle, which is a compilation from the ordinary sources of information. *A Popular History of the Dominion of*

Francis Hincks' lecture on the *Polit. Hist. of Canada*, etc. — ED.]

[1] [Cf. Henry Scadding's *Dr. Strachan the first Bishop of Toronto, a Review and a Study* (Toronto, 1868). — ED.]

[2] [Cf. also his *Polit. Hist. of Canada, 1840–1855, a Lecture* (Montreal, 1877), in which he quotes largely from his *Religious Endowments*, which having been privately printed is difficult to find. Compare Sir Alexander T. Galt's *Canada, 1849–1859*, Quebec, 1860. — ED.]

Canada (Boston, 1878), by Rev. Dr. Withrow of Toronto, and also found in a later edition, is a considerable volume, of which there is a résumé prepared as a school history.[1] Of *A Short History of the Canadian People* (London, 1887), by the present writer, the *Canadiana* (January, 1889) says: "Dr. Bryce's book deserves the praise that is due to faithful work. . . . He has shed new and welcome light on several phases of our growth as a nation."

In closing it may be well to state the chief centres in Canada where important documents useful to the historian may be found. Ottawa is certainly the Mecca of Canadian historians. The ever increasing value of the archives will give it first rank. The military correspondence; Haldimand and Bouquet collections; papers on Red River; Rolph papers; Bulger papers, and other collections will no doubt be largely added to as the years roll on. The parliamentary library, too, has a splendid collection of Canadian works, though they sadly need to be arranged and catalogued. The new Public Library of Toronto is making great strides. Its nucleus of "Canadiana" was made by the presentation of works on Canada by a public-spirited citizen of Toronto, Mr. Hallam, to the public library; and the considerable means at the disposal of the library are being judiciously used. A reference catalogue issued (1889) to increase this, by its capable librarian, Mr. James Bain, shows the collections made to date. The Fraser Institute, Montreal, represents a new and vigorous life which will no doubt gather strength and preserve to some extent the material of the old Institut Canadien, which had fallen into misfortune and decay. A young and hopeful "Society for Historical Studies" is doing good work in Montreal, and meets at the Fraser Institute. The society has begun with this year (1889) a monthly journal, called *Canadiana*, which promises to be of service to the society and to historical research generally. The most famous society in Canada was for many years the "Quebec Literary and Historical Society." Its transactions, extending from 1829–86, contain many excellent papers. The society has unfortunately in late years failed to show the same energy and devotion to research as in days gone by.[2] The Nova Scotia Historical Society, meeting at Halifax, has since 1878 issued its transactions and has, in connection with the Provincial Parliamentary Library, a valuable set of documents.[3] The Manitoba Historical, Scientific Society at Winnipeg has during the ten years of its existence done a considerable amount of work on archæology and northwestern history, confining its researches to the "region north and west of Lake Superior." It has issued transactions in brochures up to 35 in number, which now make a volume. It has lately come into possession of a valuable series of documents, ranging from 1817–25, of Lord Selkirk, and colony papers found in the recently dismantled Fort Garry. The Marquis of Lorne, when governor-general of Canada, organized the "Royal Society of Canada," with four sections. Two of these cultivate literature and history. Five large quarto volumes, published in Montreal (1882–87), contain the best of the papers read, among which are many valuable contributions to Canadian history, both by French and English writers.

George Bryce

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[1] *An Abridged History of Canada, by W. H. Withrow, also an Outline History of Canadian Literature by G. Mercer Adam* (Toronto, 1887).

[2] [Cf. *ante*, V. p. 616. This society has since 1838 published five series of *Historical Documents* (1838, reprinted 1873; 1840, 1843, 1861, 1866–67, 1871, 1875, 1877, — each in a single volume). They mainly relate to earlier periods than the one now under consideration, though there are some papers relating to the American invasion in 1775–76 in the 2d, 3d, and 4th series, and the 5th is wholly devoted to the war of 1812. It has also printed five volumes of *Transactions* (1829, 1831, 1837, 1843–56, 1862), and a *new series*, consisting of eighteen numbers up to 1886, with details of successive sessions. — ED.]

[3] [Cf. *ante*, V. p. 419. — ED.]

EDITORIAL NOTE ON NEWFOUNDLAND.

THERE had been some agitation respecting the settlement of Newfoundland, in 1609, among the Bristol people, and a transient colony, under the auspices of Bristol merchants, seems soon afterwards to have made a temporary lodgment on the island.

The leader in Newfoundland discovery, however, as inducing settlement, was Capt. Richard Whitbourne, who says that more than forty years' experience in making voyages to and from the island had given him great familiarity with it. He printed at London, in 1620, *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland, with many reasons to proove how worthy and beneficiall a plantation may there be made.* This first edition of a tract, which, as the Rev. Charles Pedley in his *History of Newfoundland* (London, 1863) says, loses much of its value from the author's over-credulousness, is very rare, as are also second and third editions, issued in 1622 and 1623.[1] The second and third editions contained in addition to the book of 1620 a *Discourse containing a loving invitation to all such as shall be adventurers, either in person or purse, for the advancement of his Majesties most hopefull plantation in the Newfoundland lately undertaken*, which was first published separately in London in 1622.[2] In reprinting this in the edition of 1623, some alterations were made, and there were also added to this new conglomerate issue (1623) "copies of certaine letters sent from that country," which are sometimes found in separate issues.[3]

Sir William Vaughan, a Welshman, had endeavored in 1617 to plant a colony in Newfoundland, and spent several years there, after inducing a number of emigrants to accept his offers. He wished for more, and had in mind to set forth the advantages of his colony in print; but the booksellers convinced him that plain statements never sold, and so in a fantastic way he got up a little book, mixing truth and fiction with more quaintness than assimilation, which gives the present reader scarcely more satisfaction than it afforded the wandering minds of his own day, who could feed on whimsicalities enough nearer home. It was printed in London in 1626, as *The Golden Fleece Diuided into three Parts, Vnder which are discouered the Errours of Religion, the Vices and Decayes of the Kingdome, and lastly the wayes to get wealth, and to restore Trading so much complayned of. Transported from Cambrioll Colchos, out of the Southermost Part of the Iland, commonly called the Newfoundland, by Orpheus junior.*[4] Vaughan also published in 1630 *The Newlander's Cure . . . generall and speciall remedies . . . against grievous infirmities, published for the weale of Great Brittaine.* This was dedicated to his brother, the Earl of Carbery, and in the introductory letter to that nobleman he says that thirteen years before he had transported to his patent certain colonies of men and women at his own charge; but that because of the burden on his weak shoulders he had assigned the northerly portion of the grant to Viscount Faulkland, and (upon Carbery's motion) to Lord Baltimore, "who has lived there these two yeeres with his lady and children."[5] In 1623 Calvert was made proprietor of the whole southeastern peninsula under the charter of Avalon.[6]

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[1] Brinley, i. nos. 120, 121; Rich, 1832, no. 155 (£1.10); O'Callaghan, no. 2402; H. C. Murphy, nos. 2715–17; Carter-Brown, ii. no. 247; Griswold, no. 939; Crowninshield, no. 1109; Barlow, 304–307; Harv. Coll. lib., 4344, 23 and 24; J. A. Allen, *Bibliog. of Cetacea*, no. 47; Menzies, no. 2118. F. S. Ellis priced a 1623 edition, in 1884, at £10.10.0 (*Catalogue*, no. 315), and Quaritch, in 1885, a 1622 ed. at £6, and in 1889 at £10.

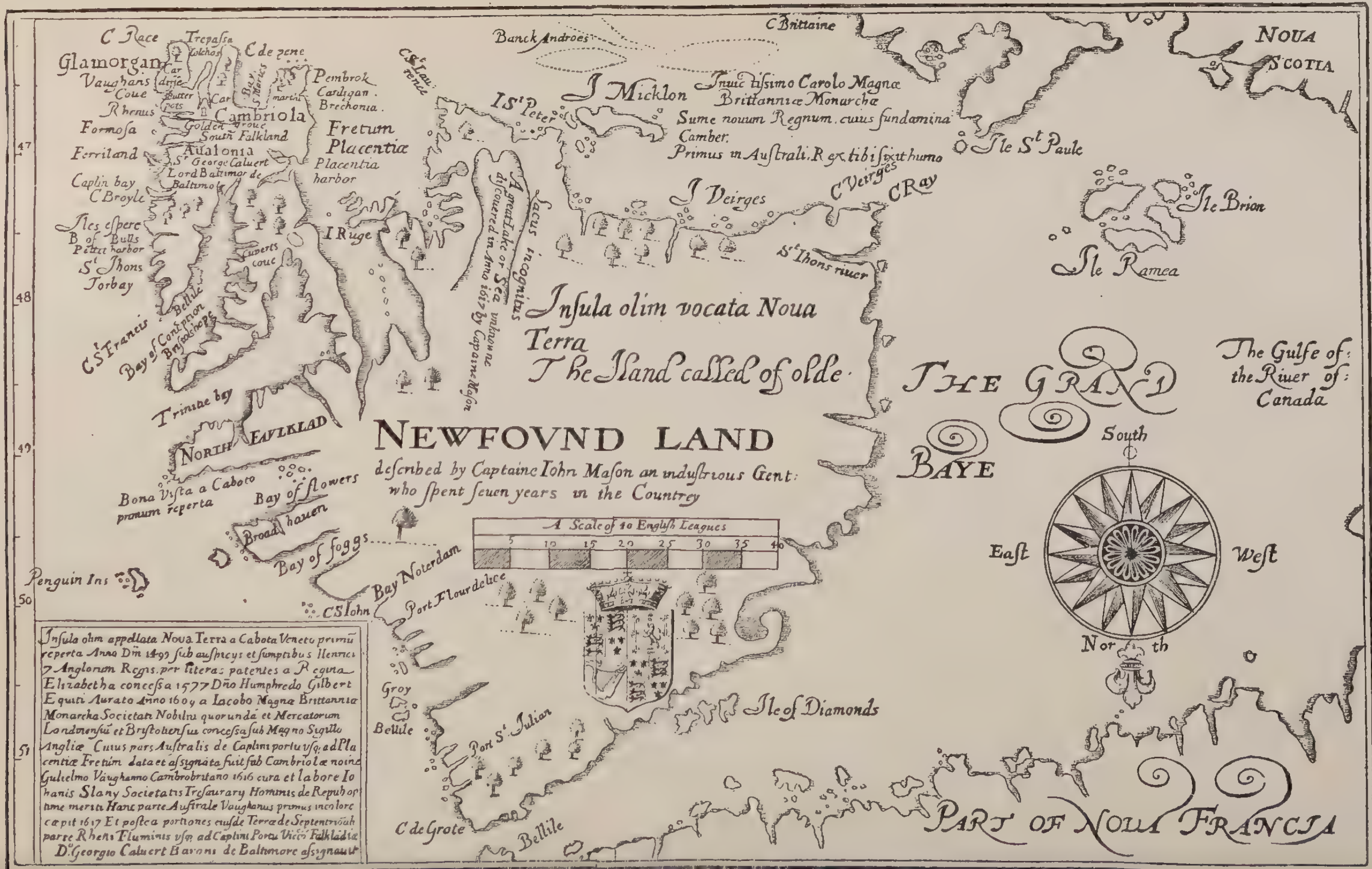
[2] Rich, 1832, no. 161; Carter-Brown, ii. no. 279.

[3] Letters from Captain Wynne, governor of Ferryland, July and Aug., 1622, to Sir George Calvert; from Capt. Daniel Powell, 28 July, 1622; and from N. H., a gentleman living there, Aug. 18, 1622, to his worthy friend, W. P. Cf. Carter-Brown, ii. nos. 278, 286; *Sparks Catalogue*, No. 1856; and Brymner's *Report*, 1881, pp. 27–29. Whitbourne's original tract was translated into Latin and German in Hulsius' *Voyages*, Part XX. (Carter-Brown, i. p. 497). The English original was republished as *Westward hoe for Avalon in the New-found-land; as described by Captain Richard Whitbourne, 1622. Edited and illustrated by T. Whitburn* (London, 1870).

[4] Copies of the book, if perfect, bring from £3 to £6. Rich (no. 177) noted such a copy in 1832 at £2.10.0. Cf. *Crowninshield Catal.*, no. 1069; Brinley, i. no. 118, with map in fac-simile; Carter-Brown, ii. no. 323. The map is inscribed, "Newfoundland, described by Captaine John Mason, an industrious Gent., who spent seven years in the countrey;" and it is often wanting. A fac-simile of the map is given in David Laing's *Royal letters, etc., relating to New Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1867), and in Tuttle's *John Mason.*

[5] Carter-Brown, ii. no. 370; *No. Am. Rev.* iv. 288.

[6] Cf. Vol. III. p. 561; also pp. 519, 523; Kirke, *Conquest of Canada;* S. Colliber's *Columna rostrata*, (London, 1728; cf. Sabin, iv. 14,414); Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, pp. 28, 40, 103. The Avalon charter is printed in Scharf's *Hist. of Maryland*, i. p. 34. The date of Baltimore's abandonment of the colony is discussed in


NEWFOVND LAND
described by Captaine Iohn Mason an industrious Gent: who spent seuen years in the Countrey
Insula olim vocata Noua Terra
The Iland called of olde
A Scale of 40 English Leagues
5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40
A great Lake or Sea vnknowne discouered in Anno 1617 by Captaine Mason
Lacus incognitus
Inuictissimo Carolo Magnæ Brittanniæ Monarchæ
Sume nouum Regnum, cuius fundamina Camber.
Primus in Australi, Rex tibi fixit humo
Insula olim appellata Noua Terra a Cabota Veneto primū reperta Anno Dm̄ 1497 sub auspicys et sumptibus Henrici 7 Anglorum Regis, per literas patentes a Regina Elizabetha concessa 1577 Dño Humphredo Gilbert Equiti Aurato Anno 1609 a Iacobo Magnæ Brittanniæ Monarcha Societati Nobilui quorundā et Mercatorum Londinensiū et Brystoliensiū concessa sub Magno Sigillo Angliæ Cuius pars Australis de Caplini portu vsq; ad Placentiæ Fretūm data et assignata fuit sub Cambriolæ noīne Gulielmo Vaughanno Cambrobritano 1616 cura et labore Iohanis Slany Societatis Tresaurary Hominis de Repub optime meriti Hanc parte Australe Vaughanus primus incolore cæpit 1617 Et postea portiones eiusde Terræ de Septentrionali parte Rheni Fluminis vsq; ad Caplini Portu Vicēs Falklādiæ Dᵒ. Georgio Caluert Baroni de Baltimore assignauit
C Race
Trepassa
Colchos
C de zene
Glamorgan
Vaughans Coue
Car dyffe
Butter pots
Car
Bay S Maries
S martin
Pembrok
Cardigan.
Brechonia.
Rhenus
Cambriola
Formosa
Golden Groue
South Falkland
Fretum Placentiæ
Ferriland
Aualonia
Sʳ George Caluert
Lord Baltimor de Baltimo
Placentia harbor
Caplin bay
C Broyle
Iles espere
B of Bulls
Pettit harbor
Sᵗ Jhons
Torbay
Cuperts coue
I Ruge
C Sᵗ Francis
Bellile
Bay of Contpcion
Brystols hope
Trinitie bay
NORTH FAVLKLAND
Bona Vista a Caboto primum reperta
Bay of flowers
Broad hauen
Bay of foggs
Penguin Ins
C S Iohn
Bay Noterdam
Port Flourdeluce
Groy
Bellile
Port Sᵗ Julian
C de Grote
Bellile
Ile of Diamonds
C Sᵗ Lawrence
Banck Andrões
C Brittaine
IS ᵗ Peter
I Micklon
I Deirges
C Veirges
C Ray
Sᵗ Jhons riuer
Ile Sᵗ Paule
Ile Brion
Ile Ramea
NOUA SCOTIA
THE GRAND BAYE
The Gulfe of: the Riuer of: Canada
South
East
West
Nor th
PART OF NOUA FRANCIA
47
48
49
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51

Capt. John Mason, a merchant of London, later known as the proprietor of New Hampshire, was at one time governor of Newfoundland, and a promoter of colonization there, which he sought to further by a tract, which was printed at Edinburgh in 1620: *A briefe Discourse of the Newfoundland, with the situation, temperature and commodities thereof, inciting our nation to goe forward in that hopefull plantation begunne.*[1] It was reprinted in 1867 by the Bannatyne Club in David Laing's *Royal Letters, etc., relating to New Scotland*, which contains an account of Mason and other early promoters of the colonization of Newfoundland.[2] A map of Newfoundland was made from Mason's surveys, and appeared in 1626 in Vaughan's *Golden Fleece*, and is the earliest special representation of the configuration of the coast.[3]

There are two other early tracts: *A short discourse of the Newfoundland, contayning diverse reasons and inducements for the planting of that colony. Published for the satisfaction of all such as shall be willing to be adventurers in the said Plantation.* Dublin, 1623.[4] Richard Eburne's *Plaine Pathway to Plantations . . . with certain motives for a present plantation in Newfoundland above the rest, 1624.*[5]

Robert Hayman, "sometimes governor of the plantations there," fixed upon the country the new name of "Britaniola," in a collection of epigrams which he wrote there, and which he published in London, in 1628, as *Quodlibets lately come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland.*[6] The Crown in 1633 published *A Commission for the well gouverning of our people inhabiting in Newfoundland.*[7]

Beside the general histories of Canada and New France, covering the history of Newfoundland, with Captain Griffeth Williams's account of the island of Newfoundland (London, 1765) and John Reeves' *Hist. of the Government of Newfoundland* (London, 1793), there have been three distinct monographs during the present century: —

Lewis Amadeus Anspach, *History of the island of Newfoundland* (London, 1819, 1827). The author was a magistrate and missionary of the island.

Charles Pedley, *History of Newfoundland to 1860* (London, 1863). Prepared from the public archives at the instance of the governor of the colony.

Joseph Hatton and M. Harvey, *Newfoundland, the oldest British colony; its history, its present condition, and its prospects* (London, 1883).

To these may be added: —

M. F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (Boston, 1888); and for travels, Sir R. H. Bonnycastle's *Newfoundland in 1842* (London, 1842); J. B. Jukes' *Excursions in and about Newfoundland, 1839–1840* (London, 1842); and Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg's *Kanada und Neufundland nach einigen Reisen und Beobachtungen* (Freiburg).

As respects the neighboring Labrador, there is much to elucidate its early cartographical history in *ante*, Vol. IV.; and Chavanne (*Polar Regions*, p. 220) gives something of a bibliography. Cartwright's *Journal* is one of the older authorities. Cf. Henry Y. Hinde's *Explorations in the interior of the Labrador peninsula, the Country of the Montagnais and Nasquapee Indians* (London, 1863), and W. A. Stearns' *Labrador, a sketch of its peoples, its industries, and its natural history* (Boston, 1884).

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the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1883; Oct., 1885. As late as the middle of the last century, the representative of Lord Baltimore made claim to the territory of Avalon, and a report of the attorney and solicitor general on that claim, April 5, 1754, is among the Shelburne MSS., vol. 61, as noted in the *Hist. MSS. Commission, Report V.*, p. 230.

[1] Sabin, xi. 45,453, who quotes the title from Lowndes, adding that the tract is "so rare that we have been unable to find a copy." Laing says only three copies are known. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Eng. Books to 1640*, p. 1076. The Prince Society has recently published *Captain John Mason, the founder of New Hampshire, including his tract on Newfoundland, 1620, and a Memoir by C. W. Tuttle, edited by John Ward Dean* (Boston, 1887).

[2] Carter-Brown, ii. no. 239.

[3] Howley in his *Ecclesiastical Hist. of Newfoundland* gives various early maps, including one found in the Vatican, dated 1556. The earlier draft of Lescarbot is given *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 379, where are some notes on antecedent maps. Mason's map is among the Kohl collection, no. 168. A map by Nicolas Visscher is considered the earliest with elaborate soundings on the banks. Popple (1733) and Buache (1736) made maps (North collection in Harvard Coll. lib., ii. nos. 5–7). There is a map in Charlevoix, by Bellin, which is reproduced in Shea's translation. A *Pilot de Terre Neuve* was published in 1784 (Harv. Coll. Atlases, no. 650).

[4] Carter-Brown, ii. no. 283.

[5] Carter-Brown, ii. no. 291; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1883, p. 230. It is a rare book.

[6] Carter-Brown, ii. nos. 335, 336.

[7] Harv. Coll. lib., 4344. 20.

NOTE. — The map on the preceding page is a fac-simile of that in Mason's *Briefe Discourse.*

CHAPTER IV.

SPANISH NORTH AMERICA.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR.

IN the second volume of the present work the progress of Spanish exploration and settlement in North America was traced down to the withdrawal of Cortés from Mexico in 1540, and to the return of Coronado from his long and northward march in 1542. There were some intentionally brief indications given of other Spanish explorations towards New Mexico even so late as the alleged expedition of Peñalosa in 1662; while the course of maritime discovery along the Pacific coast was sketched in outline to the close of the eighteenth century, connecting it with the distinctively Arctic ventures, which are followed in the present volume in preceding chapters.[1] It is the present purpose to pursue, in a condensed way, the general course of the succeeding history of the Spanish countries in North America down to the middle of the nineteenth century. We have seen how in 1535 Spain had sent her first viceroy to Mexico in Antonio de Mendoza. New Spain was under his sway until 1550, and the story of the vice-regal period begins with eliciting our sympathy, as it continued to do, for the natives, degraded beneath inhuman burdens. They were baptized by the millions, if we may believe the figures; but it may be a question if such spiritual relief, imagined or actual, was equal in beneficence to the release of death which came by other millions, as the record goes, through disease and inhumanity. The Spaniards indeed conquered provinces, established towns, and developed mines, and in all this the country seemed prosperous; but Benzoni, travelling through the country, tells us how their rapacious laws and the bondage of the Indians depopulated whole towns. It seemed, in fact, to matter little whether a tribe was an ally or an enemy; the scourge and the doom were as sure for each. The natives revolted only to intensify the horrors of their situation. It was death in the mines, and inhumanity worse than death in the fields. Las Casas, as we have seen,[2] pleaded so vehemently that at last, by imperial cédula and by the code of the so-called new laws,[3] remedies were established to prevent depopulation and horrors. The measures were not indeed so radical as Las Casas had wished, but still there was justice enough in them to prevent slavery for all but those then subjected to it under a legal title.

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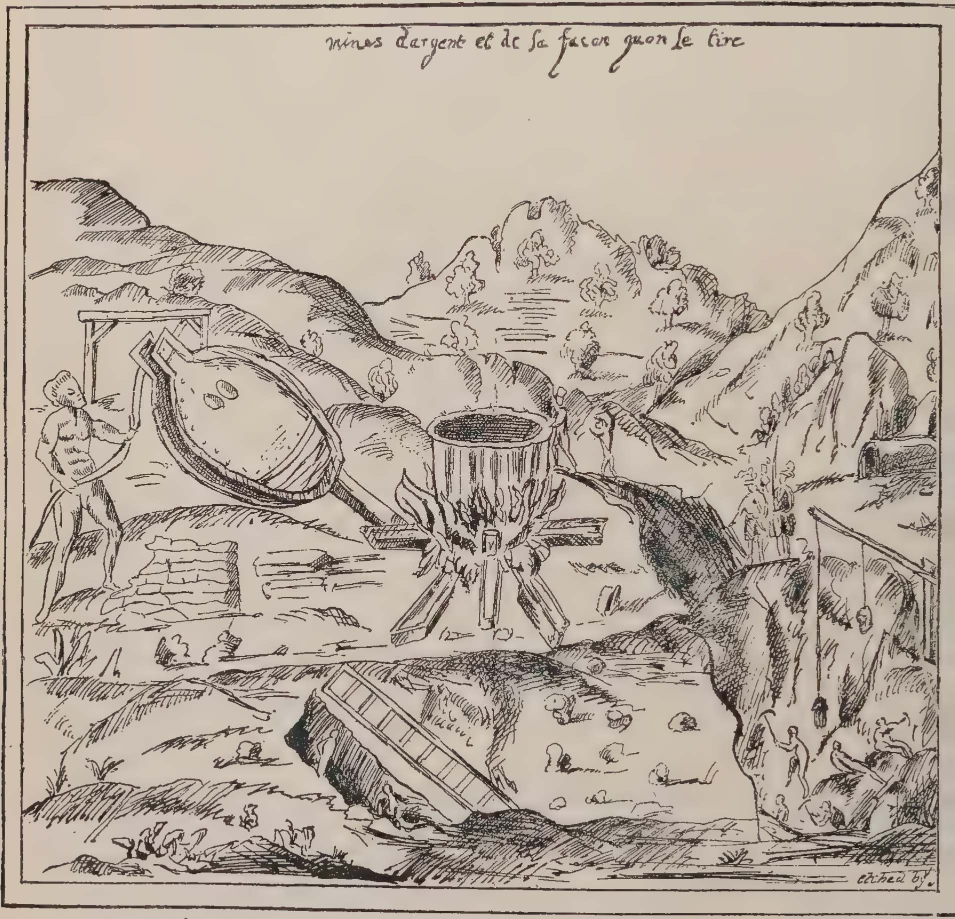
[1] Ch. 1 and 2.

[2] Vol. II. ch. 5.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 537.

Francisco Tello de Sandoval was sent to execute these laws, and landed at Vera Cruz in March, 1544. The ordinances soon provoked opposition from the Spanish owners of encomiendas[1] and from the religious orders, which were likewise interested in preserving the old conditions. These opponents of the statutes combined to make such representations that in 1545 the laws in their obnoxious traits were revoked, notwithstanding the protests of Las Casas. In other respects the rule of Mendoza was not without success. He improved the social and external conditions of life; he subjugated and pacified distant tribes of the hostile Chichimecs in


mines dargent et de la facon quon le tire
etched by J.

A SILVER MINE.*

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[1] The original MS. of Cortés' opinion on encomiendas is noted in Stevens, *Bibl. Amer.*, 1885, priced at £12. 12. 0. Cf. Vol. II. p. 348, for an account of this institution.

* Champlain's sketch in his *Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (London, 1859). The etchings of the originals in this volume were done by Mrs. C. R. Markham.

Zacatecas, and crowned his conquests here and in New Galicia by opening sources of revenue in their mines.

In 1547 Mexico was raised to an archbishopric,[1] but Zumárraga as its prelate enjoyed his elevation for a few days only, before he died on June 3, 1548. Meanwhile Las Casas had made his final visit to New Spain, and returned to Europe to print his famous tracts at Seville in 1552–53, and to work on his *Historia* up to 1561.[2]

MINING.*

It is to the credit of Luis de Velasco, the second viceroy, that he did what he could to carry out the royal commands for ameliorating the condition of the natives.[3] He saw in 1553 not only the capital city subjected to one of those great floods which occasionally devastated the town, but he witnessed also the more grateful manifestation of the founding of its University. He instituted attempts (1559), which only proved futile, to subjugate the natives of Florida;[1] but he was more successful in the Northwest, where new mining regions were acquired.

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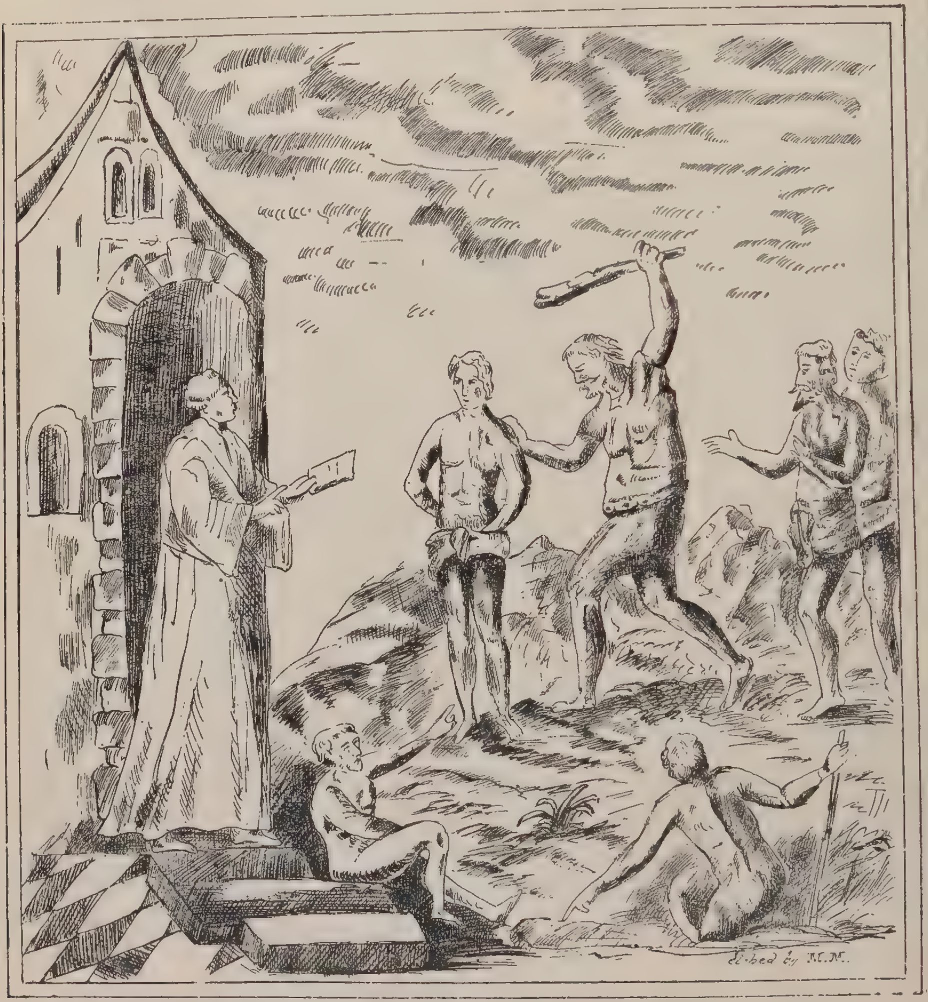
[1] There were at this time about 15,000 Spaniards in America, and the policy of excluding convicts was now begun.

[2] Cf. Vol. II. pp. 308, 333, 339.

[3] On the Indian treatment, 1550–60, see Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. ch. 27.

* From *Idæa vera et genuina* of De Bry's *Nona Pars* (Frankfort, 1602). Cf. on the Spanish mining, Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. ch. 28, on "Mines and Mining (1500–1800)," with bibliog., pp. 599–601; vi. ch. 1 (1800–1887); Helps' *Spanish Conquest*, iii. 140; and C. B. Dahlgren's *Historic mines of Mexico; a review of the mines of that republic for the past three centuries. Compiled from the works of Von Humboldt, Ward, Burkart*, etc. (New York, 1883).


Etched by M.M.

PUNISHMENT OF THE INDIANS FOR NOT ATTENDING CHURCH.*

Yucatan, which had been governed by the Audiencia up to 1562, was now disjoined from the central power, and Quijada, in 1562, began there his independent rule, and his successors continued it through periods of somewhat monotonous dissensions.[2]

The next year (1563) Martin Cortés, now thirty years old, the son of the conqueror, came from Spain, and with the renown of his name and the lavishness of his mode of living he soon caused Velasquez, then in power, to feel that there was a dangerous rival near the vice-regal throne. Some daring and ambitious spirits tried to use this natural prestige of Cortés to make head for a conspiracy which aimed to make Cortés king. There is no evidence that the visitor favored it, and when the betrayed leaders were executed he was only spared to be given to torture and to years of suspicions and fines.[1]

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 258.

[2] For Yucatan events see Bancroft's *Mexico*, ii. 650, and citations; iii. (1601-1708), ch. 8; v. 83-85.

* Champlain's drawing as reproduced in his *Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (London, 1859).

etched by M.M.

BURNING INDIANS.*

By 1568 the viceroys of New Spain began to find that how to meet the maritime rapine from the European enemies of Spain was a problem not the least difficult of those which confronted them. In September of that year, John Hawkins with nine ships captured the castle of San Juan de Uluá, and then had wit enough to escape fairly well from the toils of treachery in which he was soon involved. A few years later (1572), Drake plundered here and there along the Gulf coast; in 1578 he appeared on the Pacific coast, and in 1586 he burned Saint Augustine in Florida;[1] while both the French and English marauders of the sea gave the shore people little quiet for the rest of the century. Floods, the fearful scourge of disease, and the introduction of the Inquisition, added other horrors to the time. Archbishop Montúfar had regularly established in Mexico the scru-

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[1] Orozco y Berra's *Noticia histórica de la conjuracion del Marquès del Valle 1565–68* (Mexico, 1853) is the main dependence for this conspiracy. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 635.

* Champlain's drawing as reproduced in his *Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (London, 1859).

SIR JOHN HAWKINS.*

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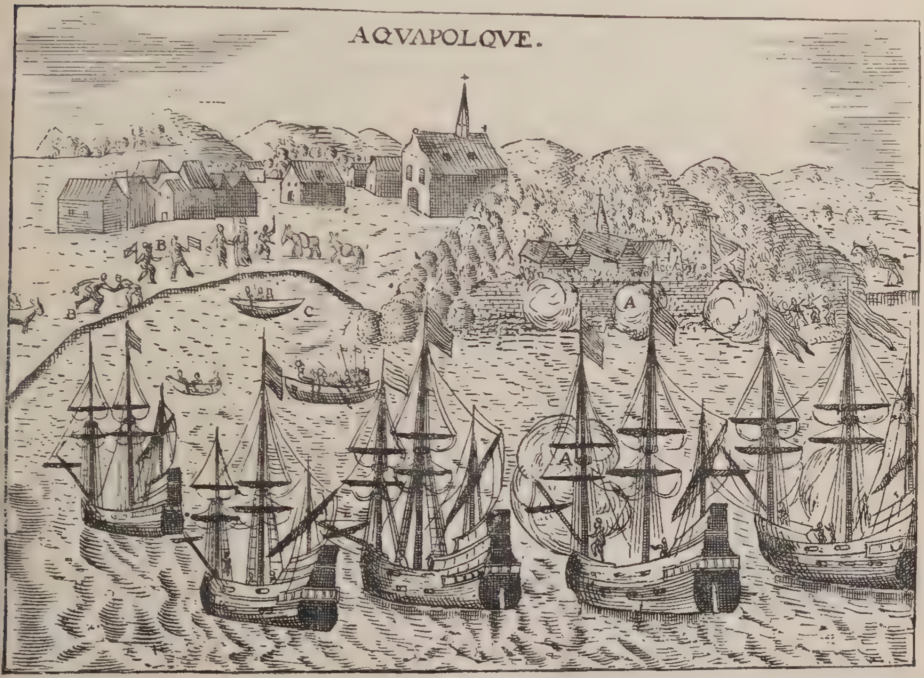
[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. II. 453; III. 64. De Bry's Drake's Attack on St. Augustine is reproduced in the Coquina edition of C. B. Reynolds' *Old St. Augustine*.

* After a plate in Holland's *Herologia Anglica*, 1620.

tiny of the Inquisition in 1571, the year before he died, when he was succeeded by Bishop Landa of Yucatan, who had used its terrors against the heathen of Yucatan as early as 1562, and was now, in 1574, to institute the earliest *auto da fé* in Mexico.[1]

It was not long before the devastations of the marauding fleets of rival nations endangered the free passage of the rich trading ships that plied between Acapulco and Manilla, and the treasure vessels that bore revenue from the Gulf ports to Spain. In 1581 it had become necessary to give these carriers of bullion a convoy of war-ships. In 1584, Francisco de Gali, seeking to avail of the Japanese current and of the trade-winds[2] in coming from the Asiatic ports, had turned to the north, and first sighted the Cali-



ACAPULCO.*

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[1] On church government in Mexico, 1550–1600 see Bancroft's *Mexico*, ii. ch. 31; on the religious orders, ch. 32. The Franciscans had come in 1524, the Dominicans in 1526; but not till 1572 the Jesuits, in 1585 the Carmelites, and in 1589 the Benedictines.

[2] The dictionaries seem to err in deriving the meaning of trade-wind from their availability for commerce. The early navigators (Hakluyt, ed. 1600, iii. 849; Dampier's *Voyages*, Lond., 1705, ii. pt. 3, pp. 1, 2) used the phrase "to blow trade," which meant to blow in a fixed path (*Professor William M. Davis*).

* From Hulsius, *Sammlung*, xvii, being the *Reiss und Schiffart* of Spilbergen (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1620). Cf. also Spilbergen's *Speculum* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1619), and the *Journal van de Nassausche Vloot* (Amsterdam, 1626). In the next century we find plans in Ottens' *Grand théâtre de la guerre en Amérique* (Amsterdam, 1717); in Anson's *Voyages* (reproduced herewith); a later Spanish survey in 1791, published by the British Admiralty in 1818; and later ones, enumerated by Uricoechea.

A view of the port from Montanus is given *ante*, II. 394, and modern travels will furnish later aspects, like J. R. Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*, vol. i.

fornia coast under 37° 30′; then he coasted south to Acapulco.[1] This brought to mind the prevailing unacquaintance with a coast so neighboring, and the desirability of availing of any harbors it might have, into which the hunted merchantman could slip to avoid hostile ships, and from which the enemy could be watched. The career of Cavendish on the coast soon made such harbors a necessity,[2] and the forced loans imposed upon New Spain for the benefit of the mother country rendered the protection of its trade essential to the meeting of such exactions. Whatever the more northerly parts of the interior country could yield was thus made worth the seeking, and the regions which Coronado had traversed, and which had been forgotten for nearly forty years, were threaded by the expeditions of Ibarra, Oñate, and others,[3] from the south, and by that of Governor Diego de Peñalosa, marching east from Santa Fé, as is claimed by some.[4]

The voyage of Viscaino in 1602 had given new knowledge of the northern coast region;[5] and the intermittent presence of hostile fleets served to keep the attention of the authorities of New Spain intent on their maritime interests. The Dutchman Spilbergen was raiding here in 1614, and ten years later, and in the years following, the Dutch admirals, to distract the attention of Spain while the patriots of Holland were struggling for their independence, hovered here and on the Gulf coast with their fleets; damaging towns, intercepting Spanish ships, and sometimes making a great capture, as when Admiral Heyn captured the silver fleet near Matanzas, Cuba, in 1628.[6] When war was declared between Spain and France in 1633, it was no small misfortune for the province that its taxes were increased to help Philip IV carry on his campaigns, at the time when the French cruisers were rendering it more difficult to convey treasure and products across the sea.

Internally, at this time, the condition of New Spain was not encouraging, though time and circumstance had forced upon its rulers a more humane policy toward the natives. There was enough oppression still to make the Indians join the negroes in occasional revolts. The capital city, if not occupied with the commotions of the remoter districts, found that successive inundations rendered the question of some relief by engineering works imperative, to quiet the growing feeling that it might be necessary to abandon the lake region and build a new capital on higher ground. Works were

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[1] Cf. II. pp. 455, 462.

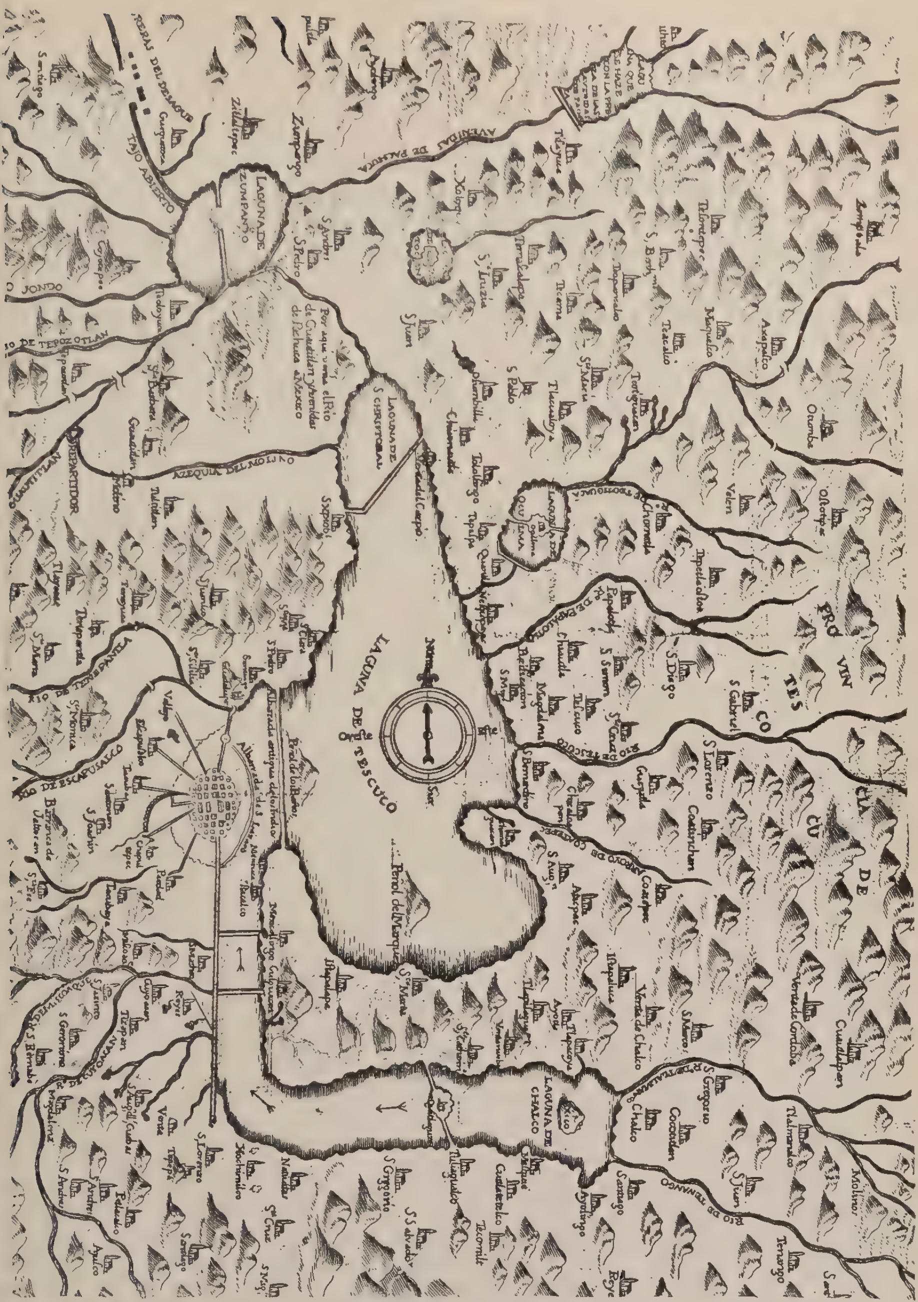
[2] Cf. Vol. III. p. 84; also Bancroft's *Mexico*, ii. ch. 33, and references, p. 745. On the voyages up the coast, 1540–1600, see *North Mexican States*, ch. 6; and Vol. II. of the present work.

[3] Cf. Bancroft, *North Mex. States*, i. ch. 14, and *New Mexico and Arizona*, — the latter not yet to be availed of, because at present unpublished.

[4] On the connection of this expedition with La Salle's expedition to Texas, see *ante*, Vol. IV. Cf. *North Mexican States*, i. 386, 393, 396, 399.

[5] See, on the cartography of this coast during this period, *ante*, Vol. II. p. 457, etc.; and on Viscaino, p. 460. Cf. *North Mex. States*, i. ch. 7, on maritime explorations, 1601–1636.

[6] This capture occasioned a large number of congratulatory pamphlets. Cf. Muller's *Catal.* (1872), nos. 938, etc., and Asher's *Bibliog. and Hist. Essay on the Dutch books* (Amsterdam, 1854–67). A medal in commemoration is described in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 296.



VALLEY OF MEXICO, 1748.*

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* This is the main portion, reduced, of the map in Joseph Francisco de Cuevas' *Mexico y su Valle* (Mexico, 1748), made by Carlos de Siguenza. The cartography of Mexico, city, lakes, and valley, has been elsewhere sketched (*ante*, I. 143; II. 375, 378). The maps and supposed topography of the time of the Conquest has been represented in the map of Cortes (*ante*, II. 364), and the compiled sketch of Helps (II. 369). Other of the views of its relations to the lakes in the sixteenth century may be seen in the sketch in Bordone's *Isolario*, 1547 (lib. i. p. x), and in Ramusio (reproduced, *ante*, II. 379). There is a "Pourtrait et Description de la

begun to drain the encroaching waters in 1607.[1] The increase of wealth brought its natural evils, — pernicious luxury in the upper, and vice in the lower classes. Robbers infested the highways. Amid it all, there had

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[1] Again, in 1627 and 1629, new efforts at engineering were made. Large numbers of people perished in these inundations, and those that fled from the city swelled the populations of Puebla and other places. See Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 96, for references.

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grande Cité de Temistitan, ou Tenuctatlan, ou selon aucuns Messico ou Mexico," measuring 6½ inches square, in Antonio Du Pinet's *Plantes, Pourtraites et Descriptions de plusieurs Villes et Forteresses tant de l'Europe, Asie et Afrique, que des Indes et terres neuves* (Lyon, 1564).

A relic of the engineering efforts to save the city from inundation exists in maps of a Dutch engineer, much in its service from 1613 to 1640 (Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 10, 86). A sketch of the valley by Boot exists in manuscript in Harvard College library, *Regionis circa lacum Mexicanum descriptio ab Adriano Boot*, and is reproduced further on. There is much information, with plans of the various efforts to drain the valley of Mexico, in the *Boletin* of the Instituto Nacional de Geografía (Mexico, 1852, etc.).

There is a map in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*, p. 607.

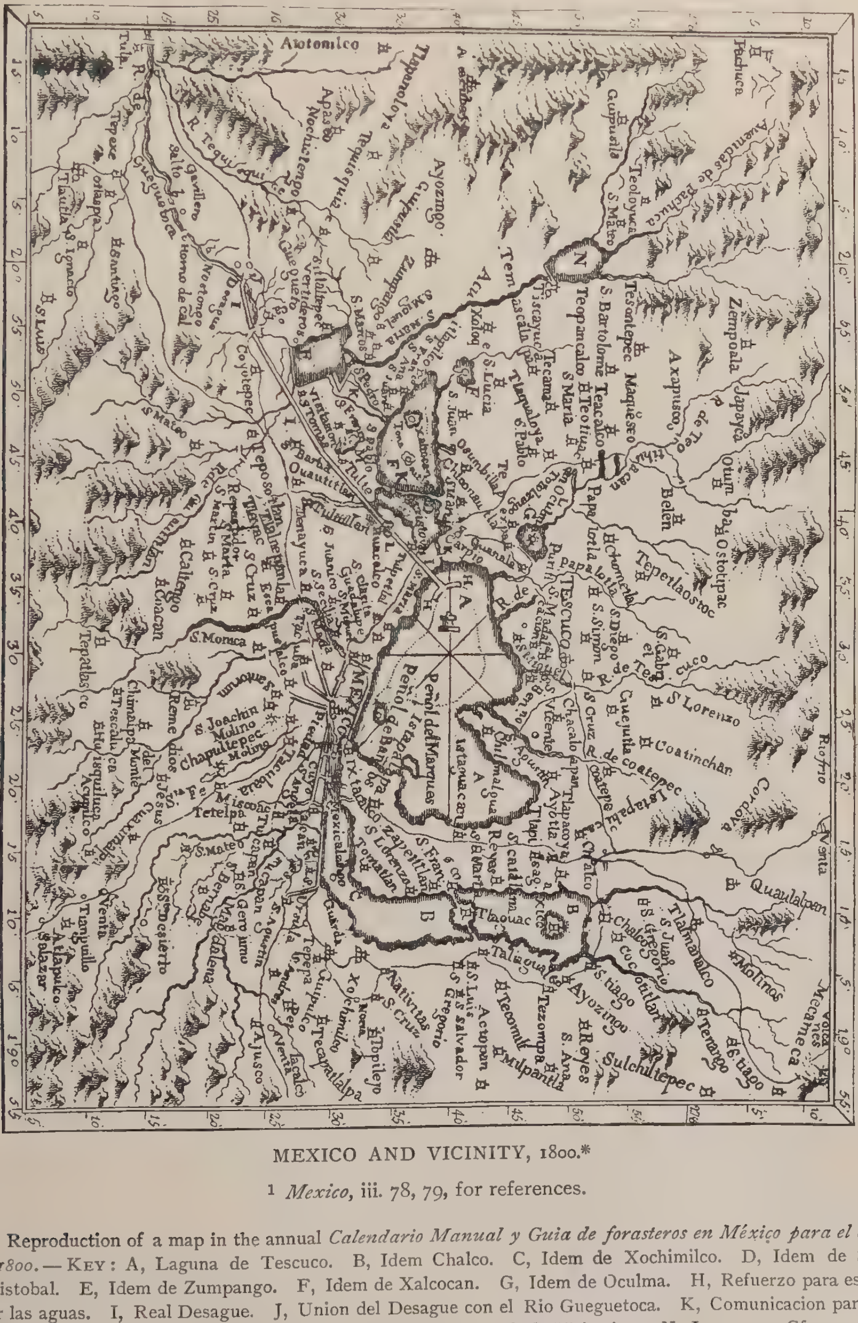
Of the maps of the eighteenth century, we have a common map, given elsewhere, from the *Coreal* of 1722 (*ante*, I. 145), which continued to be copied for many years, and will be found with little change in Johann Friedrich Schröter's *Algemeine Geschichte der Länder und Völker von America* (Halle, 1753), vol. ii., in Prévost's *Voyages* (xii. 325), and in the German *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, 1755; but still another map is also found in these same works (respectively xii. 441, and xiii. no. 15). The map of Cuevas, of about the same time (1748), is given herewith. The map of New Spain given in Robertson's *America* (1773) is by Kitchin, and it has a marginal map of the city of the usual type. Later we find a good plan of the city in Chappe d'Autoroche's *Voyage to California to observe the Transit of Venus* (London, 1778). An attempt seems to have been made to make some considerable advance on all these efforts in the maps which Tomas Lopez was instrumental in making known or devising in 1783–85. One of them is a large map in four sheets, *Plano geométrico de la imperial, noble y leal ciudad de Mexico, por Don Ignacio de Castera, año de 1776. Dale á luz Don Tomas Lopez, año de 1785.* The other is a *Mapa de las lagunas que circundan à Mexico por D. Tomas Lopez*, which was prepared for the history of Solis. There is a *Mapa de las cercanas de México por D. Juan Lopez, 1785.* Uricoechea (*Mapoteca Colombiana*, Londres, 1860) does not note this, but he gives *A Plan of the City of Mexico by Lt. Col. Count Diego Garcia, 1793.* (Cf. a French ed., 1824, and that in Bullock's *Six Months in Mexico*, London, 1825, 2d ed.) A *Calendario* map of 1800 is given herewith. A decided improvement appeared in the *Neue Charte des Thales von Mexico*, based by Jablo Oelmans on the surveys of Louis Martin in 1804, and of Joaquin Velasquez in 1807, and upon the astronomical observations of Humboldt, which was published at Weimar (1810, 1814, etc.), of which a portion is given herewith from the English edition. Arrowsmith also included it in his *New Map of Mexico* (Lond., 1810).

The war with the United States (1840) caused new surveys by the American engineers Lieut. M. L. Smith and Captain Hardcastle. Cf. *U. S. Senate Ex. Doc., 30th Cong., 2d session, i. no. 19, and 31st Cong., 1st session, vi. no. 11*, and reproduction in Brantz Mayer's *Mexico, Aztec, etc.*, ch. xiii.; and the map reproduced *ante*, II. p. 374. In 1862 the French engineers made a new study of the valley, during Maximilian's career, and their map is shown *ante*, II. 375. Cf. the map showing the relations of the town to the present lakes given in W. H. Bishop's *Old Mexico and her lost provinces* (N. Y., 1883).

An early view of Mexico from Montanus is given *ante*, II. 377. The views of the eighteenth century generally puzzle one to reconcile them with the descriptions which we have. Cf. that in Hermann Moll's *West Indies*; that in Schröter's *Alg. Gesch. von America* (Halle, 1753), ii. 16. Supposable views of what the town was before the Conquest and after it was rebuilt are in some of the chief descriptive geographical repositories of this period, as in Prévost's *Voyages*, and the German corresponding *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (Leipzig, 1755, vol. xiii.). They do not convince one of their genuineness. Of the later town there are more trustworthy views, and such appear frequently in books of travel, like Ward's, Bullock's, etc.

We must look in Ortelius, De Bry, and Herrera for the principal maps of New Spain in the sixteenth century (*ante*, II. pp. 359, 392, 472). By the middle of the seventeenth century we begin to have the maps of Sanson, Blaeuw, and then come those of Coronelli; and for the beginning of the eighteenth century we have De Fer, Delisle, and Homann. The map of the bishoprics which Joseph Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez constructed in 1768 is given in Lorenzana's *Cortes*, and is reproduced *ante*, II. p. 408. Maps by D'Anville and Tomas Lopez were the other most important ones of that century. With those of Arrowsmith (London, 1810), Humboldt (Paris, 1811), and Delamarche a new series begins, and later come the maps of Tardieu, Brué, Dufour, Ward (1827, who complains in his *Mexico in 1827* that few places have had their latitude and longitude definitely settled), Mariano Torrente (in his *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, Madrid, 1830), — not to name later ones. Cf. Uricoechea, under Mexico, nos. 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 33, 36, 52, 53, 56, 71, 74, 78, 79, 96, 104, 113, 116, 138, 175, 203.

come an issue between the Viceroy Gelves and the archbishop, and the secular ruler (1624) had gone to the wall.[1] Not so easy a matter was it for the prelate to deal with the Jesuits, who, despite their adversaries, grew in numbers, and labored and strove as Jesuits will.



MEXICO AND VICINITY, 1800.*

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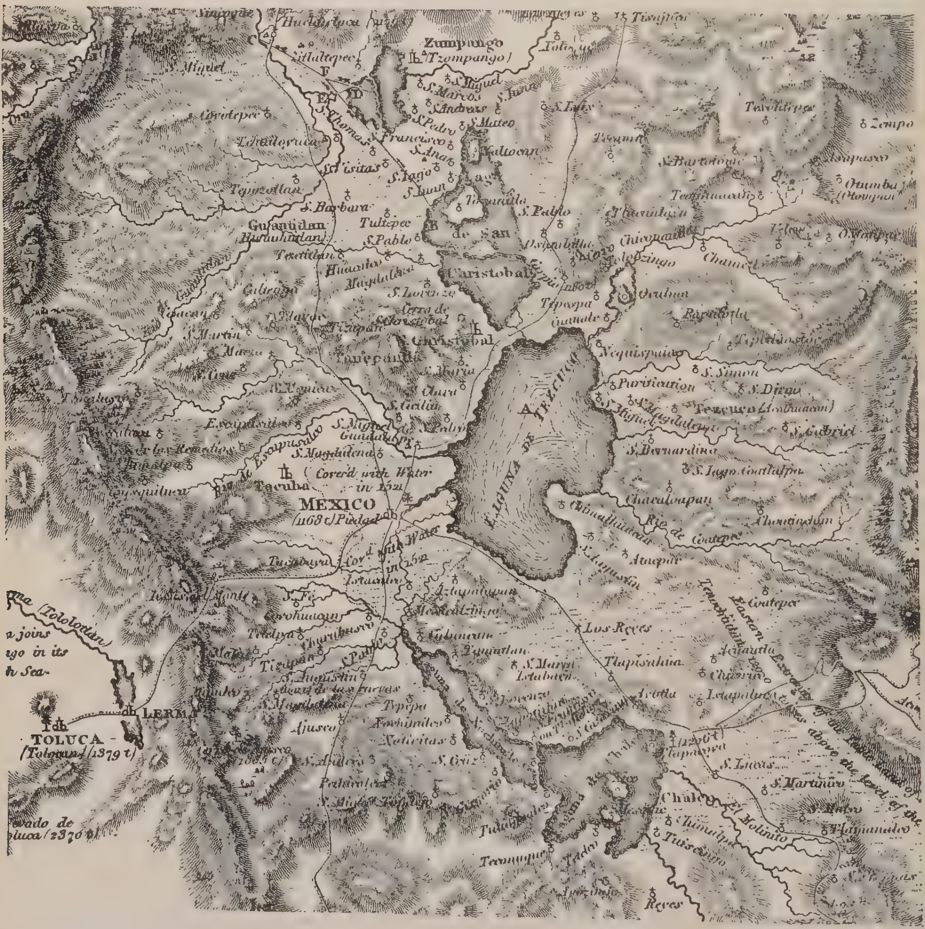
[1] *Mexico*, iii. 78, 79, for references.

* Reproduction of a map in the annual *Calendario Manual y Guia de forasteros en Méxiço para el año de 1800.* — KEY: A, Laguna de Tescuco. B, Idem Chalco. C, Idem de Xochimilco. D, Idem de San Christobal. E, Idem de Zumpango. F, Idem de Xalcocan. G, Idem de Oculma. H, Refuerzo para estrechar las aguas. I, Real Desague. J, Union del Desague con el Rio Gueguetoca. K, Comunicacion para el Desague de las Lagunas. L, Loma de los Abrojos. M, Idem de la Visitacion. N, Laguna. — Cf. maps in the British Museum noted in Calvo, *Rec. des Traités*, x. 368.

A serious obstruction to the shipment of treasure to Spain came in the capture of Jamaica by Cromwell's expedition in 1655, and the establishment there of a nest of English pirates; for an attempt (1657) of the Spaniards to drive the English out completely failed. So the buccaneers continued to ravage the Gulf coast; and even after a treaty with Spain in 1670, the governor of Jamaica, off and on, was suspected of giving clandestine aid to the marauders. In time, banding together irrespective of nationality, the freebooters controlled fleets and even armies. It was such a joint force —



VALLEY OF MEXICO.*

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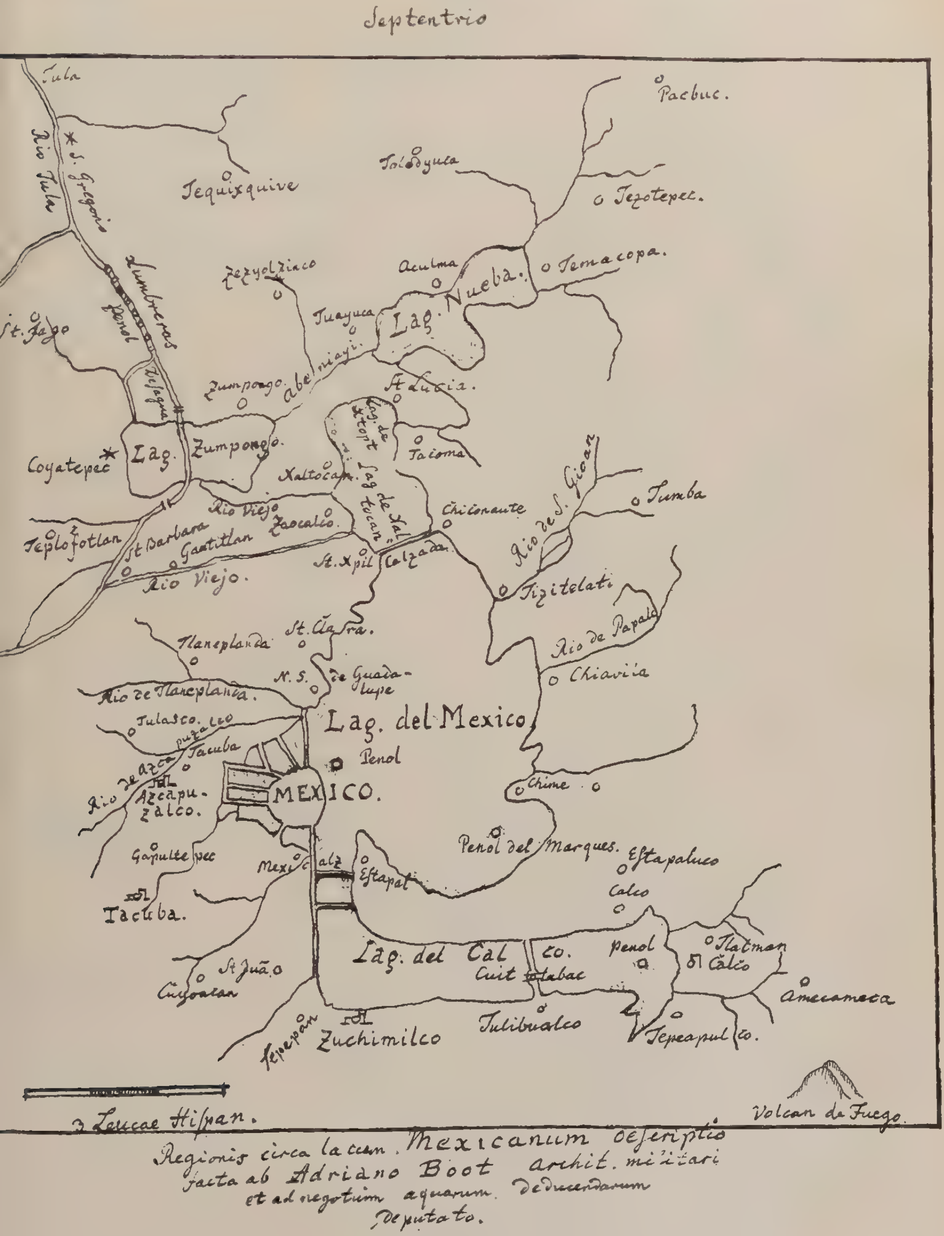
* From the map in the English translation (Black's) of Humboldt's *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (London, 1822). The map "was sketched on the spot in 1804 by Don Louis Martin, and corrected in 1807 from the trigonometrical operations of Don Joaquin Velasquez, and the astronomical operations and barometrical measurements of Humboldt, by Jabbo Oltmanns."

KEY: "The canal of Huehuetoca conducts the waters of the Rio de Guantitlan by the Rio de Tula or Moctezuma and the Rio de Panuco to the Atlantic. The canals of Zumpango (D, F) and San Christobal (B, F, C) were added in 1796 and 1798. The small canal of Vertideros (D, E) serves to throw the Desague dry. The canals (A, B) were projected to remove the danger to which the City of Mexico is still exposed of inundations from the south and east" (Humboldt).

the soldiers under Van Horn and the seamen under Lorencillo — that by a ruse came before Vera Cruz in 1683, laid it under contribution, and put its people under torments to disclose the hiding-places of their treasures.[1]



Regionis circa lacum Mexicanum descriptio
facta ab Adriano Boot archit. militari
et ad negotium aquarum deducendarum
deputato.

ADRIANO BOOT.

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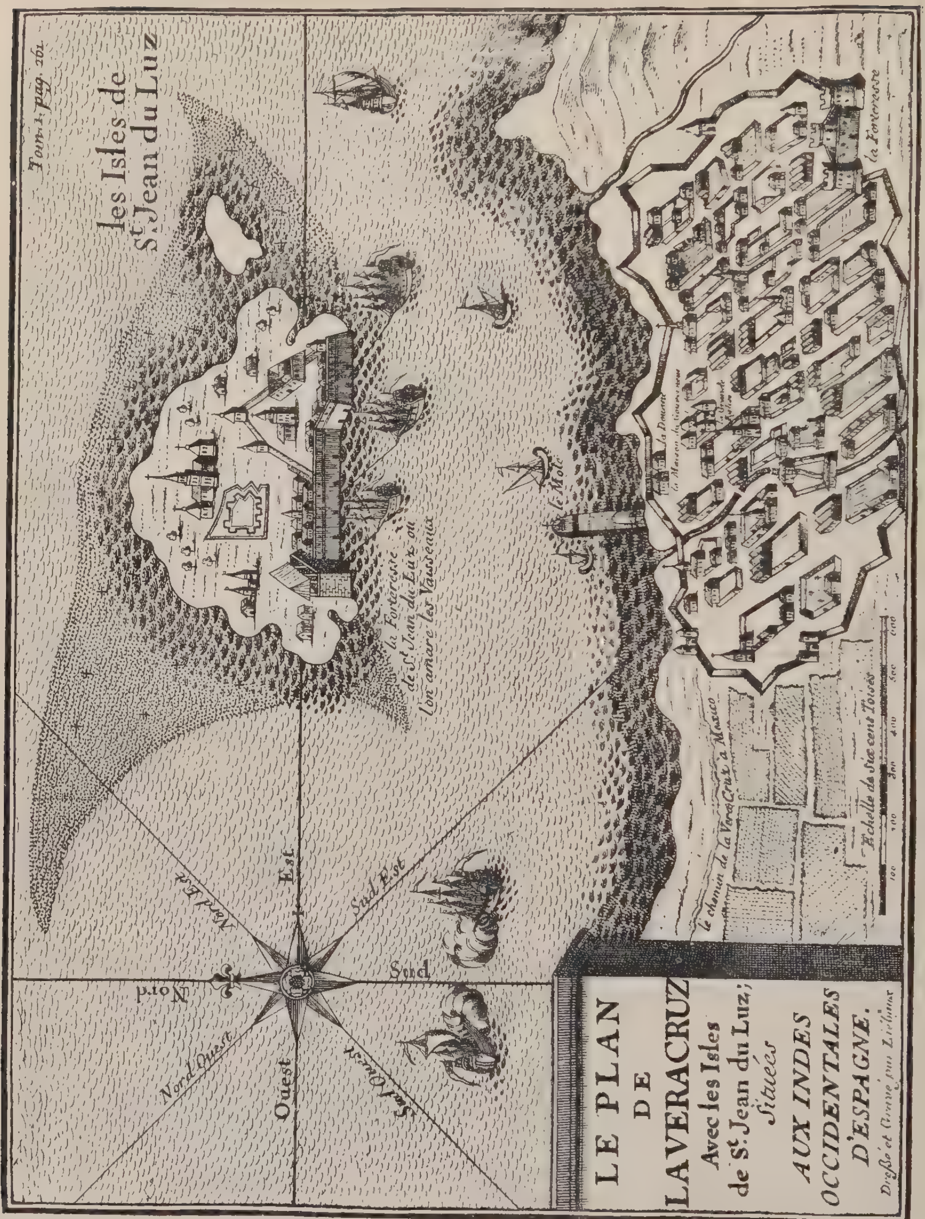
[1] The raids of the buccaneers brought Vera Cruz into prominence, and we find plans of the town and its fortifications early in the eighteenth century in the common war maps like Ottens' *Grand théâtre de la guerre en Amérique* (Amsterdam, 1717), and in current histories like Charlevoix's *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole* (Amsterdam, 1723; Paris, 1731), and the one (1744)


Tom. 1. pag. 261
les Isles de St. Jean du Luz
la Forteresse de St. Jean de Luz ou l'on amare les Vaisseaux
le Molle
la Douane
la Maison du Gouverneur
la Forteresse
le chemin de la Vera Cruz à Mexico
Echelle de Six cent Toises
100 200 300 400 500 600
Nord
Nord Est
Est
Sud Est
Sud
Sud Ouest
Ouest
Nord Ouest
LE PLAN DE LAVERACRUZ Avec les Isles de St. Jean du Luz; Situées AUX INDES OCCIDENTALES D'ESPAGNE.
Dreßé et Gravé par Liébaux

NOTE. — The above map is taken from one given in connection with the capture of the place by Van Horn, from Oexmelin's *Hist. des Avanturiers*, etc. (Trevoux, 1744), vol. i. Cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 193, 213.

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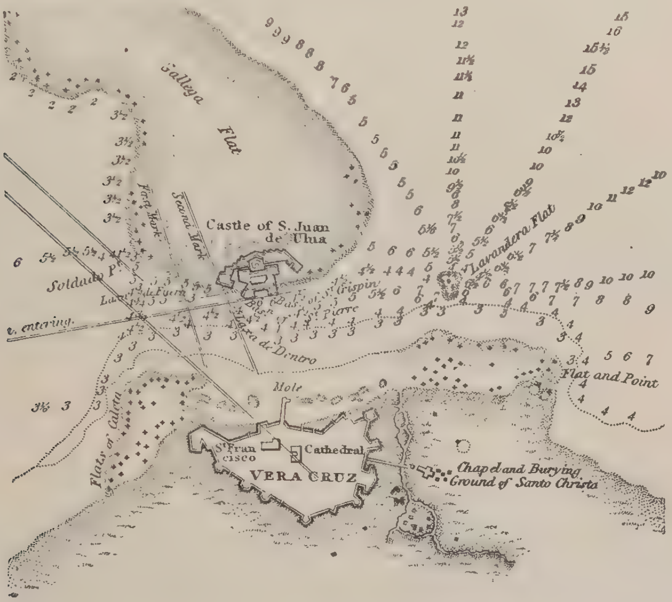
herewith reproduced. D'Anville also included one in his series of maps; and others are in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1740, p. 242; in *A Geog. Description of the Coasts, etc., of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740); and in Jefferys' *Description of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762). The popular geographical collections also furnish maps, generally much the same, as in Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), xii.; the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (Leipzig, 1755), xiii. pl. 9; and the *Staat van America* (Amsterdam, 1760), i. 150, 156.

In 1786 we find one of a larger scale in Tomas Lopez's *Plano del Puerto de Vera Cruz*, and a few years later (l'an ix) another, published by the Marine in Paris. Uricoechea notes that of Ponzoni (Madrid, 1816), an English edition of

The French pirates had their rendezvous at San Domingo, and the viceroy sent a force (1689) to devastate the least inhabited parts of the island; and with a turn of fortune, which easily came in those days of many hazards, the English were found ready to join the Spaniards, in 1695, in an attack on the stronger posts of that island. It proved successful, and the best French forts were demolished.

Towards the end of the century, events in the north began to have new significance by the attempts of the Jesuits in Lower California to effect what force had already failed in, the pacification of the native tribes. This was brought about under the adroit management of Fathers Salvaterra and Kino. Meanwhile, the neighboring ocean was as much infested as ever with the audacious sea-rovers. Dampier was cruising there in 1686, and again in 1704. During his latter cruise, he tried, without much success, to capture the Acapulco galleons. A few years later (1709) Captain Woodes Rogers, sent on a cruise against the French and Spaniards in the Pacific, picked up Alexander Selkirk on Juan Fernandez; and, while he gave a



VERA CRUZ.*

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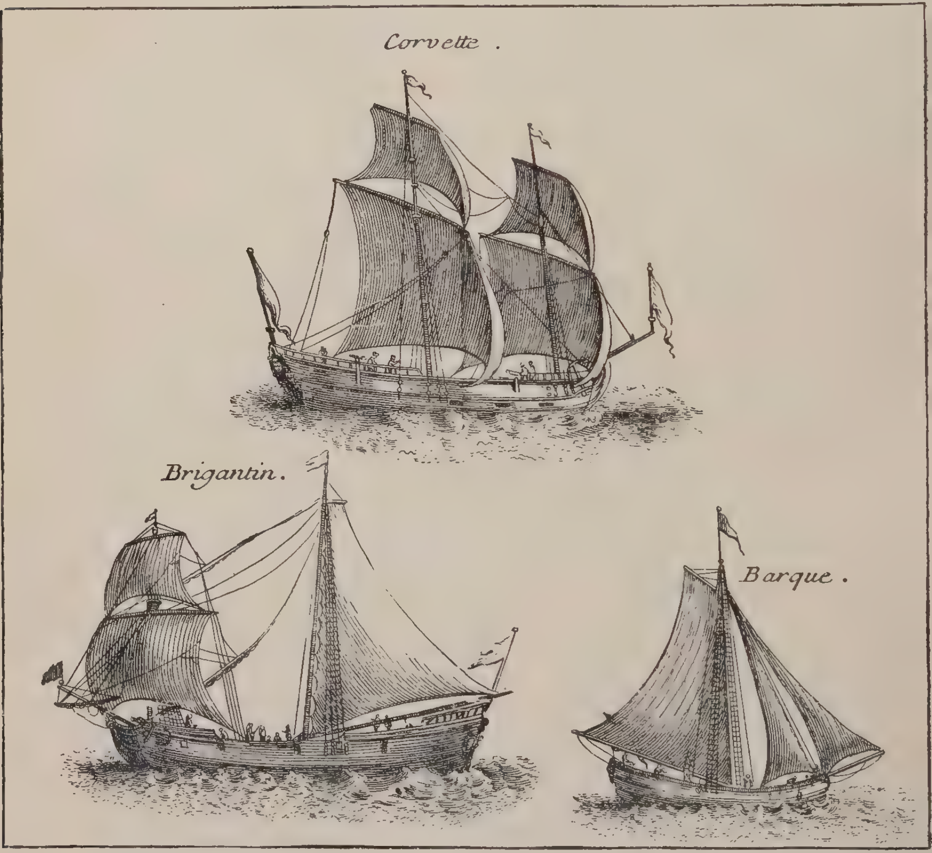
the official "Marine" map (London, 1838); one showing the attack of the French, Nov. 27, 1838, given in the *Annales Maritimes de 1839*, as well as the maps made by Vice-Admiral Baudin's orders, which were published by the Marine in 1841; and a map of the London hydrographical office, based on this French survey, and printed Spanish maps (London, 1847). Cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 193; v. 198.

* From the map in Black's English version of the *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, by Humboldt (London, 3d ed., 1822), vol. i. Cf. maps in the British Museum noted in Calvo, *Recueil des Traités*, x. 366.

character to De Foe and to posterity, he afforded the Bristol merchants, who fitted him out, what was far more to their purpose, good round dividends on their investment and encouragements to further ventures.[1]

When England and the Dutch had made it difficult for Spain to keep up intercourse with her American colonies, the Spanish government conferred upon France the privilege of supplying goods to her possessions in the Indies, with a result, from the great liberality of this foreign service, that would have weaned the Spanish colonies from any dependence on the mother country, if the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) had not brought relief to Spanish commerce. But out of a desire to propitiate England, Spain only substituted one danger for another when she yielded to the English merchants the right to trade at Porto Bello and to supply the colonies with negroes.[2] With true British vigor and with organized methods, the open-



WEST INDIA VESSELS OF THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.*

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[1] Dampier, who had had bad luck, was content to take the subordinate post of pilot under Rogers in this cruise.

[2] The commercial literature of the time is replete with controversial pamphlets, growing out of this concession of Spain, which was held by

* From Labat's *Nouveau Voyage* (Paris, 1722), vol. ii.

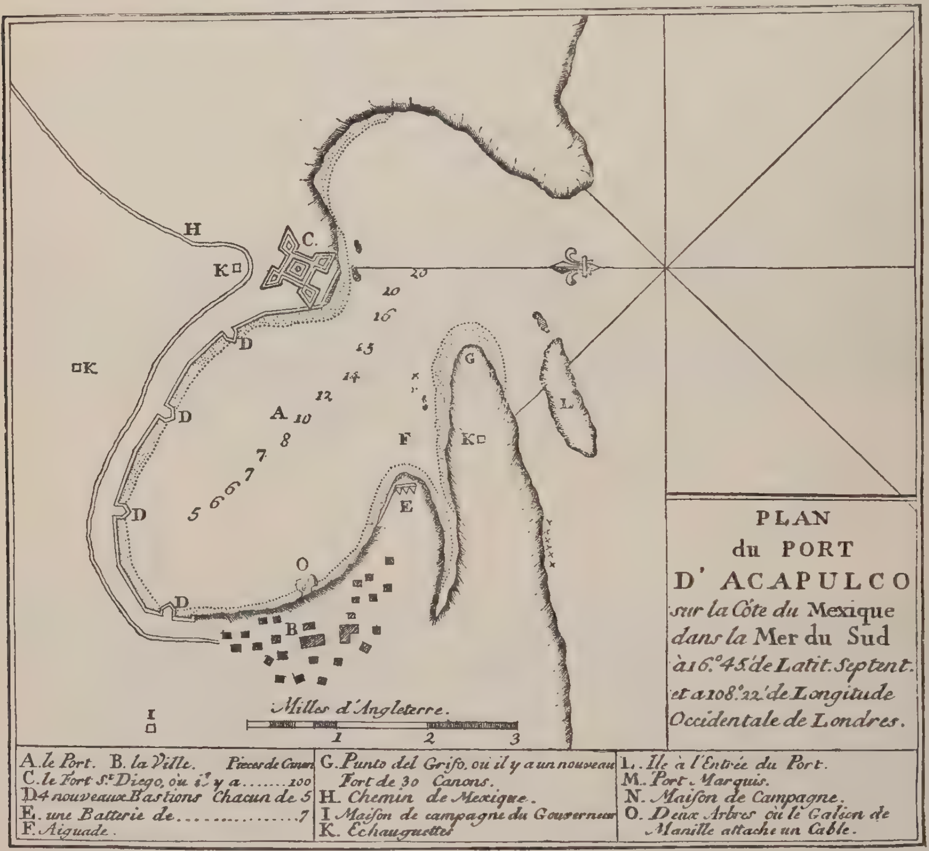
JUAN FERNANDEZ.

From Johann Ludwig Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt und Americanische Historien* (Franckfurt, 1655).

PORTO BELLO FAIR.

From Thomas Gage's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1720), vol. ii.

ing once made, little limit was put to the trade, which by clandestine plots and official connivance soon reached an extent far beyond the treaty provisions, so that the annual return to Spain by her own vessels was reduced to little more than the royal tax on silver. The armed attempts which the Spanish *guarda costas* made to prevent this usurpation of trade brought on collisions with the British mercantile marine,[1] that very naturally took on national importance and ended in a war[2] (1739), which resulted in Spain's


PLAN
du PORT
D' ACAPULCO
sur la Côte du Mexique
dans la Mer du Sud
à 16.° 45.' de Latit. Septent.
et a 108.° 22.' de Longitude
Occidentale de Londres.
H
K
C.
D
A
B
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G
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I
20
20
16
15
14
12
10
8
7
7
6
6
5
Milles d'Angleterre.
1
2
3
A. le Port. B. la Ville. Pieces de Canon
C. le Fort S.t Diego, où il y a.......100
D. 4 nouveaux Bastions Chacun de 5
E. une Batterie de..................7
F. Aiguade.
G. Punto del Grifo, où il y a un nouveau Fort de 30 Canons.
H. Chemin de Mexique.
I. Maiſon de campagne du Gouverneur
K. Echauguettes
L. Ile à l'Entrée du Port.
M. Port Marquis.
N. Maiſon de Campagne.
O. Deux Arbres où le Galion de Manille attache un Cable.

NOTE TO THE ABOVE MAP. — From the French edition, Genève, 1750, of Anson's *Voyage*, and appearing in all the editions. It is also given in Prévost's *Voyages* (1754), xii. 450.

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the merchants interested in the trade of Jamaica to be unjust to them. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue* indicates many of these, — iii. 175, 183, 189, 190, 191, 213, 406, 407, 408, etc. Particularly see, *The State of the Island of Jamaica, chiefly in relation to its Commerce and the Conduct of the Spaniards in the West Indies* (London, 1726); *Some Observations on the Assiento Trade as it has been exercised by the South Sea Company* (2d ed., London, 1728); *An Answer* [to the last] *by the Factors of the South Sea Company* (London, 1728); *A Defence of* [some] *Observations* (London, 1728). This Assiento treaty is given in *A Collection of Treaties*, 1648–1732 (London, 1710–32), in 4 vols. Cf. also Calvo, *Rec. des Traités*, ii. 5; and *Occasional papers on the Assiento and the affairs of Jamaica*, by William Wood (London, 1716). Dr. Charles Deane has succinctly traced the rise of the English connection with slavery in the West Indies in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1886, pp. 191–205.

[1] Cf. *Some Observations on Damages done by the Spaniards* (London, 1728); *A View of the Depredations and Ravages committed by the Spaniards* (London, 1731).

[2] It is curious to observe how, in refuting the

recovering the rights of trade which she had before granted to England. Learning from experience the drawbacks of her annual fleets, she now allowed her own merchants so to ply their private trade with the colonies that foreign interlopers kept little of the advantage which the commercial dulness of Spain had made it easy for them to obtain in the past. This individual Spanish activity so rapidly increased that in 1748 the regular galleon trade came to an end.[1]

From Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*, 1655, p. 597.

Spanish exclusive claims to the regions discovered by Columbus, the popular mind in England was pampered with the belief that these Spansh discoveries must yield to the rights estabished by the voyage of Madoc, the Welsh prince, as set forth in *The British Sailor's Discovery, or the Spaniards' Pretensions confuted* (London, 1739). Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. ch. 2.

[1] The *galleon* and *flota* service had been up to about 1720 regularly carried on from Cadiz, but at that date it was transferred to another port. The routes of these Spanish fleets are explained on many of the maps which were issued during he early years of the eighteenth century. On Hermann Moll's *Map of the West Indies*, dediated to William Paterson, and appearing about 1700, the fleets are tracked as entering the enclosed sea by way of Trinidad, and while the flota proceeded direct to Vera Cruz, the galleon stopped awhile on the coast of New Grenada, so that expresses could be sent overland to Cartagena, Lima, and Panama, "to hasten the king's treasure." Thence they are shown to proceed to Cartagena, where they stay 60 days, and thence go to Porto Bello, where they remain 30 days, while a fair or mart was held, and then they return to Cartagena. The flota from Vera Cruz and the galleons now rendezvous at Havana, whence in company they start, by way of the Bahama channel, for Spain. These legends are repeated on the *New Map of the West Indies*, by N. Vischer (Amsterdam); on Covens and Mortier's *Archipe-*

Events like these, and other reasons, rendered the more settled occupation of these Upper Pacific coast regions desirable for the aggrandizement of Spanish trade. There were wild Indians in Nueva Galicia still to be brought under subjection, and the conquest of Nayarit occurred in the early years of the eighteenth century. The expansion of the mission system was preparing the way for more active and secular interests.

As the years went on, new names among the Pacific corsairs were repeated with terror along the coast. In 1742 Captain George Anson appeared off Acapulco, and failing to intercept the freighted galleons there, he stretched his course towards the Asiatic islands, and made up in success on that coast for his failure on the other.

GEORGE ANSON (1697–1761).*

The work of the Jesuits after a while was brought to an end, during the rule of Archbishop Lorenzana, by their final expulsion in 1767, under an order of Cárlos III, which drove them out of all his dominions, — a procedure carried out, in Mexico and elsewhere, cruelly, despite the will of Pope Clement XIII. The execution of this order brought renewed attention to the Jesuits' missions in Sonora and California, which now became the field of the Franciscans and Dominicans. The occupation of Upper California was at this time pushed with something like business persistency, the settlements first beginning just above the peninsula at San Diego, to which the parties of occupation went by sea and land. Thence expeditionary companies were started up in 1769 to Monterey and to San Francisco Bay, then just discovered.[1] In the succeeding years town after town was founded, San Carlos, San Antonio, San Gabriel, and the rest, where the mission stations were made the centres of interest.

These first towns had but the slightest accompaniments of agriculture, though their supply of live-stock flourished and increased. In 1773 the region of Upper California had become important enough to be parcelled out into presidios. Then immigrants began to flock in. There were among them missionaries, of course, and foremost; but there were not wanting store-

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lague du Méxique ; and on Ottens' *Nova Isthmi Americani tabula* (Amsterdam, 1717). Cf., on this traffic, Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations* (ii. ch. 2); and on the ocean route of the trading ships, Brevoort's *Verrazano*, p. 101.

[1] Cf. John T. Doyle in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1873, p. 110.

* After a print in the *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden*, July, 1805.

keepers, blacksmiths, and other representatives of a permanent civil life.[1] The chief apprehension came from the reports of Russian approaches down the coast from Alaska,[2] and it was not long before a supply ship was sent up the coast to discover how impending the danger was. In 1775 other vessels went north from San Blas, and it was now, as Bancroft holds, that the exploring parties transferred the name of San Francisco from the little bay under Point Reyes to the magnificent expanse within the Golden Gate.[3] At the same time and later, other expeditions, overland and by way of the Colorado, accompanied by animals, and provided with weapons and with the

CAPTURE OF A GALLEON.*

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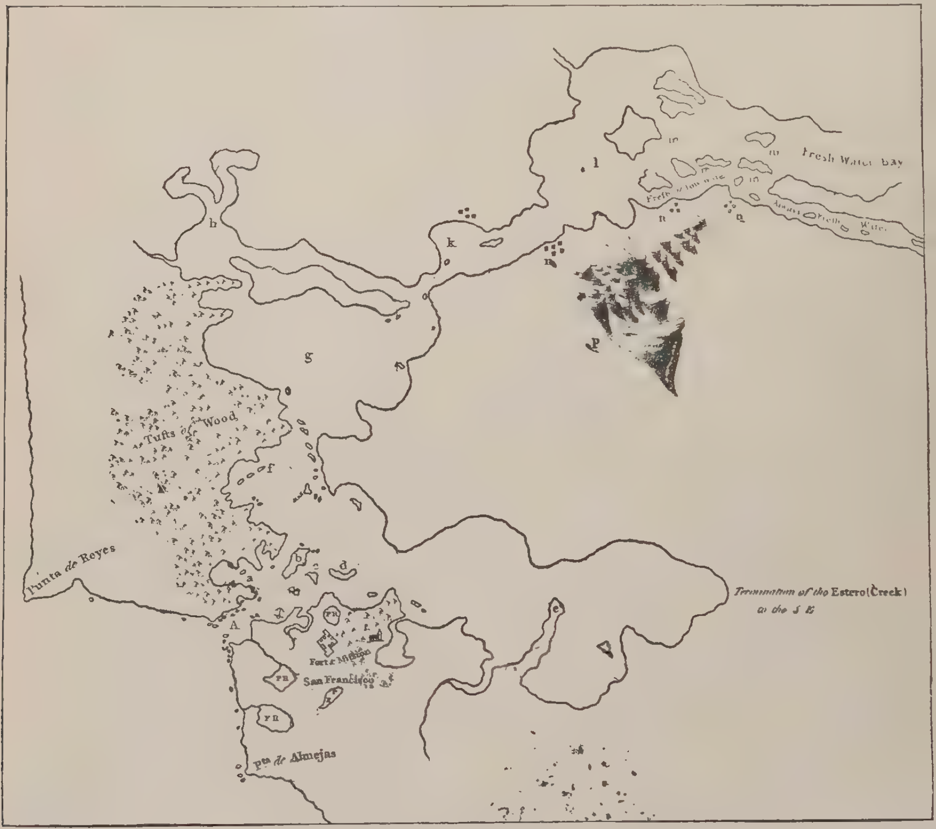
[1] *California*, i. ch. 9, 10. Father Serra, who was one of the leading spirits in these days, left descriptive notes, which Bancroft uses.

[2] The *London Mag.*, 1764, gives a map of the Russian exploration as then understood in western Europe.

[3] It was now that Lieut. Ayala explored the bay by water, and that Rivera continued his land explorations of the previous year.

* From the plate (*Voyage par Geo. Anson*, Genève, 1750) which appears in all the editions, showing the taking of the galleon "Nuestra Senora de Cabadonga" by the "Centurion." See cut of a galleon, *ante*, II. p. 456.

conveniences of family life, were conducted by Anza, Font, and Garcés. Bancroft gives a map[1] showing the routes of these earliest wanderers along the bay and over the peninsula of San Francisco, where in 1776–77 the presidio and mission of that name were founded. Other settlements and presidios were established within the next few years, — Los Angeles, Santa



PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO.*

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[1] *California*, i. 281.

* From a Spanish MS. as given in the English translation of Miguel Costanso's *Historical Journal* (London, 1790). — KEY: *A*, Entrance of the famous port. *a*, Bay Carmelita. *b*, Ysla de los Angeles. *c*, White Island. *d*, Ya. de Mal Abrigo. *e*, S. Juan Capistrano. *f*, Bay of na. sa. la Maniera. *g*, Round Bay, or Guadalupe. *h*, Estero de las mercedes. *k*, Bay of Asumpta. *l*, Junction of the various mouths of the river. *m*, Channel of the river. *n*, Rancherias of the Indians dealing in fish and tobacco. *p*, Mountain of S. Juan Bautista. Cf. the plans and map in Bancroft's *California*, i. pp. 695, 699, 703. The maritime explorations of the Pacific coast are traced in Vol. II., *ante*. The cartographical ideas of the upper coast at this time (1770) are seen in the map engraved by Tomas Lopez, and published at Madrid in 1771, which is reproduced in Wm. Reveley's English version of Miguel Costanso's *Hist. Journal of the expeditions by sea and land to the north of California in 1768–70* (London, 1790). Some years later La Perouse, in his maps of the coast and of San Francisco Bay, seems to have used Spanish originals. (Cf. Bancroft, *California*, i. 434, 475.) Cf. Palou's map, 1787, in *Ibid.* 407. Mr. John T. Doyle, in a communication printed in the *American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, April, 1889, questions the accuracy of Bancroft's statement (*California*, i. 157) when that writer claims, through an assistant, to have first given publicity (in the *Overland Monthly*, June, 1874) to the evidence of the discovery of the bay of San Francisco in 1769, Mr. Doyle asserting on the contrary that he first announced the proofs from Crespi's diary, and drew Mr. Bancroft's attention to them in August, 1870.

Barbara, and some others, — and the instituting of pueblos became a settled policy.

But the possible value of the upper coast was never distant from the thoughts of these pioneers of California. The publication of the accounts of the voyage of Cook had already opened (1778–79) the Spanish eyes to the importance of the fur trade. In 1789 they had got word of Captain Kendrick in the "Columbia" as on the coast two years earlier, and it seemed to be the belief that this Boston ship[1] somehow belonged to General Washington, and that it was worth their while to catch her; but the Columbia River was too far north for a chance conflict,[2] and so nothing came to pass to array the Americans thus early against the Spanish pretensions. Not so, however, with the British, who were now taking measures to occupy Nootka. Accordingly Martinez was sent up with a naval force to possess the place; but the complications which arose were soon settled by the convention entered into with Spain, by which this latter country relinquished her exclusive rights, though the Spaniards kept up trading relations with Nootka Sound for five years.[3] There followed many friendly salutations with the English. The Spanish frigates "Sutil" and "Mexicana" were sent to map out the Straits of Fuca, and did so (1792) in com-

THE RUINS OF SAN CARLOS.*

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[1] Cf. *ante*, II. p. 470.

[2] *California*, i. 445

[3] Cf. *ante*, VII. p. 555.

* A cut in the *Century Magazine*, May, 1883, p. 13. Cf. *Tour du Monde*, 1876, i. 113 (in connection with a translation of Hepworth Dixon's *White Conquest*).

pany with the ships of Vancouver, who later came down the coast and paid a friendly visit to the bay of San Francisco, noting its poor preparations for defence. Vancouver was on the California coast three times between 1792 and 1794.[1] His visit was not without its promptings, and measures were at once taken to strengthen the coast defences; and there was all the more need of it as the outcome of the French Revolution might involve no one knew what necessities.

FATHER JUNIPERO SERRA.*

The history of the California region during the next twelve or fifteen years was one of the progress of missions, of explorations inland, and of fear of the Russians. This people and the Spaniards first met in California in 1806. The Russians had been lured south in search of the otter, and they had taken them even in San Francisco Bay. The belief in the Straits of Anian had not wholly died out,[2] and the Spaniards, hoping to plant themselves on the coast near any supposable inlet which might lead to the Atlantic, were thus lured north across the track of the fur-hunting Russians.

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[1] *California*, i. 513 (for references), 702.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 445, etc.; and the present volume, p. 108.

* A cut in the *Century Magazine*, May, 1883, accompanying an article by Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, on "Father Junipero and his work, — a sketch of the foundation, prosperity, and ruin of the Franciscan missions in California." Father Junipero died at the San Carlos mission in 1784.

The period of the first Mexican revolution which now followed (1811–1817) brought nothing but hard times to the Californian settler, cutting him off from supplies as it did. The crisis also transfers the interest of the reader to the older provinces, which since we last noticed them had gone on in a career of monotonous change and counterchange. In 1786-87, the system of intendencias was put in effect, placing the officers of government in links of dependence, each on his superior. The treasonable plot of Guerrero gives a little color to the early years of the next century.

JOSÉ DE ITURRIGARAY.*

The causes of the coming revolution were not hidden. The law that excluded Spaniards born in America from equal rights with those who were immigrants was a natural, not to say necessary, source of discontent among people whose good-will was much needed by any viceroy. There was inevitably not a little mutual repugnance between the Mexican and Spanish stocks, and the home government did nothing to mollify such asperities. There were commercial monopolies militant against public interests. The clergy were alienated, and since they were not thus so serviceable as formerly in the part of mediators in enforcing governmental aims, it was found necessary to use force where the people were not accustomed to it. The Viceroy José de Iturrigaray practised a seeming condescension that deceived no one, and he pursued his exactions partly by reason of self-interest, and partly in order to supply Madrid with means to meet the financial troubles that the Napoleonic era was creating. After some years of these conditions in New Spain, a conspiracy, resulting from a reaction, sent the viceroy back to Spain a prisoner. This gave strength to revolutionary sentiments, and a few trials for treason increased the discontent. The men who were now put successively in the vice-regal place had few qualities for the times, and a certain timidity of policy was not conducive to strength of government. These were some of the features of the government of Archbishop Lizana as viceroy.[1]

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* After the portrait in Alaman's *Mejico*, vol. i.

The outbreak, when it came, brought to the front a curate of Dolores, a native priest, Miguel Hidalgo, who commanded the confidence of the disaffected, and was relied upon to guide the priesthood. Ignacio de Allende had some of the soldierly qualities needed for a generalissimo. The purpose of these men and their allies, before they should openly proclaim a revolt, was to seize some of the leading Spaniards; but their plot being discovered, they hastily assembled at Dolores and raised the standard of revolt (1810). Thus banded together, but badly organized and poorly armed, a body of five thousand insurgents marched from Dolores, headed by Hidalgo and Allende, and approached Guanajuato, where the intendente Riaña had intrenched himself in a fortified alhóndiga, or granary. The attack of the rebels was headlong and bloody. The gates were fired with flaming rubbish, and through the glowing way the mad throng rushed, and

FRANCISCO JAVIER DE LIZANA.*

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[1] Up to 1808 about two thousand millions of dollars of precious metals had been mined in New Spain.

* This portrait of the archbishop and viceroy follows one in Alaman's *Mejico*, vol. i.

after a hand-to-hand conflict (September 28, 1810) the fortress fell.[1] The royalist leader had been killed, and scenes of pillage and riot followed.

Meanwhile the viceroy in Mexico prepared to receive the insurgents, and his ally, the church, excommunicated their leaders. The military force of the royalists was inconsiderable, and what there was, it was feared, might prove not as loyal as was desirable. As Hidalgo marched towards the capital, he tried to seduce to his side a young lieutenant, Augustin Iturbide, who was in command of a small outlying force. The future emperor declined the offer, and making his way to the city, was at once sent to join Trujillo, who commanded a corps of observation, which confronted the insurgents, and who finally ran the chances of a battle at Las Cruces. Here Iturbide was of service on one flank, and on the other Trujillo risked the practice of treachery during a parley; but what he lost in moral force was no help in the sequel, and the insurgents soon surrounded him, and he was only able to reach the city by breaking with a part of his force through the enveloping line. Hidalgo had lost two thousand men, but he had gained the day. He soon intercepted a despatch and learned from it that General Calleja had been put in motion from San Luis Potosi, and it seemed more

MIGUEL HIDALGO.*

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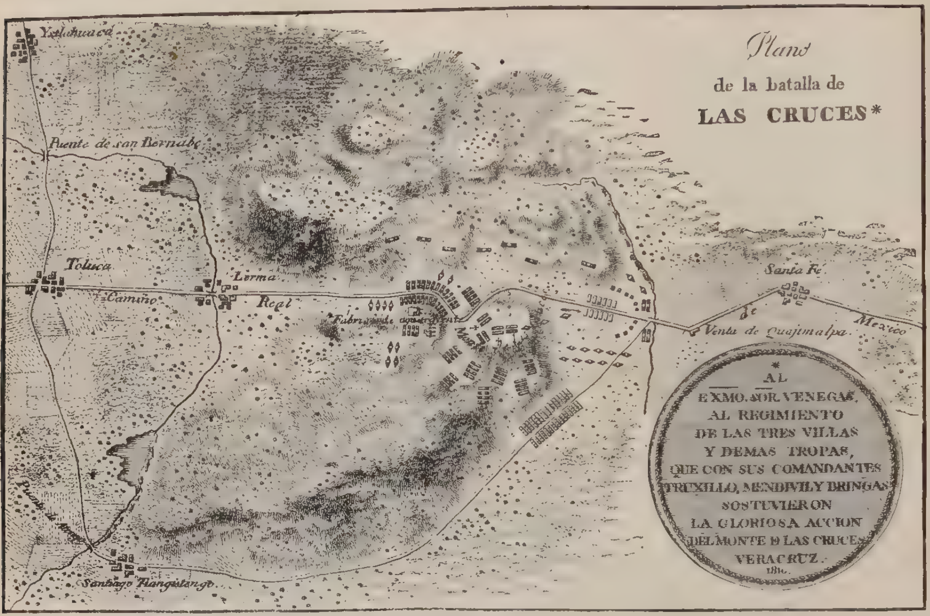
[1] There are plans of this attack in Alaman, *Hist. de Méjico*, i. 425. In *Ibid.* vol. ii. is a map of Mexico showing the marches of Hidalgo, Calleja, and the first and second campaigns of Morelos.

* After a likeness in Alaman's *Méjico*, vol. i.

prudent to Hidalgo that, instead of approaching Mexico, he should retreat to be nearer his recruiting ground. The retrograde movement brought the usual result to an undisciplined force, and he was already weakened by desertions when Calleja struck his line of march at Aculco. Hidalgo felt it



CALLEJA.†

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* From Mariano Torrente's *Historia de la Revolucion Hispano-Americana* (Madrid, 1829), vol. i. 152. Cf. Alaman, i. 473.

† After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iv. 77.

important for the revolution to have time enough to spread into other parts of the province, and so he merely fought Calleja to cover his further retreat. The rebel leader soon gathered his forces at Celaya, while Allende, his colleague, posted himself at Guanajuato. Here the latter was attacked by Calleja and routed, and the royal forces made bloody work in the town.[1] Hidalgo, moving to Valladolid, reorganized his army, and then, proceeding to Guadalajara, he set up a form of government, with Ignacio Lopez Rayon as Secretary-general. At this time the insurgents held completely the provinces of Nueva Galicia, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosi, a belt of country stretching from sea to sea in the latitude of Tampico.

IGNACIO LOPEZ RAYON.*

Calleja had so far failed to surround Hidalgo, and in January, 1811, the signs were not very propitious for the royalists. Another royalist general, Cruz,[2] was now striving to join Calleja, and Hidalgo, to prevent it, sent Colonel Mier to confront him; but Cruz defeated his opponent in an engagement near Zamora. At this juncture, and when the royalists had recaptured Guanajuato, Hidalgo moved out from Guadalajara with his entire force, which was large enough, consisting of 60,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 100 cannon; but it was poorly armed, and without effective discipline; while Calleja commanded a well-equipped and well-organized force, but in extent it only counted 3,000 foot, with as many horse, and ten guns. At the bridge of Calderon, ten or eleven leagues from the city, Hidalgo prepared to stand. Here Calleja attacked him, leading the centre himself, while General Flon had command on the right, and on the left was the royal cavalry led by Empáran. The attack on both flanks failed, but aided by the firing of an ammunition-wagon, the flames of which caught the dried grass and drove in the face of Hidalgo's men, Calleja thrust his centre violently into the opposing lines, and the battle was won. It was as a victor that Calleja entered Guadalajara on the 21st of January, 1811.

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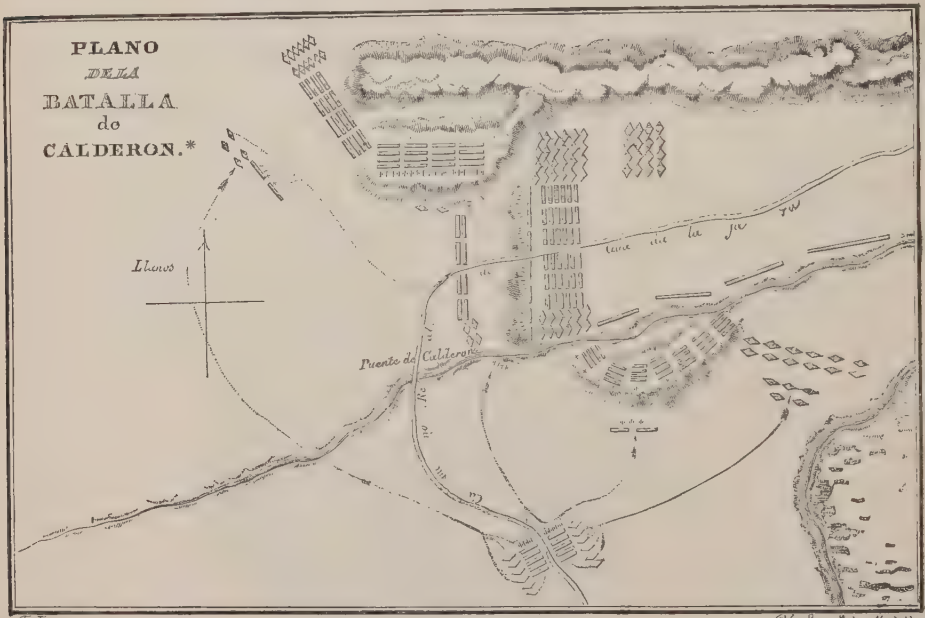
[1] There is a plan in Alaman, ii. 45.

[2] Portrait in Alaman, ii. 297.

* After a likeness in Alaman's *Méjico*, vol. ii.

Hidalgo fled with his broken army, and soon resigned the command to Allende. This general had scarcely four or five thousand men left when he reached Saltillo, where he joined Jimenes.



T. Torre. Rl. Litog.a de Madrid.

The disheartenment of defeat was spreading through the country. Town after town was heard from as yielding to the victors. The leaders, counselling together at Saltillo, resolved to escape to the United States; but as they were marching, — about 2,000 in all, with twenty-four guns and a money-chest, — they fell into an ambush planned in the interest of a counter-revolution by one Elizondo, and, with nothing more than a show of resistance, the party was captured, one and all. The judgment of death upon Hidalgo, Allende, and Jimenes soon followed.[1]

The main force of the insurgents had thus disappeared, but a small body still remained in arms under the lead of José Maria Morelos. He was a nan of little intellectual training, but possessed of a vigilant turn for affairs, vhile his commanding eye and energetic spirit gave him a considerable oower over his followers. So, with dependence on Morelos, the revolutionry spirit was still active enough in certain regions to keep Calleja in the ield. In February, 1812, Morelos made a stand at Cuautla (Guautla), vhere he repelled the royalist attacks so vigorously that Calleja settled lown at last for the protracted work of a siege.[1] Disease was weakening he forces both within and without, but famine was added to the perils of he besieged camp, so that Morelos in May resolved to extricate himself by oursting upon a single point of the circumvallating lines. He succeeded, out not with any organized force, for his men scattered in the act. The rictory of Calleja was a doubtful one, and he stained his arms by the devasation which he permitted in the town after the rebels had escaped.

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[1] Bancroft, *Mexico*, iv. ch. 11; bibliography, p. 287. Allende and Jimenes were shot in May, and Hidalgo, after having been degraded from his priestly office, was shot in July. The bones of all, after the later revolution, were removed in 1823 from Chihuahua to the Cathedral in Mexico.

* From Torrente's *Hist. de la Rev. Hispano-Americana* (Madrid, 1829), i. 152. Cf. Alaman's *Hist. de Méjico*, vol. ii.

JOSÉ MARIA MORELOS.*

By August (1812) Morelos had gathered about 3,600 men at Tehuacan, vhere he continued to threaten some of the lines of communication with he capital, and sought to pursue a guerrilla warfare. In October he capured Orizaba, and in November he was before Oajaca with 5,000 men, and speedily entered the place. Thence, in April, 1813, he advanced upon Acaoulco, and though he took the town, the capture occupied so much time hat Calleja, who had become viceroy, was enabled, after having subdued ll opposition elsewhere, to turn upon the rebellious southern province.[2]

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[1] Alaman (ii. 495) gives a plan..

[2] Alaman (vol. iii.) gives a map showing the oarts of the country held respectively by the royalists and rebels in 1813, with the marches of Morelos.

* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iv. 329.

A congress of revolutionists in this region had already entrusted high powers to Morelos, and it proclaimed independence on November 6, 1813.

Morelos, with all the force he could muster, appeared in November before Valladolid, the capital of Michoacan. Thence, hearing that the royalists under Llano and Iturbide were marching to attack him, he detached Ramon Rayon to intercept them; but the plan failed, and Morelos received the onset of the royalists while he was pressing his attack upon the city. The insurgents were routed and the city was saved, and while Morelos was retreating he barely escaped capture at the hands of Iturbide and his cavalry. In January, 1814, Morelos made a final stand at Puruaran, but Iturbide still drove him. Disaster followed upon disaster, till finally Morelos was deposed by his own congress. This body had adherents enough to

JOSÉ MARIA MORELOS.*

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* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iii. 327.

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make it necessary for Calleja to appeal to the home government for a reinforcement of 8,000 troops. Ramon Rayon with a small force still held out at Cóporo Hill, near Zitácuaro, and Llano and Iturbide had dashed against his works in vain.

Morelos, meanwhile, commanding an escort which was protecting the migratory congress, was intercepted and captured by a force of royalists, and, after the forms of a trial, he was executed December 22, 1815.

FRANCISCO JAVIER MINA.*

The campaign of 1816 was sustained by the insurgents against a force of 80,000 men which Calleja had collected, and these were mainly directed against a few thousands which kept the field under Manuel Miel y Teran. Neither side had much success, and the war was simply tedious. At last, in August, a new viceroy, Juan Riaz de Apodaca, succeeded to Calleja, and uniting a more humane policy with vigor in disposing his forces, the leading rebel officers, Teran and Osorno, surrendered in January, 1817, and Ramon Rayon likewise succumbed a little later.

A certain quixotic interest is lent to the closing months of the revolution by the adventurous exploits of Espoz y Mina. He had fitted out a small expedition in the United States, which, landing on the Gulf coast, for a while swept victoriously inland. Mina's force was soon checked, however, at Sombrero, and he himself escaped to the camp of Torres, a revolutionary general sixty miles off. The two endeavored to make way together; but Mina was finally surprised and executed.

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* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iv. 347.

Other vagrant rebel leaders fell one by one into the hands of the royalists; but Guadalupe Victoria held out, and concealed himself in the wilds for two years.

Freeman sculpt

FERDINAND VII.*

The aspect of affairs was now changed by the news of the revolution in Spain and the swearing of Ferdinand VII to the Constitution framed by the Cortes, — tidings of which reached Mexico in April, 1820. The old revolutionists were awaiting the hour, and now, conferring together, they turned, probably not without knowledge, to the old enemy of the cause, Augustin de Iturbide. He on some pretence secured from the viceroy a command in the south, where he was defeated, and it is not sure that he was not willingly beaten, by Vicente Guerrero, who in return received him into his cause, and gave him command of a revolutionary army of five or six thousand men. Iturbide now made to Apodaca the offer of the presidency of the junta, if the viceroy himself would desert the royal cause;

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* After a print in William Walton's *Spanish Colonies* (London, 1810), vol. i., following a portrait owned by Admiral Apodaca.

but the offer was rejected, and measures of resistance were planned. It was, however, too late. The revolution was on its headlong way, and Apodaca gave place to a successor who recognized the cry of independence, and opened the capital's gates to Iturbide in September, 1821. At this juncture the royal standard was nowhere to be seen in Mexico but at Vera Cruz, Perok, and Acapulco, and at all these it speedily fell.

Iturbide in the capital and in possession of power, his influence was exerted to advance his own ambitious schemes. The people were divided into monarchists and republicans. Congress and Iturbide fell into opposition on the question of supporting an army in the City of Mexico, when Dávila, a leading monarchist, tried to force Iturbide into a counter-revolution. Iturbide, however, chose rather to await his time, though he did not make any progress in coercing congress. In his proclamation issued (1821) at Iguala,[1] the now paramount leader had planned a limited monarchy for the future; but the republican view was apparently fast overthrowing in the popular mind any monarchical scheme. Iturbide now and

AUGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.*

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[1] This document is in all the collections of documents of this time. It can be found in some of the common books, like G. D. Abbot's *Mexico and the United States*, 248.

* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, v. 51.

suddenly caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and congress, lacking a quorum, gave in a forced adherence. In furtherance of the scheme, the new emperor's family was ennobled, and the succession was ordered to be in the line of his descendants.

The republican party was by no means to be quieted by any imperial assumption. Its members were restless. The press teemed with their discontent. They charged that the decision for an empire was unconstitutional. These recalcitrant views invaded the congress, and it was not long before that body was in open rupture with the emperor, while Santa Anna at Vera Cruz inaugurated an open revolt, and organized an army of liberation. He was not, however, gaining ground against Iturbide's general, Echávarri, when certain Masonic influences acted upon this imperial officer, and he was induced to issue a proclamation for the reëstablishment of the National Assembly. He had in this anticipated a popular view of those who now took bold ground for the republic. Even in the capital the defection could not be stopped, and regiment after regiment took up the cry of the Republic, till at last Iturbide gave up the struggle and abdicated. The assembly, which had been slow to gather, finally appointed a provisional government in Bravo, Negrete, and Victoria. Iturbide, being conducted to Vera Cruz, was allowed to embark for Italy. After he had sailed an edict was issued forbidding his return. Ignorant of this last injunction,

NICOLAS BRAVO.*

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* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iii. 260.

he left Italy for England, where he embarked for Mexico, but soon after landing he was seized and executed.[1]

The party now in control were far from being of one mind: some were for a federation of the provinces; others were for a centralized power in the City of Mexico. They could unite, however, on the exclusion of monarchists, and in this temper a new assembly met in November, 1823, and began to discuss a constitution. This settled, the elections followed, and Guadalupe Victoria was chosen by the Federalists over Nicolás Bravo, the candidate of the Centralists. So the United States of Mexico opened a republican era in Spanish America in 1824.

SANTA ANNA.*

It was not long before factions began to appear in political circles, and one of the chief moving causes of disturbance in governmental policies became active in a troublous condition of the finances. The old party lines disappeared, and Bravo, who had become vice-president, gathered about him a revolutionary faction. Intrigue and revolt followed the going out of the first president, when Gomez Pedraza succeeded to his office. Still another revolution prospered under Santa Anna (1828), and Pedraza was obliged to fly.

Meanwhile, in 1825, the United States had sent Poinsett as minister to the new republic, and treaties with that country had been signed. About the same time the Spanish government had surrendered the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, and Spain had slipped at last from her only remaining foothold on Mexican soil. But Spain herself had not yet yielded to the inevitable. A predatory and intermittent warfare was kept up on the sea, until finally, in 1829, Brigadier Barradas was dispatched from Havana with a Spanish fleet. His purpose was to reconquer Mexico; but not long after landing he capitulated to Santa Anna, and the last great struggle of Spain to maintain her colonial possession came to an inglorious end.

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[1] His remains were in 1838 reburied in the Cathedral at Mexico, with solemnities. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, iv. ch. 29–33.

* From a picture in J. M. Niles' *South America and Mexico* (Hartford, 1837).

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.*

The political changes in the Mexican capital now became wearisome. We read listlessly of a series of ups and downs in which the names of Guerrero, Bustamante, Muzquiz, Pedraza, Farías, and Santa Anna claim honor or are despised with the revolving moons, till in 1836 the federal system is overturned, and under a new constitution the states assume relations of departments, subject to the general government, and Anastasio Bustamante becomes the first Centralist president. Recognition by Spain was not long in following.

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* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, v. 687. Cf. B. Mayer's *Mexico, Aztec, Spanish, and Republican*, ii.

A national career of political indecision is never calculated to clarify, and certainly never strengthens, the finances of a country. The French became impatient of the Mexican delays in meeting their indebtedness. So they sent a squadron to exact payment. The castle of San Juan de Ulúa fell under bombardment, and troops were landed at Vera Cruz and its defences taken. The claims were paid, and the French, surrendering their conquests, sailed away.

But humiliation was powerless to win repose for the turbulence which in these years continued to make Mexico a spectacle. In 1841, Paredes, acting in concert with Santa Anna, instigated a revolution, which spread so rapidly that it was not long before Santa Anna found himself at the head of an army, with which in triumph he entered the City of Mexico, October 7th, and assumed a provisional presidency. His sway was complete enough for a while, and some of his flatterers caused his leg, which had been shot away at Vera Cruz, to be brought to the capital in 1842, and to be reburied with a ridiculous pomp. Childishness does not rule nations long, and Paredes had some reasonable countenance in trying his luck once more at a revolt, and in proclaiming Santa Anna a rebel. General Herrera strode into power, and the late president fled the country.

Meanwhile affairs in Texas were drifting towards a crisis. The United States had more than once proposed to purchase the territory, but Mexico had declined to sell. Immigration from the United States was more effective. In 1833 there were twenty thousand Americans in the country. While the Centralists were in power Santa Anna was sent to sweep the recalcitrant Texans into the line of dependence; but General Samuel Houston with a small force of independent spirits met the Mexican general at San Jacinto,[1] defeated him, took him prisoner, and wrung from him his assent to their independence.[2] But Santa Anna was not Mexico, and the contract was repudiated, though during the administration of Herrera the Texans had not been meddled with; but when Paredes overturned Herrera, the war party began afresh the work of subduing the Texans. The story of the annexation of the new State to the United States, which soon followed, and the war which came in due course, has been elsewhere told.[3]

We resume the story of California where we left it at the beginning of the Mexican revolution. It was while these political revulsions were in progress in the older provinces that the Russians, feeling their way down the Pacific coast, finally built Fort Ross at a point not far above Bodega, making a lodgment calculated to raise suspicions and to implant anxieties in the Spanish Californians. These feelings had been continued for some years when the Spanish rule on the coast came to an end, and the lot of California was cast with that of Mexico in conjoined autonomy. The new life of the coast under these freer conditions was not an exciting one. They had, indeed, their Indian revolts. New settlers appeared, now overland, mainly fur-trappers, and now up the coast, with a few from the higher regions of the Pacific shore.[1] The tendency to secularize the missions was constantly apparent. Attempts to make the province a penal colony for Mexican criminals were not helpful aids to a healthy development. In the later years of the twenties, what was known as the "Solis revolt" was sufficiently powerful to capture Monterey, but the leader was in time snared. There was some further fighting when Governor Victoria was overthrown in 1831. After 1830 there began to be significance in the visits of the ships of foreign powers in the ports. American vessels bore thither not a few commercial adventurers, who carried back tales of the land's salubrity and plenty, and of the scant advantage which the trappers and traders

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[1] Cf. plan of the battle in Bancroft, *Mexico*, v. 172. Cf. *ante*, VII. 550, 551, with references.

[2] C. Newell's *Hist. of the Revolution in Texas* (N. Y., 1838).

[3] See *ante*, Vol. VII. 550, and 551 for references.

SAMUEL HOUSTON.*

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[1] Bancroft, *California*, ii., iii., for a pioneer Register, 1542–1848. The earliest overland pioneers were in 1826. *Ibid.* iii. ch. 6.

* From a picture in J. M. Niles' *South America and Mexico* (Hartford, 1837).

were taking of such qualities. Such a book as Richard H. Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, chronicling the visit of a Boston vessel on the coast trading for hides in 1835–36, did more than anything else to store the American mind with a knowledge of the life of the coast. A year or two of rebellious wavering, of conspiracies that did not by any means always bring blood, of depredations by the Indians that were reminders of the savage past, — these were the variations upon the monotony of a life that had not yet become very closely connected with distant communities.

A change took place about 1840. Foreigners, from having been lookers-on when their vessels chanced to enter the ports, now began to assert their national presence, and they speedily grew as a body to be more important personages in the coast affairs than their Mexican neighbors. These conditions necessarily drew the attention of such foreign governments as had fleets to show themselves often in the California waters. England held a Mexican indebtedness which could but suggest the thought that the cession of California would satisfactorily cancel it. The man Sutter, a Swiss wanderer, became a prominent character as early as 1840. The Russian governor, Wrangell, at Sitka, feeling it necessary to aggrandize the Ross settlement and to strengthen Russian claims to the coast, endeavored to induce Mexico to make cession of San Rafael and Sonoma; but he hoped against fate. Thus baffled, he found a better policy in abandoning the Ross settlement, and the property was bought by Sutter in 1841.

There had been for three hundred years occasional intimations of gold being found in these coast regions, but apparently all these were rather figurative expressions than sober records.[1] The earliest actual finding of gold took place, as Bancroft asserts, in the Los Angeles district in 1842, and then accidentally.

It was not the chance of gold-mining that as yet made California attract the attention of three great powers. France had wrested from Mexico her dues at Vera Cruz, and she had no stronger expectation, if the severance with Mexico came, than that as a Catholic nation she could appeal as their natural succorer to the new Californias. England had not forgotten the money she had lent, and California in perhaps a few English minds was thought of as an equivalent. The United States, having settled her northern boundary disputes in the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1842, was quite ready to press towards the south and west. Commodore Jones on the coast in an American fleet was over-zealous in the cause, and, seizing Monterey, displayed there the American flag. The time had not come, and the United States apologized for the act.

The overland immigration from the United States continued, and when the governor of California heard a little later of the annexation of Texas to the United States, and of the war likely to grow out of it, he was warned to be prepared, and it was no relief to his anxiety that Americans still came straggling along into his province, and that a certain American army officer, Frémont by name, was making observations within the boundaries of the province, and that the Oregon trail had found also an outlet in the California valleys.[1] It was not quite sure how far the American government was to be seen in all this; but it was soon known that when Slidell was sent as minister to Mexico to treat for a determination of the Texan boundary, he was commissioned to buy California if he could; and if he could not, there were other measures not unknown to American ambition.

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[1] These clews are gathered in Bancroft's *California inter pocula*, ch. 2.

The chance was soon offered. The shots on the Rio Grande opened the war of the United States and Mexico. In the early months of 1846 Frémont and Gillispie were in the province, — the one bearing despatches to Thomas O. Larkin, who exerted himself so to compass the condition of affairs that from his vantage-ground as American consul, and as a man of character, he could watch and direct the change of allegiance with as little violence as possible. Frémont had other purposes, and so he brought on a crisis, and uniting with Commodore Sloat at Monterey, the conquest was completed, — as has been told in another volume.[2] While these events were taking place, there was in most minds little hope that California could long remain Mexican. The American party was much the strongest, irrespective of its military and naval succor; and events rushed too rapidly for men like Pico to make an effectual appeal to England. It is Bancroft's opinion that the belief often entertained, that England was simply anticipated in her purpose of seizing the coast by the precipitation of the Americans, has no warrant in fact.

It is necessary, in order to complete this survey of the Spanish rule in middle America, to glance briefly at the provinces of Central America. In the regions of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and neighboring parts, there had been the same occasion for the New Laws, and the same influences were equally potent as at the north in bringing about their repeal. There was also in the history of Central America much the same instability of political wisdom. The brothers Cartreras revolted in Nicaragua in 1550, and were defeated. Honduras offers little to engage our attention. Ecclesiasticism in Chiapas and elsewhere was much the same thing that it was in Oajaca or further north. Las Casas for a while, and Manoquin down to his death in 1563, are the central figures in this detail.

On the Isthmus there was an element which gave to life some contrasts in the vagrant Cimarrones,[3] as the negro slaves were called, who fled into the thickets, and, banding with the Indians, infested the routes of travel, fought with poisoned arrows if encountered, and robbed the treasure trains when they could. They made themselves a king, Bayano by name, and it took Ursua two years to reduce them to terms, and then they had proved valiant enough as foemen to be made freemen for a reward, which they got in 1574. Yet four years later (1578) they rose again, and adroitly allying themselves with the English buccaneers then swarming on the coast, they defied all power that could be brought against them, and remained a terror for many years. What with this harassing of the towns and with the corsairs on the coast, it was hardly possible for the Panama settlements to grow, and a decided retrogression marked their history.

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[1] J. D. Whitney in his *United States* (Boston, 1889) says: "With Fremont's work the epoch of geographical exploration closed, and that of proper cartographical work began" (p. 437).

[2] Vol. VII. p. 409.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. III. p. 65.

The story of English Elizabethan seamanship is full of lawless depredation on the two coasts of these lower parts of middle America. Drake was here in 1572, dealing his sudden blows with the help of the Cimarrones; Oxenham, in 1575; and Drake again, in 1577, on that famous voyage in the Pacific,[1] startled the country round with his guns, as he made his great capture of treasure in Panama Bay.

SI vniſcono inſieme dugento, e trecento, &

NATIVE DANCE.*

For a century and more the history of these waters, bordering the Isthmus on the east and on the west, is largely the story of the buccaneers. In 1601 Captain William Parker attacked Porto Bello.[2] In 1623 James I of England granted San Cristóbal, or Saint Kitt's, to one Thomas Warren, and it became the rallying place of all the English and French freebooters in their ravages upon the Spanish trade and territory.[3] It mattered little under what flag the marauders sailed; French and English were alike to be dreaded, and both governments kept faith with pirates if they only plundered the Spaniards. No one of these sea-rovers acquired a name more dreaded than

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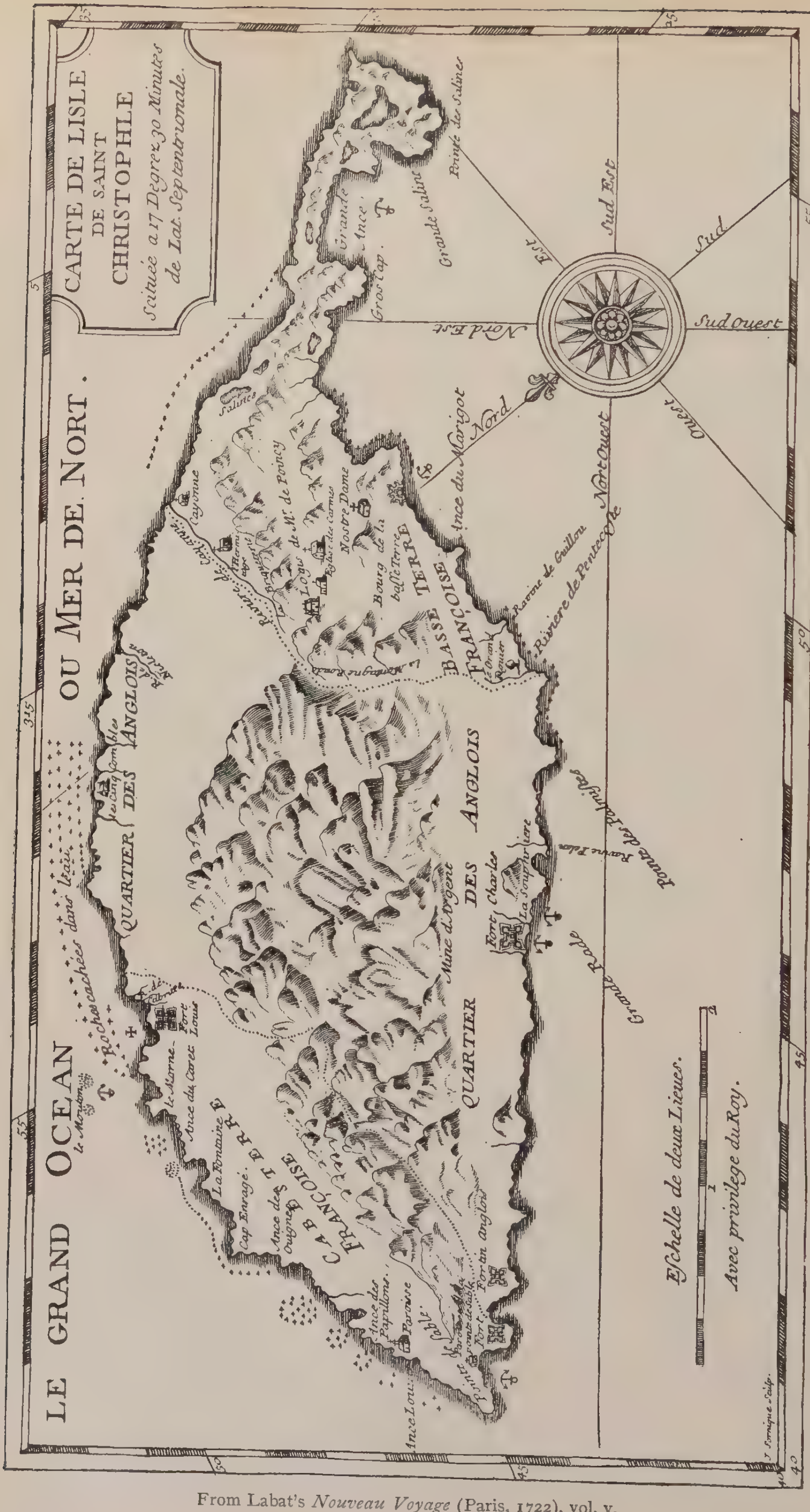
[1] See *ante*, Vol. III. ch. 2; and the bibliography of Drakeana.

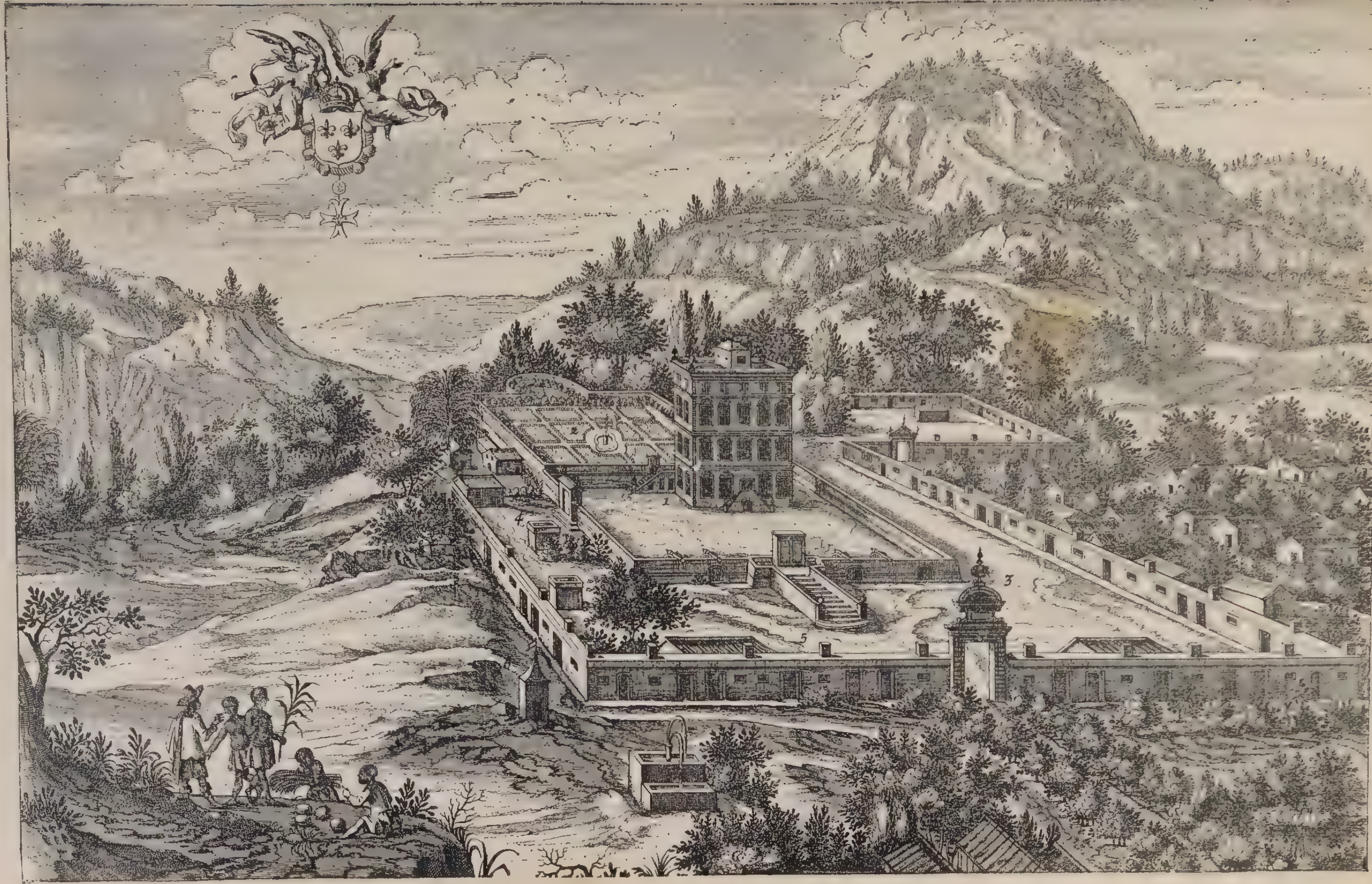
[2] Parker's own narrative is in the *Geog Description of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740).

[3] Eugène Sue, *Hist. de la marine française* (Paris, 1835), i. 357.

* This is Benzoni's sketch of the native fashion of dancing in Nicaragua and neighboring regions (edition of 1572, p. 105).



From Labat's *Nouveau Voyage* (Paris, 1722), vol. v.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1
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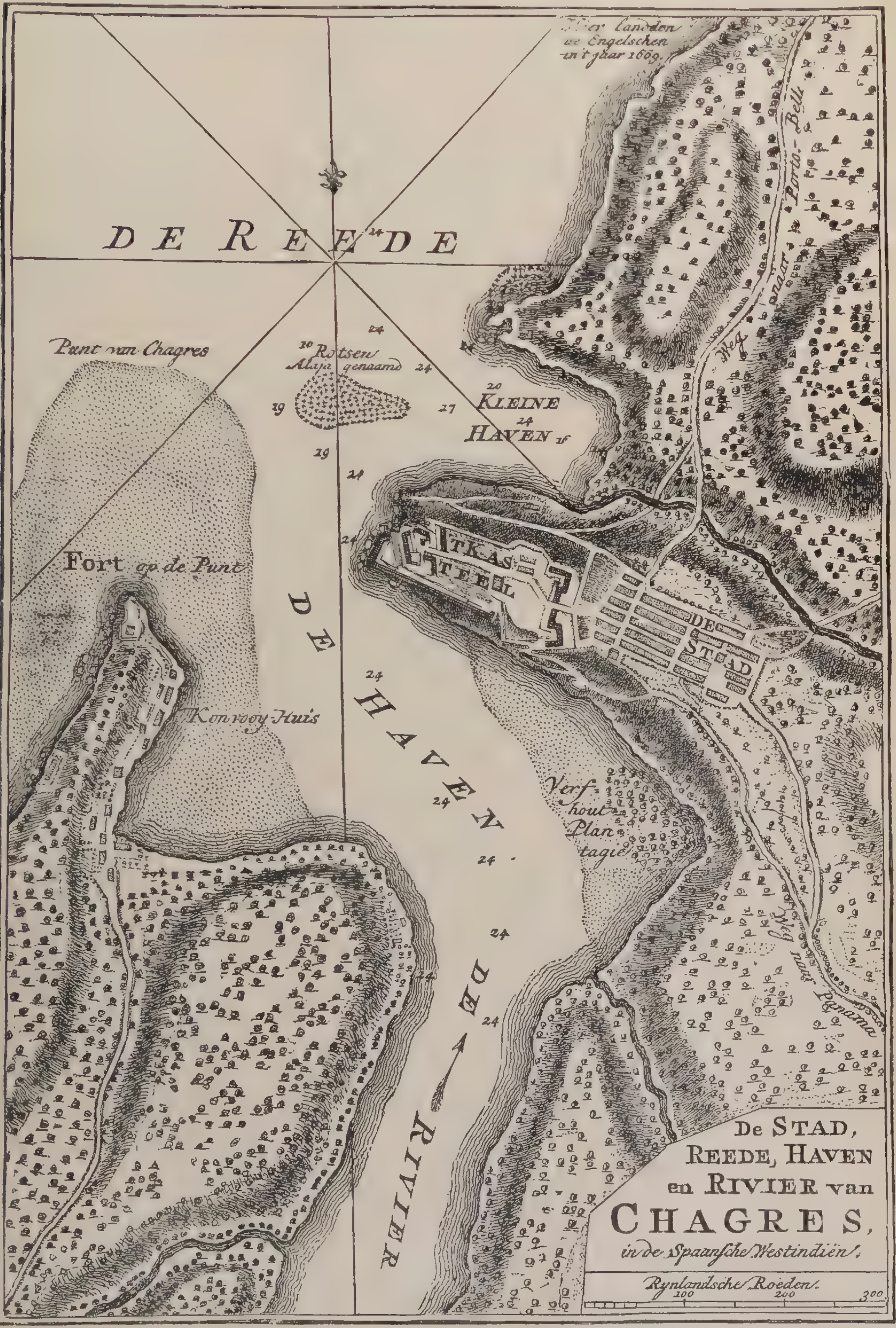
the Welshman Henry Morgan, who succeeded in 1664 to Admiral Mansfelt in command of the pirate fleet. He raided the Isthmus, captured with a part of his fleet the castle of San Lorenzo, and took the town of Panama in January, 1671. As a result, its citizens bodily moved their homes, and built a new city of the same name in a locality more easily defended. But

SIR HENRY MORGAN.*

NOTE. — The bird's-eye view (on the preceding page) of the Chateau of Monsieur le Général de Poincy at St. Christophers is reduced from a plate in César de Rochefort's *Isles Antilles* (Rotterdam, 1665). — KEY: 1, Le Chasteau. 2, Le Jardin. 3. La Basse cour. 4, La Chapelle et les offices. 5, Les Escuries. 6, La Tour des Munitions. 7, La ville d'Angole. A good deal relating to the history of the island is to be drawn from the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series*, vols. i. and v. (down to 1668). The island was given up to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

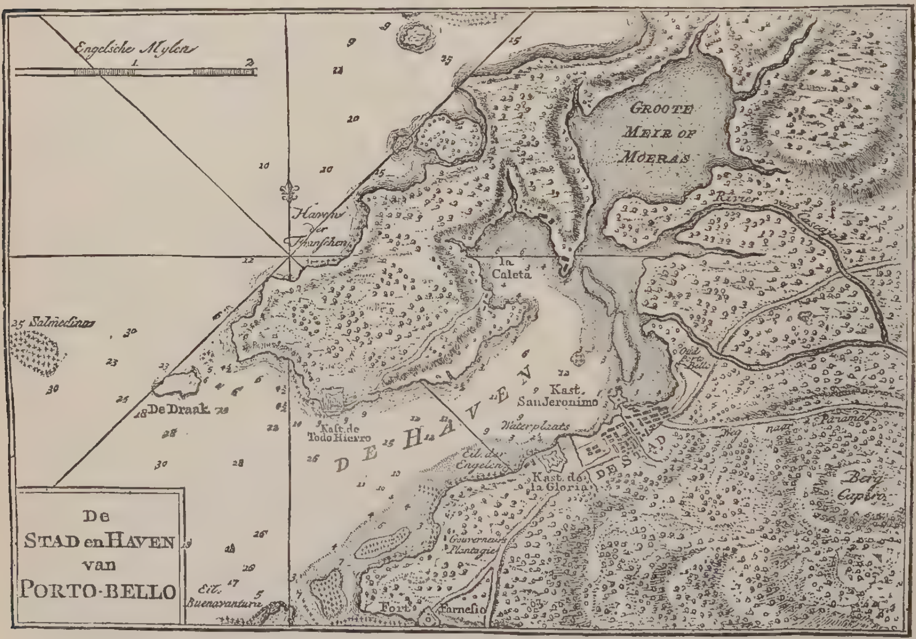
* From the print in the English version (3d ed.) of Exquemelin's *History of the Bucaniers* (London, 1704). This and portraits of other leading buccaneers appear in some of the editions of Exquemelin. Cf. Cassell's *United States*, i. 397, 409, etc.

even here they were again imperilled. The corsairs, a little later, having plundered Porto Bello and Santa Maria, followed the river courses inland,



From *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), i. 350. There is also a plan of the castle of San Lorenzo in *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1740, p. 350, showing Vernon's attack, March 24, 1740. Jefferys' *Description of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762) has a map of the town and harbor.

and then, descending to the South Sea in canoes, added to their armament some piraguas when they reached deeper water, and appeared in the bay of Panama prepared for their usual fiendish sports. Captain Bartholomew Sharp, in command of a light flotilla, essayed to surprise the new Panama; but word of his coming had reached the town in advance, and surprise was impossible. The Spanish admiral, Jacinto de Barahona, appearing in the bay with a fleet, an obstinate battle took place before Panama, and the pirates later sailed south and gathered an abundance of treasure. Dampier in the mean while, who had been with the corsairs, recrossed the Isthmus and joined his ships on the north side.[1] It would be tedious to enumerate all these piratical excursions in these latter years of the eighteenth century, which included, however, so considerable an event as the taking



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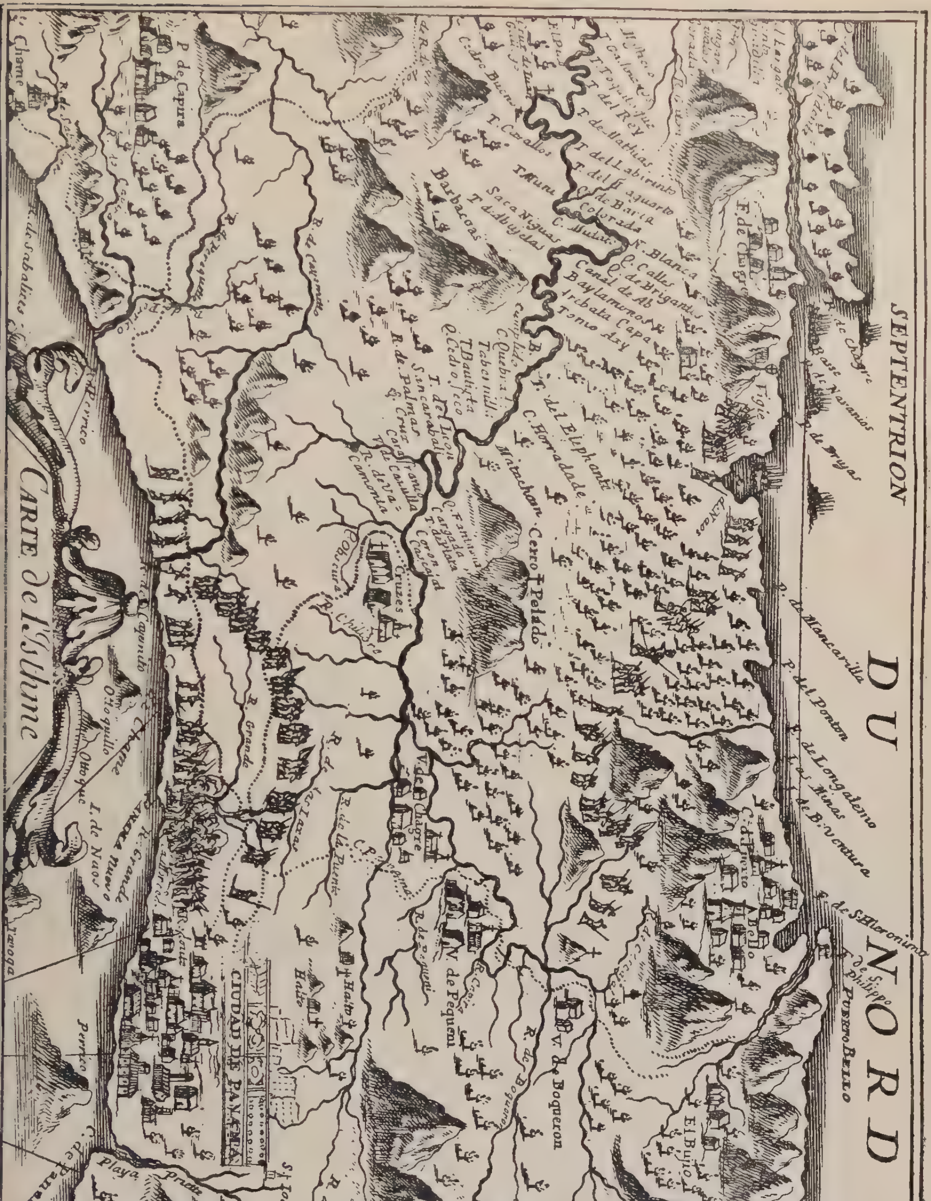
[1] Dampier began his manhood experience in Spanish America, among the logwood cutters of Campeachy; but after a visit to England he came again in 1679 to Jamaica, and soon joined the buccaneers, when, having aided in Sharp's expedition across the Isthmus to attack Panama, he sided with a party opposed to serving under that commander (he and Wafer being of this disaffected crew), who crossed the Isthmus to rejoin the fleet, which after many trials they did. The next two years were spent by him under the buccaneer flag.

NOTE. — The above map of Porto Bello is from *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), i. 308.

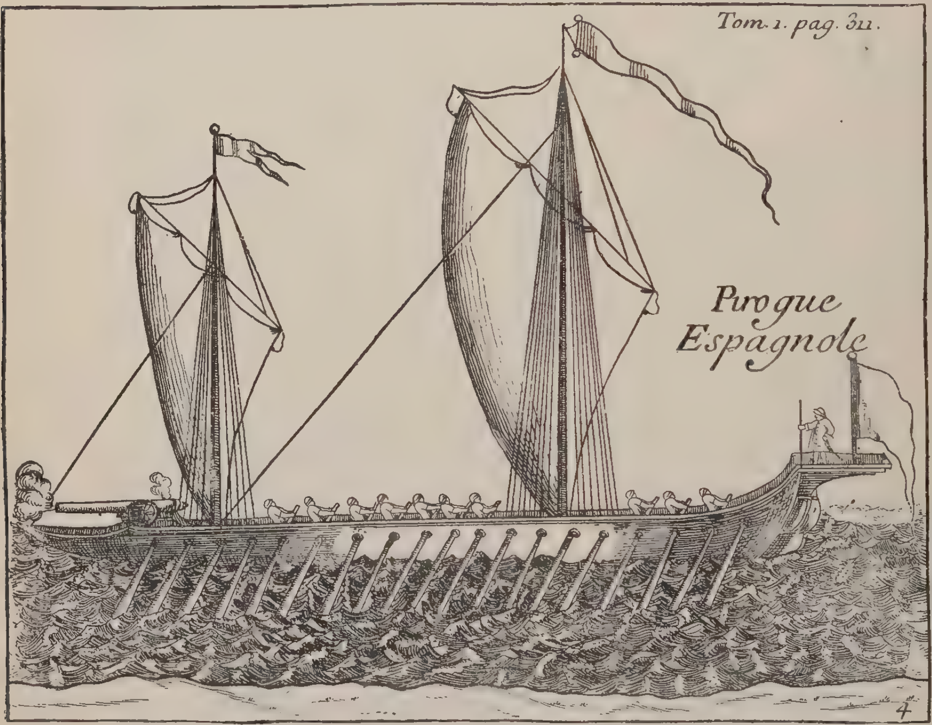
The attacks of Parker (1601), Morgan (1668), the pirates (1679), and Vernon (1739) gave an interest to Porto Bello which occasioned frequent maps of the bay during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, — like those in Coreal's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1722), vol. i.; Prévost's *Voyages* (xiii.); the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (ix., xi.); Ulloa's *Voyages;* the *Geog. Descp. of the Span. West Indies* (London, 1740); that of the town and harbor in a *Geog. Description of the Coasts, etc., of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740); a rude plan with a key of Vernon's attack, in *The Newsman's Interpreter* (Manchester, Eng., 1741, 2d ed.); one by the English geographer Jefferys, in *A Description of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762); Homann's *Portus Pulchri*, showing Vernon's attack. Tomas Lopez's map is in the *Atlas Geographico de la Amerika* (Madrid, 1758), p. 58.



NOTE.—From Oexmelin's *Histoire des Avanturiers Flibustiers, Nouvell ed. corrigée* (Trevoux, 1744), vol. ii. Cf. the "Map of the Country and Citty [sic] of Panama" in the English version of Exquemelin's *Hist. of the Bucaniers*, 3d ed. (London, 1704).

A map of the Isthmus in 1597 is given *ante*, II. 190. The times of the buccaneers produced other maps han those mentioned above. Dudley included it in his *Arcano del Mare* (1647). Wafer's map in 1699 is iven herewith. The Scots' settlement at that time produced various other maps, like those by Hermann of Cartagena in 1697,[1] the last great exploit of this maritime license, for the Peace of Ryswick, in that same year, practically closed the period of the buccaneers.

A new complication with England arose, when, at the close of the century, William Paterson led a colony of Scots to settle at Darien. The company had left Leith with great jubilation. Money without stint had flowed in to furnish the colony. The headlong zeal of those who strove to go was not abated by any knowledge of the climate they would have to encounter, and dreams of the great opportunity for amassing fortunes by virtue of securing the transit trade of the Isthmus were too impressive to let the eager youths who had embarked think of obstacles. They had a warrant from William III to plant where they could, if they disturbed no civilized settlers, and they could bargain for land with the savages. But not so



From Oexmelin's *Avanturiers Flibustiers* (Trevoux, 1744), vol. ii.

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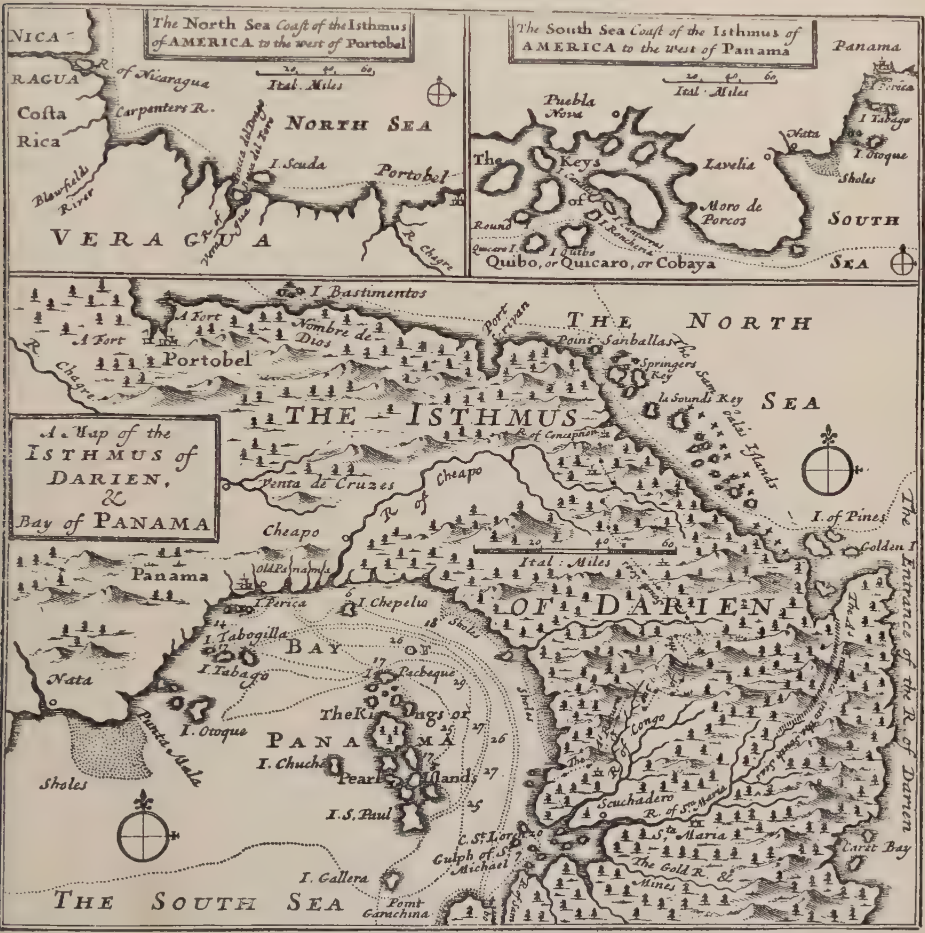
[1] See *post*, ch. 5.

Moll (1699), and in his *Atlas* (1729), no. 27, and the Covens and Mortier's *Isthmus ou Darien.* Early in the eighteenth century, Ottens at Amsterdam published several: *Nova isthmi Americani tabula* (1717). D'Anville dates an *Isthmus de Panama* April, 1730 (given in Charlevoix's *Espagnole*, Amsterdam, 1733); and the *King's Maps, Brit. Mus.* (i. 288) shows a MS. map, 1743. Jefferys' *Description of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762) gives another. There is a *Kaart van de Landengte van Panama, volgens de Spaansche aftekeninge opgemaakt* in *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766). James Burney's *Hist. of the Buccaneers of America* (London, 1816) gives a map compiled from Dampier, D'Anville, and the Spanish survey of 1791.

favorably inclined were the corporated companies who had rival schemes of aggrandizement, and the poor colonists found themselves jealously watched by the Spaniards on the one hand, and denied succor by the neighboring English of Jamaica on the other. It took but a few months before the remnants of the colony, diminished by disease and misfortunes, sailed away as best they could. A succoring but belated accession of recruits, with some, though inadequate, supplies, came to make another trial on the deserted ground ; but these were in due time starved into surrender by the Spaniards, and allowed to depart, enfeebled and dismayed. So the project that teemed with promise to the unsuspecting came to a miserable end, as did another, some years later, — the notorious South Sea scheme, which used but as a pretext the trade of the South Sea to sustain it.[1] The



THE ISTHMUS, 1699.*

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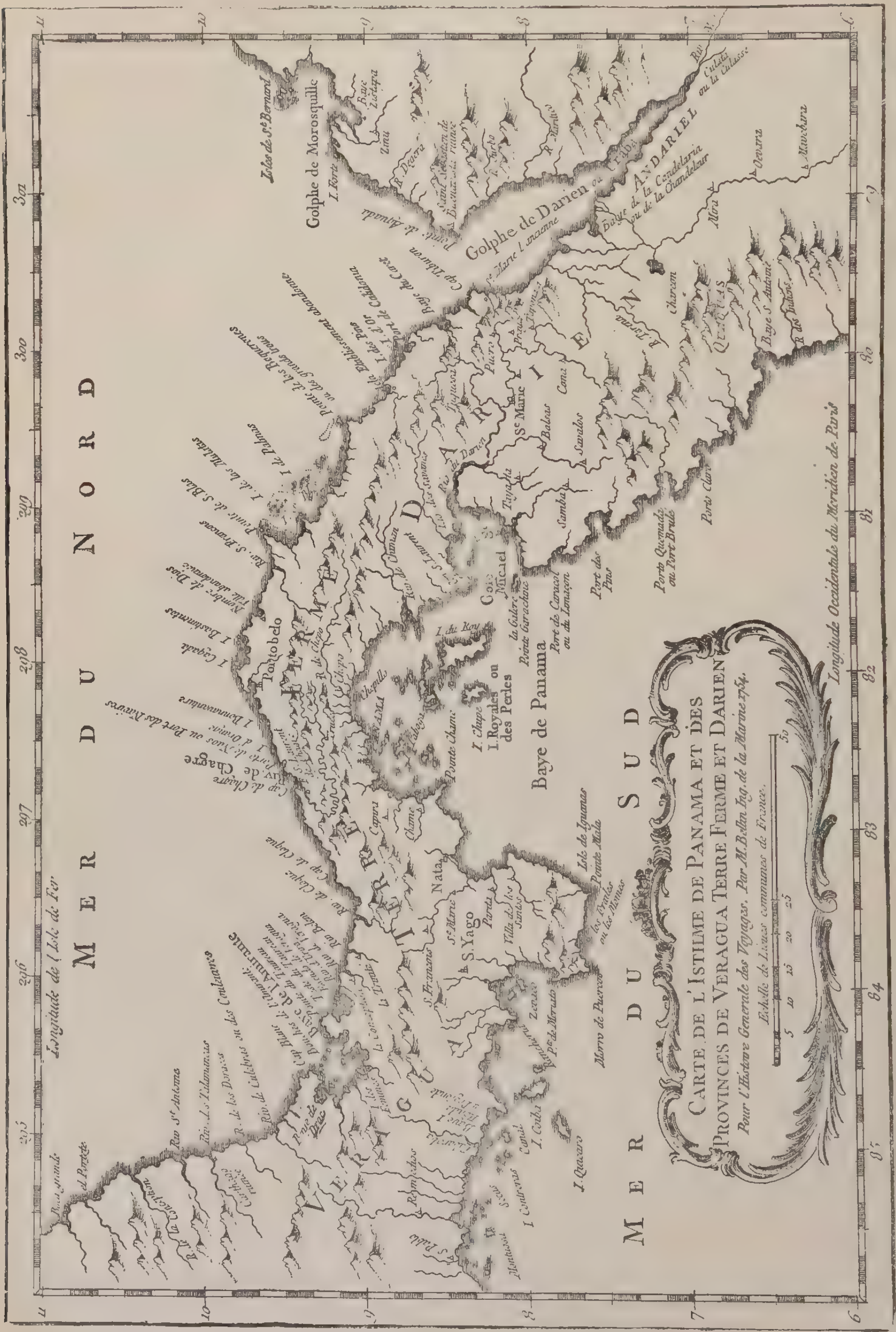
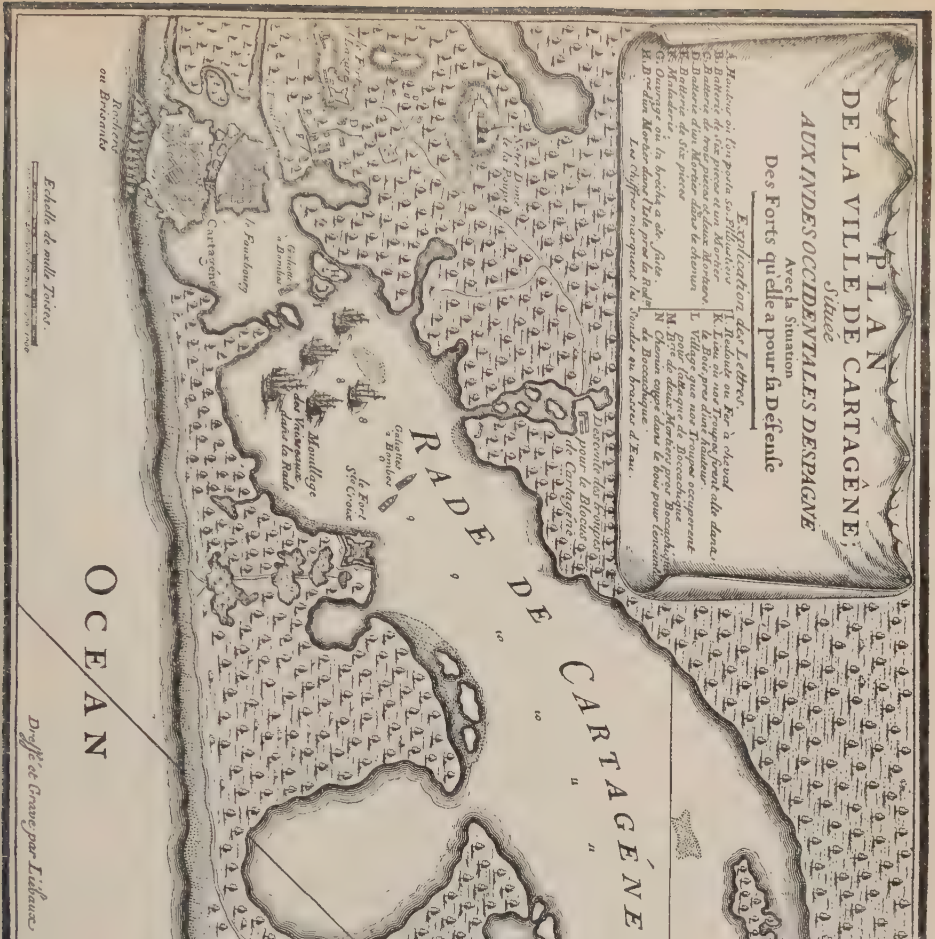
[1] The literature of this subject, by virtue of its business name and of the single ship which performed the voyage, is still made a conspicuous class in the collector's library of Americana.

* From Lionel Wafer's *New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London, 1699).

Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the later war with Spain were but some of the causes which, by abridging the chances for gain, imperilled the plans of its directors still later.


Carte de l'Istlme de Panama et des Provinces de Veragua Terre Ferme et Darien
Pour l'Histoire Generale des Voyages. Par M. Bellin Ing. de la Marine 1754.
Echelle de Lieues communes de France.
Mer du Nord
Mer du Sud
Baye de Panama
Golphe de Darien
Golphe de Morosquillo
Portobelo
Riv. de Chagre
Terre Ferme
Darien
Veragua
Panama
I. Royales ou des Perles
Longitude de l'Isle de Fer
Longitude Occidentale du Meridien de Paris

NOTE. — Reduced from Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii. Cf. *Ibid.* xiii. 243, and *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xv.


PLAN
DE LA VILLE DE CARTAGÊNE,
Située
AUX INDES OCCIDENTALES D'ESPAGNE
Avec la Situation
Des Forts qu'elle a pour sa Deffense
Explication des Lettres.
A. Hauteur où l'on posta 50. Flibustiers
B. Batterie de six pieces et un Mortier
C. Batterie de trois pieces et deux Mortiers.
D. Batterie d'un Mortier dans le chemin
E. Batterie de six pieces
F. Maladerie
G. Ouvrage où la brecha a été faite.
H. Brie d'un Mortier dans l'Isle pres la Rade
I. Redoute ou Fer à cheval
K. Lieu où nos Troupes furent alte dans le Bois pres d'une hauteur.
L Village que nos Troupes occuperent pour l'attaque de Boccachique
M. Brie de deux Mortiers pres Boccachique
N Chemin coupé dans le bois pour l'enceinte de Boccachique.
Les Chiffres marquent les Sondes ou brasses d'Eau.
RADE DE CARTAGÉNE
OCEAN
Cartagéne
le Fauxbourg
Rochers ou Brisants
Galiotte à Bombes
Moüillage des Vaisseaux dans la Rade
le Fort Ste Croix
Descente des Troupes pour le Blocus de Cartagéne
Notre Dame de la Poupe
Descente des Troupes devant Boccachique
Fort de Boccachique
Moüillage des Vaisseaux devant Boccachique
Nord
Nord Est
Est
Sud Est
Sud
Sud Ouest
Oüest
Nord Oüest
Echelle de mille Toises
Dressé et Gravé par Liebaux

CAPTURE OF CARTAGENA, 1697. (*Note*, p. 244.)

The treaty which England, France, and Spain made at Seville in 1729, wherein they covenanted for mutual forbearance and protection, was not enough to prevent capture and retaliation among their respective marines in these treacherous waters. England seemed the greater sufferer, and Spain, forced to a promise of indemnity, failed in the obligation, and a British fleet was sent to the scene. This was in 1739, and Admiral Edward Vernon was in command. He attacked Porto Bello and captured it,[1] and then assailed the castle of San Lorenzo, at the mouth of Chagres River, which had been rebuilt since Morgan destroyed it in 1671. His attempt to reduce Cartagena failed.[2] Commodore George Anson, in another fleet, had been sent round to the Pacific to coöperate beyond the Isthmus, but hearing on the South American coast of the repulse of Vernon at Cartagena, Anson steered for Manilla, and reached England by the Cape of Good Hope in 1744.

If the Scots had not got their hoped-for commercial vantage from possessing the Isthmus route, the events we have been following, by increasing the hazards of the transit and approach, sensibly affected its value to the Spaniards, and the commercial importance of this route steadily declined.

The local annals of the southern provinces are not free from a monotonous flow of events that mean little to the foreigner, though Guatemala had grown to be the city of the most importance after Mexico in Spanish America; and this in spite of the many earthquakes which in succession nearly destroyed it, noticeably those of 1751, 1757, and 1765, and finally that of 1773, which induced its people to seek a safer site for their habitations.

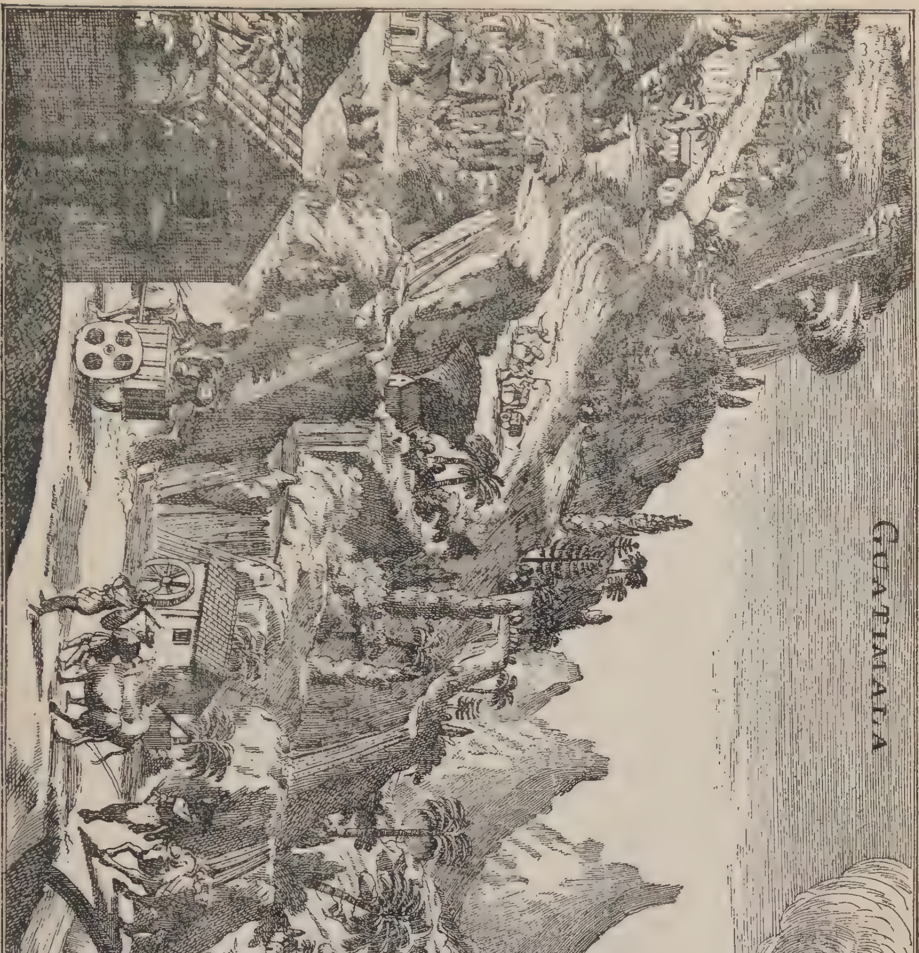
In the last days of the Spanish rule, the same spirit that fired the priest of Dolores, farther north, raised counter-movements in these southern districts, and Dambrini essayed, but ineffectually, to fall upon the rear of Morelos. By equal steps, independence came at last to the south as to the north, and for a while these lower provinces were a part of the Mexican government, — not, indeed, with full assent, for there were some regions that the fair promises of Iturbide did not stir with enthusiasm, and Costa Rica kept herself aloof. Such union as there was with Mexico lasted fifteen months, after which the Central American Confederation had its own constitutional government. The period which followed was characterized in part by the ins and outs, the ups and downs, of civil war, ending with a dissolution of the union, with each separate state left to the perils of internecine war, varied with reciprocal distrust and reprisal.

Cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, sub 1711–20. See the account in Ewald's *Sir Robert Walpole*, ch. 5.

[1] His maps are noted in the *King's Maps in the British Museum*, ii. 201. Cf. Vernon's *Original Papers relating to the Expedition to Panama* (London, 1744), and the *New Hist. of Jamaica* (London, 1740; Dublin, 1741; French transl., London, 1751).

[2] See *post*, ch. 5.

NOTE TO MAP ON THE PRECEDING PAGE. — From Oexmelin's *Avanturiers Flibustiers* (Trevoux, 1744), vol. ii. For other plans, mainly in connection with Vernon's expedition in 1740, see a later page.



NOTE. — From Gage's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1720), vol. ii. Sanson's map of the Audience de Guatemala is also in *Ibid.* vol. ii.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE bibliography of the history of Spanish North America subsequent to the period of the Conquest[1] is best represented in the lists which are prefixed to H. H. Bancroft's histories of *Central America*, *Mexico*, *California*, and *North Mexican States*. At the present writing, other volumes of the series touching this territory have not yet appeared. These lists necessarily duplicate one another somewhat, and include a large mass of manuscript material, particularly as regards California,[2] and still larger masses for the period since the acquisition of California by the United States.[3] They are considerably extended by the enumeration of the separate documents under their authors' names, when they make part of the great collections of published documents, like the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España;*[4] and those of Pacheco,[5] Peralta,[6] Icazbalceta,[7] the *Cartas de Indias*[8] (down to 1586), the *Documentos para la historia de Mexico* (Mexico, 1853–57, in 20 vols.),[9] Ternaux-Compans' *Recueil de documents et mémoires originaux sur l'histoire des possessions Espagnoles dans l'Amérique* (Paris, 1840),[10] and Juan Suarez de Peralta's *Noticias históricas de la Nueva España. Publicadas con la proteccion del ministerio de fomento por Don Justo Zaragoza* (Madrid, 1878), which follows an old manuscript, mainly covering the interval 1565–1589, and called *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias y su conquista, y los ritos y sacrifiçios, y costumbres de los yndios; y de los virreyes y gobernadores, que las han gobernado, espeçialmente en la Nueva España* [etc.].

The line of demarcation between the early authorities, who confined their survey of Mexican history to the Conquest and its immediate results, and those whose chronicle and commentary were extended into, for a greater or less extent, the vice-regal period, is well marked. Helps, in ending his *Spanish Conquest*[11] at the middle of the sixteenth century, says that by this time "most of the chief historians and annalists had died, and the works of those who survived were not carried much beyond that period. Nothing more is to be gained from Peter Martyr,[12] Oviedo,[13] Bernal Diaz,[14] Enciso,[15] Las Casas,[16] Garcilasso de la Vega,[17] Cortés,[18] or Gomara.[19] Herrera, writing in another age, closes his decades soon after the reconquest of Peru.[1] Remesal [2] has nothing of any general interest to commemorate after narrating the death of Las Casas, and all such writers as Torquemada [3] are merely interesting when they refer to the early periods of the Conquest. It is the same with the ecclesiastical historians, Davila Padilla, Fernandez, Gil Gonçalez Davila, Colancha, and Melendez. The lawyers, also, such as Antonio de Leon and Solorzano, have comparatively little to relate after the time of Philip the Second; and the German and Italian writers, such as Benzoni,[4] Gaspar Ens, and Levinus Apollonius, do not carry us farther."

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[1] Cf. note on the bibliography of Mexico, *ante*, II. 429. Bancroft (*Mexico*, vi. 653) characterizes the successive Mexican historians, and (p. 660) he describes a large collection of minor *Mexicana* which he has used; and he masses (p. 662) a large number of references on institutional subjects.

On the archives of the Indies at Seville, see Calvo, *Recueil des Traités* (Paris, 1866), x. 258, 313.

A considerable collection of *Papeles varios de America* (17 vols.) constitutes no. xcviii. of the *Sparks MSS.* in Harvard College library. (Cf. *Calendar Sparks MSS.*, p. 82.)

[2] Some of those derived from Pinart are enumerated in his *No. Mex. States*, p. xxxix. Quaritch recently held at £25 the following MS. in two volumes: *Resumen del Descubrimiento de la Nueva España, demarcacion y descripcion de aquellas provincias divididas en las cinco Audiencias, estados de sus Iglesias y sus erecciones, noticia de los Obispos que hasta ahora las han gobernado, con otras noticias muy importantes;* calling it "a valuable work prepared only for private use by order of the authorities, and kept in the royal archives, whence Joseph Bonaparte, during his brief kingship, extracted it. He carried the two big volumes with him to the United States, where, many years afterwards, he presented them to General Santander, of the republic of Nueva Granada. After the dispersion of Santander's library, the MS. found its way back to Europe."

[3] Cf. *ante*, II. pp. viii, 430.

[4] Cf. *ante*, Vol. II. p. vii.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. vii, 498.

[6] *Ibid.* p. ix.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 397.

[8] *Ibid.* p. viii. Cf. Bancroft, *Hist. of Mexico*, ii. 606.

[9] *Ibid.* pp. 397, 498.

[10] *Ibid.* p. vii.

[11] N. Y. ed., iv. 409.

[12] *Ante*, Vol. I., Introd.

[13] He comes down to 1555. Cf. *ante*, II. pp. 343–5.

[14] *Ante*, Vols. I. and II.

[15] *Ante*, II. 98, 208.

[16] *Ante*, II. 343, and Las Casas titles in Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. p. lxv.

[17] *Ante*, II., index.

[18] *Ante*, II., index.

[19] *Ante*, II. 414.

JUAN DE SOLORZANO PEREIRA.*

It is into the collections of documents already mentioned that the official reports and the correspondence of the period beginning with the viceroys have in the main been gathered; and to these there may be added such amassments of manuscripts as Bancroft uses,[5] the accumulations in the *Boletin* of the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía,[6] the papers of Ramirez,[7] the general works of Hakluyt, Purchas, Wytfliet, Acosta (who fills out the sixteenth century in a general way), and such conglomerate treatises as those of Gottfriedt, Montanus, De Laet, Ogilby, Heylyn, and the rest.

All such descriptive material touching the laws,[8] methods of government, judicial systems, commerce, revenue and finance, agriculture, manufactures and the arts, social and military life, education, science, and literature, is classified and separately treated in distinct chapters by Bancroft, and generally with a bibliographical apparatus appended.

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[1] *Ante*, II. 67. He is scant after the middle of the sixteenth century.

[2] *Ante*, II., index.

[3] *Ante*, II., index.

[4] *Ante*, II. 346. He was in Mexico 1541–56.

[5] *Mexico*, ii. 785.

[6] Earlier known as the Instituto Nacional de Geografía, whose *Boletin* began in 1852. Cf. Bancroft's account, *Mexico*, vi. 659.

[7] Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. p. xciv.

[8] *Ante*, II. 347, 401. Cf. Bancroft's note, *Mexico*, iii. p. 550.

* After a copperplate in the 1703 edition of his *Politica Indiana*. The original edition was in 1648.

Similar material will be found in the additions which have been made to the Mexican edition of the *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía* (Mexico, 1853–55), based upon the original Spanish edition.[1]

The work of Bancroft on *Mexico*, in six volumes, is by all means the most extensive gathering of material which has been made, and he has summarized it in a popular history of a single volume, in which, however, the vice-regal period is hastily gone over. He makes a bibliographical summary at the end of the second and third volumes[2] of his larger work of the main sources of information for this period, in which he speaks slightingly of the *Los tres Siglos de México* of Andrés Cavo,[3] of the *Historia antigua y moderna de Jalapa* of Manuel Rivera,[4] and of the same author's *Historia de Mejico*,[5] criticising them all as neglectful of documentary sources, and as defective in treatment.

The history of the Church, the religious orders and missions, in Mexico is necessarily an essential part of the progress of the country. Bancroft has epitomized much of it in a single chapter,[6] and it is interwoven with a considerable portion of his book elsewhere.[7] His references to manuscript sources, like the records of the *Concilios Provinciales* and *Concilios Mexicanos*, though in considerable part in print;[8] to collections of papal bulls and other documents, also in part in type, indicate something of the restricted opportunities of a student not so well equipped as he is.[9]

The better part of the material, however, in one form or another, is in books not difficult to meet with. Bancroft in a long note[10] indicates some of the more essential printed sources for the period immediately following the Conquest, introducing us at once to the Franciscan Order, the earliest of all to appear in Mexican history. The *Historia de los Indios* of Father Toribio de Benavente, known as Motolinía, — which was left in MS. at his death in 1568,[11] and which, as well as the *Historia eclesiástica indiana* of Gerónimo de Mendieta, likewise kept for a long time in manuscript,[12] were used by Torquemada in his *Monarquia Indiana*, — eked out by his own observations over the period following the Conquest, brings the chronicle down to 1612.[13]

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[1] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 511; vi. 659. The *Liceo mexicano* (Mexico, 1844) offers a "Galería de los vireyes de México," — being memoirs of the viceroys of Mexico down to the 26th, appointed in 1673, with portraits accompanying them. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 509, on diaries of this period; and the observations of Samuel de Champlain in his *Narrative of a voyage to the West Indies and Mexico, 1599–1602, with maps and illus. Transl. from the original and unpublished manuscript, with a biographical notice and notes by Alice Wilmere. Edited by Norton Shaw* (London, 1859); Martinez's *Repertorio* covers 1520–1590. (See *ante*, II. 421.)

[2] Vol. ii. 784; iii. 505; also vi. 654.

[3] Mexico, 1836–38, 1852, and Jalapa, 1860. Cf. *ante*, II. 428; and Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 508.

[4] Mexico, 1869–71, in 5 vols. It is mainly concerned with the modern history, comprehensive enough to be national, beginning with 1808. Cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, v. 806.

[5] Barcelona, 1877–80, in eleven vols.

[6] *Mexico*, iii. ch. 33.

[7] As on the secular clergy, 1600–1800, in *Mexico*, iii. ch. 32; and on ecclesiastical affairs, 1800, etc., vi. ch. 24, — not to mention other chapters where it is less prominent.

[8] Cf. *ante*, II. p. 399. On Lorenzana's editing of these records, see Bancroft, iii. 379. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. 1686.

[9] *Mexico*, i. p. xli; iii. pp. 724, 725, 727.

[10] *Mexico*, ii. 187.

[11] *Ante*, I. 156; II. 397.

[12] Cf. *ante*, II. 422. It was edited by Icazbalceta in 1871.

[13] Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. 157; II. 399, 421, 422; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 787, and iii 512, 722, where mention is made of other Franciscan chroniclers: Balthassar de Medina's *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico* (Mexico, 1682), with its map showing the various Franciscan convents in New Spain. He died in 1697, and Beristain gives the best list of his works. Francisco de Ayeta's *Defensa de la Verdad* (1683 or thereabouts) shows the efforts of the Franciscans of Jalisco to maintain their rights against the bishop. Bancroft (iii. 725), who cites a MS. of Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, and notes others in his list (i. p. lii), — one of which Quaritch (no. 363, of 1885, under 29,088) seems

The best known record of the Augustine order is Juan de Grijalva's *Crónica de la orden de N. P. S. Augustin en las provincias de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1624), which covers a period from 1533 to 1592.[1]

Of the Dominicans, the account by Remesal of the history of the order in Chiapas,[2] and the *Historia de la fundacion y discurso de la provincia, de Santiago de México de la órden de Predicadores por las vidas de sus varones insignes y casos notables de Nueva España* of Augustin Davila Padilla,[3] are the most important, the latter work giving sketches of leading Dominicans from 1540 to 1590.

There is little in the best known Benedictine work, the *Nova typis transacta navigatio* of the so-called Philoponus, to concern us in this period.[4] The Bethlehemites were not founded till the middle of the seventeenth century, and we have the only considerable account of their missions in America in the *Historia Bethlehemitica* (Seville, 1723) of Friar Joseph Garcia de la Concepcion.[5] Concerning the Jesuit missions, the two most important books are Francisco Javier Alegre's[6] *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España* (Mexico, 1841–42), in three volumes, covering the period from their establishment in Florida in 1566 to about 1765, and based so far as its scope permitted on Francisco de Florencia's *Hist. de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1694).[7] These two works may be supplemented by the *Lettres Édifiantes.*[8]

Of the general church histories of New Spain, the places of most importance must be given to Alonso Hernandez' *Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos* (Toledo, 1611);[9] the *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias occidentales* (Madrid, 1640–55) of Gil Gonzales Davila.[10] There are helps to perfect the survey in the local treatment of Juan de Villagutierre Soto-Mayor in his *Conquista de la Provincia de el Itza* (Madrid, 1701); of Francisco Burgoa's *Geográfica Descripcion . . . de la America* (Mexico, 1674) as touching Oajaca; of Cayetano de Cabrera y Quintero's *Escudo de armas de México* (Mexico, 1746); of Matias de la Mota Padilla's *Conquista de la Nueva Galicia* (Mexico, 1870);[11] and of Beaumont's *Crónica de Michoacan.* On the course of the Inquisition there are references in Bancroft.[12]

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to have had a duplicate of, — *Bezerro general, menológico y chronológico de todos los Religiosos* (Mexico, 1755–64), which enumerates the members of the order in New Spain down to 1764. Beaumont's *Friar Pablo de la purisima Concepcion* (Mexico, 1873–74) gives the Franciscan story of the missions in Michoacan down to 1565–66. The *Glorious Franciscus* of Marianus (Ingolstadt, 1625) also follows the Franciscan missions in America, with portraits and lives of the leading missionaries. Cf. Isidro Felis de Espinosa's *Chronica Apostolica* (Mexico, 1746).

[1] Cf. *ante*, II. 399; Bancroft, ii. 189

[2] *Ante*, II. 399.

[3] The author lived 1562–1604, and his work, originally appearing at Madrid in 1596, was reprinted at Brussels in 1625, and at Valladolid in 1634. Cf. *ante*, II. 400, and Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 512, 723.

[4] *Ante*, II. 58; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 189.

[5] Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 189. Cf. Betancur's *Regla y Constituciones* of the order (Mexico, 1751). Betancur, the founder, died in 1667.

[6] *Ante*, II. 399; Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 447.

[7] *Ante*, II. 399; Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 447.

[8] For bibliographical detail, see *ante*, IV. p. 316; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 191; and A. A. De Backer's *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagne de Jésus* (Liege, 1853–61), in seven volumes. Cf. *Apostolicos afanes de la Compañia de Jesus escritos por un Padre de la misma sagrada religion de su provincia de Mexico* (Barcelona, 1754).

[9] *Ante*, II. 399; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 190.

[10] *Ante*, II. 399, 400; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 189. Bancroft also makes considerable use of Francisco Sosa's *Episcopado Méxicano*, a series of biographies, and of Andrés Perez de Ribas' *Hist. de los triumphos de nuestra Santa Fe* (Madrid, 1645). Icazbalceta has edited *Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España, 1539–1594*, in his *Nueva Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Mexico, 1886). (Cf. on Icazbalceta's writings, *Boletin de la sociedad de geografía de la repub. Méxicana*, 1870, p 642.) The new world has also treatment in Cornelius Hazart's Dutch history of the Church (Antwerp, 1667), better known in Souterman's German adaptation, *Kirchen-Geschichte* (Vienna, 1678–1701), and the clerically flavored *Histoire générale de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1768) of Touron, — both of whom are characterized by Bancroft (iii. 190, 191). Morelli's *Fasti Novi Orbis*, etc. (Venice, 1776), gives us the official decrees from Rome and Madrid respecting the American Church (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 2282).

[11] Cf. *ante*, II. p. 633.

[12] *Mexico*, iii. 701. Quaritch (Jan., 1888, no.

The history of the commerce of New Spain has been epitomized by Bancroft (*Mexico*, iii. ch. 30, etc.), and in a note (p. 645) he has indicated the main sources of his treatment, in addition to the correspondence of the viceroys. The laws and customs regulating the trade of Spain and her colonies are explained in Linage's *Norte de la Contratacion* (Seville, 1672), of which there is an English translation by Capt. John Stevens (1702). Cf. also Viscount Bury's *Exodus of the western nations*, ii. ch. 2.

The history of the Philippine trade is to be followed in an *Extracto Historial del Expediente que pende en el consejo de las indias*, etc., published at Madrid by royal command in 1736.

Bancroft (iii. 646; vi. 662) particularly emphasizes the value, in this commercial study, of Lerdo de Tejada's *Apuntes históricos de Vera Cruz* (Mexico, 1850) and his *Comercio Esterior de México* (Mexico, 1853). His survey also includes some of the general treatises on the history of commerce, like the *Origin of Commerce* (London, 1764, 1787, 1801), by Adam Anderson, a clerk of the South Sea Company, who had chances of close observation of the British operations at Porto Bello; like David Macpherson's revision and continuation of Anderson, known as *Annals of Commerce* (London, 1805); like John Macgregor's *Progress of America* (London, 1847), and G. T. Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des Etablissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Genève, 1780; Paris, 1820–21, etc.); and he closes his note with a list of minor references (p. 649).

The exploits of the English freebooters, the French flibustiers,[1] and the Dutch zeeroovers — the pirates and buccaneers of the Spanish Main [2] as they appear in history and romance — are an essential part of the history of the lands contiguous to the Gulf of Mexico during the seventeenth and a part of the eighteenth century. The earliest separate account which we have of them is usually held to be that in Kleas Compaen's *Zee-Rover* (Amsterdam, 1663), though there are earlier narratives of distinct episodes, like that in the *Discurso Politico* of Montemaior de Cuenca (Mexico, 1658)[3] of the expulsion of the buccaneers at the island of Tortuga. The events of the preceding century were also in part covered in Père J. B. du Tertre's *Histoire général des Antilles habitées par les François* (Paris, 1667–1671).

The most famous early general account of the buccaneers, however, and the source of a great variety of publications in the chief modern languages, is a Dutch publication of one Alexander Olivier Exquemelin, who is known in English as Esquemeling, and in French as Oexmelin, and who deserted the employ of the French West India Company, and joined the marauders in 1672. His book, *De Americaensche Zee-Roovers*, was published at Amsterdam in 1678.[4] This was followed in 1679 by a German edition at Nuremberg, *Americanische Seeräuber;* by a Spanish, *Piratas de la America* (Colonia Agrippina, 1681, 1682; again, Madrid, 1793); by a French, based by Frontignières on the Spanish version, and called *Histoire des Avanturiers* (Paris, 1686).[5] The earliest English

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134) held a collection of documents, many of them MS., on the progress of the Inquisition from its institution in Mexico in 1571 down. It wholly ceased its action in 1820.

[1] Derived from the English freebooter, and in turn converted by the English into filibusters.

[2] This term was applied to the northern coast of South America in contradiction to the islands neighboring to it; though sometimes later writers have used it as if it referred to the interjacent sea.

[3] With map showing the attack. Sabin, xii. 50,106.

[4] The book is very rare. Muller in 1872 had two copies, one large paper (no. 578, etc.), and he enters a copy in 1877 (no. 1090). Bancroft says Muller knew but one other copy beside his (Bancroft's) own. The Murphy sale shows a copy (no. 909*). The best bibliography of this book is in Sabin, iv. p. 319. Cf. Bancroft, *Cent. America*, ii. 567. A new and much-changed Dutch edition, with a second part added from Ringrose and Lussan, *Historie der Boecaniers*, appeared at Amsterdam, 1700. Raveneau de Lussan's *Journal du Voyage fait à la Mer du Sud en 1681* (Paris, 1689; again 1692) is later, generally found in the Exquemelin collections.

[5] Again, 1688, 1699. "Corrigée et augmentée de l'histoire des pirates anglois depuis leur établissement dans l'isle de Providence," (Trevoux, 1744, 1775; Lyon, 1774.) Cf. Diego Barras Arana's *Notas para una bibliografía*, no. 213.

edition, *Bucaniers of America, or a true Account of the most remarkable Assaults committed of late years upon the Coasts of the West Indies, by the Bucaniers of Jamaica and Tortuga, both English and French, wherein are contained more especially the unparallel'd Exploits of Sir Henry Morgan, our English Jamaican Hero, who sacked Puerto Velo, burnt Panama*, etc. (London, 1684), purported to be translated from the Spanish of Alonso de Bonne-Maison. We find here for the first time added to the Exquemelin text, and with a separate title, *The Dangerous Voyage and Bold Attempts of Capt. Bartholomew Sharp and others, written by Mr. Basil Ringrose, who was all along present* (London, 1685). Sharp's own journal of his expedition is also in William Hacke's *Collection of Original Voyages* (London,[1] 1699). There are numerous other editions of the English text of Exquemelin, thus augmented.[2]

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Charles Johnson's *General History of the robberies and murders of the most notorious pyrates*[3] (London, 1724, 1726, 1736; Birmingham, 1742; New York, 1724) was the most popular record of the buccaneers. The subject had been surveyed in Russell's *Hist. of America* (London, 1778), and in Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz's *Geschichte der Flibustier*,[4] before Burney made his *History of the Buccaneers* (London, 1816) a part of his *Chronological History*, etc. This last is the best of all the accounts up to that time, and still remains the chief of the later treatments on the subject.[5]

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[1] Wm. Hacke, who was with Sharp, also entered marginal notes in a MS. *South Sea Waggoner, a description of the sea-coasts on the South Sea of America, from the port of Acapulco to the Streights of Lemaire*, made about 1690, which Quaritch held at £72 in his *Catalogue*, June, 1885, no. 28,234. This MS. seems to have been bought for the South Sea Company two or three years after 1690, as appears by an accompanying letter, which describes it as "full of curious mapps and platts of ye South Seas, being ye long experience of ye famous buckanere Capt. Barth. Sharpe and of an antient French captain that hee took with his booke, mapps and papers, who used those seas 70 yeares, being all in the said Booke composed and depicted by one Captain William Hack, deceased, of whom I [Wm. Hill] about 18 years ago purchased the said booke and paid him £70 for ye same."

Cf. on the Waggoner maps in the British Museum, Calvo, *Recueil des Traites*, x. 324.

Quaritch (*ibid.* no. 28,227) held at £10 10*s.* an unpublished MS. atlas, *South Sea Waggoner, showing the making and bearing of all the coasts from California to the Streights of Le Maire, done from the Spanish originall by Basil Ringrose* (1680–85?). Cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 758.

[2] The edition of 1684 was abridged the same year, and a "second ed.," "corrected and enlarged," bears also the same date; but with a new title, though still called a "second edition," it was reissued in 1695. Bancroft, by some misconception, calls an edition entitled *History of the Bucaniers of America. From their first original down to this time. Written in several languages and now collected into one volume, containing: 1. Esquemeling's Exploits and Adventures of Le Grand, Lolonois, Bas, Sir Henry Morgan, etc. 2. The Dangerous Voyage and Bold Attempts of Capt. Sharp and others, in the South Sea. 3. Journal of a Voyage into the South Sea by the Freebooters of America, from 1684 to 1689. 4. Relation of a Voyage of the Sieur de Montaubon, Captain of the Freebooters, in Guinea, in 1695, etc. The whole translated into English* (London, 1699), the first English edition, because apparently its reissue in 1704 is called a second edition. A "third edition" is also dated 1704. A "fourth," 1741, is said to be a different translation, with new plates (abridged by H. W. Dilworth, London, 1759); reprinted as a "fifth" (Dublin, 1741). Two Glasgow editions are dated 1762, 1773. The "fifth" edition is London, 1771, and with a new title, 1774. After this Sabin despairs of a full enumeration, but cites London, 1800, 1810; Dublin, 1821; N. Y., 1826, 1836, 1840; Boston, 1853, 1856. Cf. Burney, *Chronol. Hist.* iii., and *Retrospective Rev.* iii.

[3] There was a French translation (Utrecht, 1725), and it is included in the Trevoux (1744) edition of the French Exquemelin. There is some material in the *New History of Jamaica to the taking of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon* (London, 1740; Dublin, 1741; French transl., Londres, 1751).

[4] In French (Paris, 1804); in English, translated by Geo. Mason (London, 1807). Cf. J. F. André's *Histoire des flibustiers* (Paris, 1812–13), in nine volumes.

[5] The most popular of the minor accounts are those in the Family Library, published in New York in 1846: *Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, including an introductory view of the earlier discoveries in the South Sea and the history of the Bucaniers*, and Walter Thornbury's *Buccaneers, or the Monarchy of the Main* (London, 1858). There is a suc-

The best resource we have for the beginning of the French occupation of their part of St. Kitts is Pierre Margry's *Origines transatlantiques: Belain d'Esnambuc et les Normands aux Antilles d'après des documents nouvellement retrouvés* (Paris, 1863). Belain, who was born in 1585, had established himself here, sharing the island with the English, in 1626. He and Captain Baillardel acted for a French Compagnie de Commerce, and they also took possession in 1636 of Martinique and Dominique, and Belain died the same year, leaving his nephews to gather the fruits of his enterprise.

The interest in the seventeenth-century maritime adventurers centres in the exploits of Henry Morgan,[1] and in the expeditions of Dampier and Sharp,[2] while the rovings of Woodes Rogers and of George Anson are of the most interest on the side of the Pacific.[3]

The bibliography of Durango, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and Sonora is given more extensively than elsewhere in Bancroft's *North Mexican States* (vol. i.), and a similar recourse for Texas will doubtless be found in a volume in the same series yet to be given to those regions. At the present writing (April, 1889), the last received volume of the Bancroft series is that on the history of *Arizona and New Mexico*, treated together, and he prefixes his usual list of the sources on which he has depended, the best enumeration for the student of the bibliography of this region, which is helpfully supplemented by the foot-notes throughout the volume. Being by the latest writer, with more ample resources than any other, this single volume is much the best survey of the field. He notes his dependence, among the earlier writers, upon Torquemada, Vetancurt, Mendieta, Oviedo, Gomara, Beaumont, Mota Padilla, Villaseñor, — not to name less important specific authorities, — and also upon the standard collections of documents published in Mexico and

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cinct account in Viscount Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations*, ii. ch. 3. The student can probably profit most from the foot-notes to Bancroft's treatment of the subject in his *Cent. America*, ii. ch. 26, 28, 29, 30, etc. Arber's *English Garner*, ix., has a collection of tracts relating to the pirates, 1588–1600.

[1] For his raids on the Isthmus, see Bancroft's *Cent. Amer.*, ii. ch. 28; and J. T. Headley in *Harper's Mag.*, xix. Cf. references in *Poole's Index* and *Supplement*, under Buccaneers and Morgan. There is much on Morgan and his companions in *A New Hist. of Jamaica from the Earliest Accounts to the taking of Porto Bello by Vice-Admiral Vernon* (London, 1740); and the popular story of the time is told in *Sir Henry Morgan's Voyage to Panama, 1670* (London, 1683).

[2] The best edition of William Dampier's *Voyages*, etc., is that in four volumes, London, 1729. Vols. i. and ii. have Dampier's voyages on the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and they are reprints of his earlier editions, 1697–1709. Vols. iii. and iv. contain the *New Voyage* (London, 1699, 1704) of Lionel Wafer, — who was left wounded among the Isthmus Indians, — of which there are French (1706) and Dutch (1714) versions; the *Voyage round the World* (London, 1707) of William Funnell, who was with Dampier (1703–4); Cowley's *Voyage round the World* (1699); Sharp's expedition over the Isthmus to the South Sea, and Wood's voyage through Magellan's Straits. The *Voyages and Adventures of Captain Bartholomew Sharp* (London, 1684) is the vindication of Sharp by a friend. There are other editions of the whole in 1776 and 1790; and a German complete version (Leipzig, 1703, 1704, 1708). Dampier's career is pleasantly sketched in C. R. Markham's *Sea Fathers* (London, 1884).

[3] Rogers, *Cruising Voyage round the World, 1708–1711* (London, 1712, 1718, 1726; French ed., Amsterdam, 1716). An abridged edition is in Arber's *English Garner*, vol. ix. Cf. *Life aboard a British Privateer in the time of Queen Anne, with notes by R. C. Leslie*; and the *Voyage to the South Sea, 1708–11*, of Captain Edward Cooke, who was of the Rogers expedition.

Anson's *Voyage round the World, 1740–44, compiled from his papers* [by Peter Robbins and Richard Walter] (London, 1748, 1756, 1769; French transl., 1751; German, 1749). Other illustrations of the voyage are in Pascoe Thomas's *True and impartial Journal* (1745); Chaplain Richard Walter's narrative (1748); and two books about the experiences of some of the company on board the "Wager," — one by J. Morris, *Narrative* (1751), and the other an *Affecting Narrative* (1751). A midshipman's *History of Anson's Voyage* was published later (London, 1767). Cf. *Carter-Brown Catal.*, iii. nos. 754, 791, 864, 865, 892, 923, 940, 958, 965, 1560, 1648, 1099, 1100; and John Barrow's *Life of George Anson* (Lond., 1839).

Madrid, and on that of Ternaux-Compans.[1] It is upon these collections, as well as upon the versified chronicle of one of Oñate's companions, Gaspar Villagrá's *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (Alcalá, 1610),[2] that he depends for the main thread of his narrative of the Spanish Conquest by Oñate, placed, as he dates it, in 1595–98 (ch. 6), instead of in 1591, as earlier writers, like Prince and Davis, had determined. Bancroft places more reliance upon the metric evolutions of Villagrá than they perhaps deserve; and, with the exception of some use made of them by Luis Cabrera de Córdoba in his *Historia de Filipe Segundo* (Madrid, 1619),[3] he does not find that any writer had recognized the value of this poem as an historic source till Fernández Duro, in his *Peñalosa*, gave a résumé of it in 1882.[4]

It does not comport with the condensation of the present chapter to enlarge upon the details of the many expeditions to this region, the main sources for which have been indicated elsewhere;[5] but the student of details will find them in Bancroft (chapters 4 and 5), where that writer goes over those between 1540 and 1596, and then enlarges (ch. 6) on the Conquest by Oñate, using Villagrá, as well as the documents in Pacheco's collection (vol. xvi.), and giving a map of Oñate's route (p. 123). For the period next following, 1599–1679, Bancroft (ch. 8) complains of the great lack of data, the archives at Santa Fé before that period having been for the most part destroyed in the revolts near the end of the seventeenth century.[6]

What purports to be an account of an expedition made in 1662 by Peñalosa,[7] though given by Prince in his *History of New Mexico* (1803) as a genuine recital, was exposed by Shea in his *Expedition of Peñalosa*, in 1882, as a fraudulent story, and the alleged account has been held to be simply a narrative of the Oñate expedition twisted to serve Peñalosa's purpose with the French king in his designs upon the Spanish holders of the mines. The book by Duro, already cited, also took in the same year a similar view as to the fraudulent character of this narrative, deriving the grounds mainly from the Informe of Posadas, in the *Doc. Hist. Mex.* (3d ser., iv. 211), — where, however, that document is quoted as by Paredes, a name followed by Bancroft in dealing with the matter in his *North Mexican States* (i. 386, 393, in 1884; also *No. West Coast*, 109), but corrected by him in his *Arizona* (p. 170).

Bancroft then, in subsequent chapters (9, 10), follows the story of the revolts against the Spaniards in 1680–1691, and of the reconquest by Diego de Vargas in 1692–1700, — which brought to a close the recalcitrant efforts of the natives, except in some minor instances. The later periods are not possessed of much interest, but the story, as far as it can be told for the eighteenth century, is given by Bancroft. He finds little to show (p. 307) that the commotions of the revolutionary period (1811–1821) farther south had much or even any perceptible effect in New Mexico; but it is to this time, or to the years closely following, that he traces the beginning of the Santa Fé trade, and he points out by a map (p. 331) the direction of the trail used by the merchants. Then, after tracing the current of events during the period when this region was a Mexican province (1825–1845, — ch. 14), he takes up the story of the American occupation during the Mexican war, and under the succeeding military rule (1846–1850, — ch. 17, 18), bringing down the narrative to the close of the period which it is the purpose of this chapter to cover; and of course, also, beyond to the present date.

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. II., Introduction.

[2] This book is rare. There is a copy in Harvard College library. After you have made the proper allowance for the compulsions of his metre, and for the padding of his method, his verse still remains a not unimportant illustration of the events which he chronicles.

[3] An edition by order of the Spanish government, with an introduction, was printed in four folio volumes at Madrid in 1876, etc. Cf. its second volume, pp. 679, 680.

[4] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 503.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 503.

[6] Bancroft (p. 19), in a note, points out how the remaining records have been badly cared for even after the United States government obtained possession; though amid this loss something considerable is preserved to us in a "Carta," written in 1778 by Father Escalante, covering what he could glean from the records for the years 1680–1692, and even to 1717, if we credit to him what seems to be a continuation of his studies, both of which are printed in the *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d series, part iv. (1856).

[7] *Ante*, Vol. II. 503. Cf. J. W. Savage in *Nebraska Hist. Soc. Trans.*, ii. 114.

This Bancroft volume renders the earlier books of Davis and Prince[1] wellnigh unnecessary to the student.[2]

The first permanent settlement in New Mexico was made in 1598, but was removed in 1605 to the present Santa Fé, and not another town was founded till after the reconquest, when Santa Cruz de la Cañada was established in 1695; and the third was that of Albuquerque in 1706. It is not probable that any existing architectural structure of the Spaniards in the country dates back of 1636, if even so far back, though there may be ruins of some of the eleven churches known to have been standing in 1617, while the ruins near Zuñi are not earlier than 1629. The oldest lapidary record seems to be an inscription recently found by F. H. Cushing, recording the excursion of Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado in 1581.[3]

Of the region now called Arizona, the history is covered in the same Bancroft volume (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 1889, ch. 15, 16, from 1543 to 1845), but it is almost entirely for a long period only a record of incursions, as the Spaniards had early made in only one small section any missionary or other occupation. These sites (1768–1846), as well as the routes of the early explorations, are shown in maps (pp. 347, 384).[4]

No other portion of the history of Spanish America has been studied with the minuteness that has been given to the chronicles of Upper California in the Bancroft series. The list which is prefixed to the first volume of the *California* includes sixteen hundred titles[5] pertaining in some way to that region, down to its cession to the United States, and this enumeration is thrown into a classification, with annotations in the second chapter of the

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. II. 502, 503.

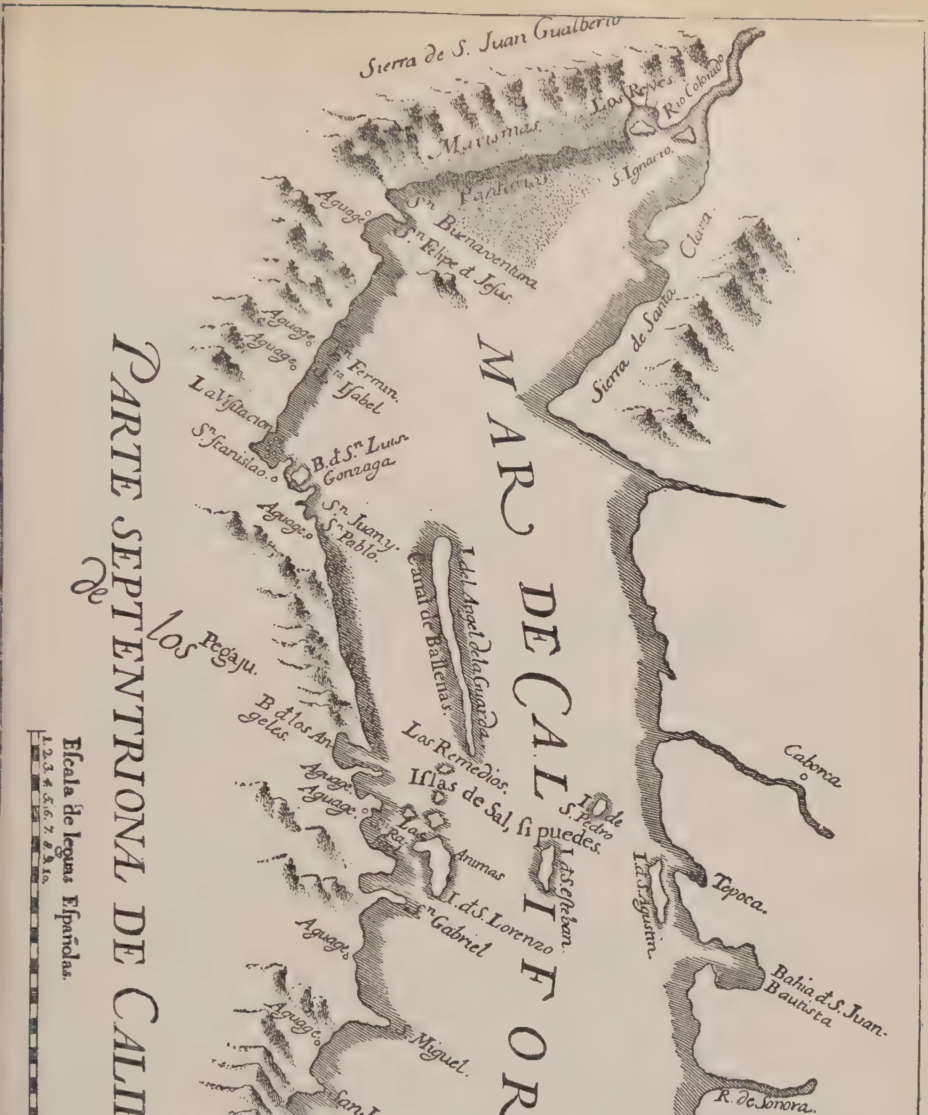
[2] Cf., however, W. H. H. Davis's *Spaniards in Mexico* (Doylestown, Pa., 1888); Wm. G. Ritch's *Aztlan, the history, resources, and attractions of New Mexico* (Boston, 1885, — 6th ed.); his *Legislative Blue Book of the Territory of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1887), with its Appendix of annals; and James H. Defouri's *Hist. Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887).

[3] A. F. Bandelier in *The Nation*, March 28, 1889. Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 158, 790) places the founding of Santa Fé between 1605 and 1616.

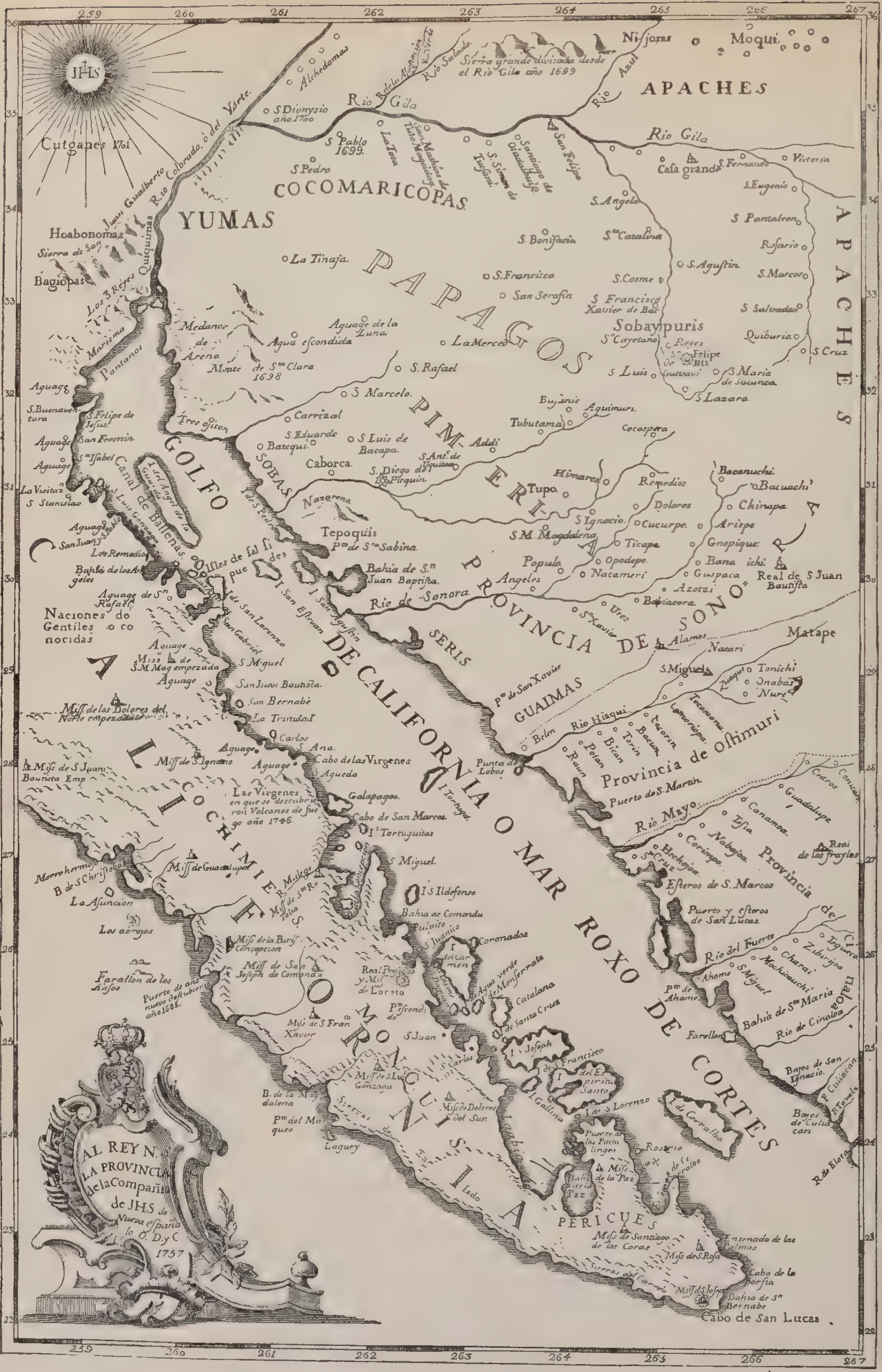
[4] Bancroft, pp. 373, 593, commemorates the few modern books, mainly concerned with the later history of the region, but touching with more or less detail, though without much research, the earlier periods: Silvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora* (N. Y. 1864, 3d edition). Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona as it is* (N. Y. 1877). Richard J. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona* (San Francisco, 1878). *History of Arizona Territory* (San Francisco, 1884). S. W. Cozzens, *Marvellous Country* (Boston, 1874). Edward Roberts, *With the Invader* (San Francisco, 1885). Patrick Hamilton, *Resources of Arizona* (San Francisco, 1884, 3d edition).

[5] It is called complete to 1848, and practically so to 1856. Reference is made to A. S. Taylor's list (1863–66) as the only one previously made (see *ante*, I. p. ix), and it is said that of its one thousand titles, Taylor could hardly have seen one in five.

NOTE. — The opposite plate shows the main portion of the map in Venegas' *Noticia de la California* (Madrid, 1757), vol. iii. Cf. Bancroft's *No. Mexican States*, i. 463. The history of the exploration of Lower California and the Gulf has been sketched, *ante*, Vol. II. Cf. explorations 1636–1769, detailed in Bancroft's *North Mex. States*, i. ch. 8. We get types of these earlier views in Pieter Goos's *Orbis terrarum nova tabula* (Amsterdam, 1666) and Nicolas de Fer's map of 1700. At this time (1698–1701) Father Kino was engaged in his explorations, which enabled him to publish a map in 1705 (*Lettres Édifiantes*, reproduced in the French *Encyclopédie, Supplement*, 1777; cf. Bancroft's *Arizona*, p. 360, and references, *ante*, Vol. II.). Consag's map (1747) was the next definite improvement, of which we see the influence in *A Map of Lower California* (1746) *improved upon Consag and embodying other observations*, in Jacob Bägart's *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel California* (Mannheim, 1772). Cf. Bancroft's *No. Mex. States*, i. 479. Still better was that published by Venegas, given herewith. Ten years later came the explorations by the Jesuits, of which we have the results in Isaak Tirion's map in the *Staat van America* (Amsterdam, 1766), vol. i. 243; the map of the Jesuits (1767), reproduced in the French *Encyclopédie, Supplement*, 1777, and Vaugondy's of 1772, in *Ibid.* There is a map in Ignas Pfefferkorn's *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora* (Köln, 1794), and many later ones. Cf. modern sketch map, *ante*, II. 485.



FERDINANDO CONSAG'S SENO DE CALIFORNIA, 1747.



MAPA DE LA CALIFORNIA, 1757.*

* Reduced from the map in Venegas' *Noticia* (Madrid, 1757). Other engravings of the same map will be found in the English (1759), French (1767), and German (1769–70) translations of Venegas. Cf. Bancroft's *No. Mexican States*, i. 471; his *Arizona*, 370.

same volume, and again with more detail in some respects in the *California Pastoral*, ch. 22.

Of the narratives or description pertaining to California previous to the Spanish occupation in 1769, Bancroft can only count eight books which supply independent information, though he gives fifty-six that, with more or less of borrowing, in some way concern the country, though of not one is that region the sole subject.

From the time when Cortés began the cartography of the Pacific Coast in his map[1] of the southern end of the peninsula of California, there is a succession of views as to its contour, based on knowledge or theory, running down the history of the region till its thorough occupation by the Spaniards. This has been traced in another volume, and it involves a series of maps from that of Castillo in 1541 down.[2]

At the time that the *Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente. Sacada de la historia manuscrita, formada en México año de 1739, por el padre Miguèl Venegas; y de otras noticias y relaciones antiguas y modernas. Añadida de algunos mapas* was published in Madrid in 1757,[3] the name of California was applied generally to the peninsula now known as Lower California, and it was under other names — New Albion, for instance, to the English — that the upper regions were known previous to the Spanish occupation, and almost wholly through the maritime explorers of the coast,[4] whose reports were embodied, more or less at length, in the great collections of voyages,[1] in the general histories of Spanish America,[2] and in the comprehensive descriptive works,[3] as well as in the maps of the professional geographers and cartographers.[4]

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[1] Cf. *ante*, II. p. 442. This map has been also reproduced on a larger scale and in colors in the *Congrès des Américanistes*, Madrid meeting, ii. 330, with a notice by Fernández Duro.

[2] Cf. *ante*, II. pp. 444, etc. The wild discussion over the supposed Straits of Anian is included (p. 455), but reference also may be made to a paper by Novo y Colson in the *Congrès des Américanistes*, Madrid, p. 122, Nordenskjöld's *Vega*, ii. 214, and a recent paper by W. Barrows in the *Mag. Amer. History*, March, 1889, on "America the world's puzzle." The discussion also involves the question of the insularity of California, which by no means confined the insularizing to what we know now as Lower California, but the island was made to extend its northern verge some distance above San Francisco Bay. One of the earliest discussions of this question was in the *Hist. of the works of the learned* (London, 1699). Cf. Sabin, viii. no. 32,728. Since the statement was made in Vol. II. p. 464, the editor has been favored by Professor C. A. Joy, now resident in Munich, with a description of the original MS. of the *Arcano del Mare* of Dudley, which is preserved in the royal library in that city. The drawn maps are in three large parchment-bound volumes, and a few of the drawings are on vellum. The collection is called *Dudleo dele 4 parti del Mondo, tom. i., ii., iii.*, and the third volume contains maps of "Henrico Hudson, 2do viago, 1613," "America Australe," "Honduras," "Nicaragua," and "Mexico." Mr. Charles A. Schott has used these maps in *Bulletin, no. 5, of the U. S. Coast Survey*, to establish the variation of the needle in 1646. From a copy of the edition of 1661 in the royal library at Munich (Quaritch, in 1885, no. 28,212, held a copy in three vols., 291 maps, at £25) photographs were taken for the use of Prof. George Davidson, of San Francisco, in the pursuit of his studies to identify the landfalls of the earliest maritime observers. He first published a summary of his conclusions in the *Bulletin of the California Academy of Sciences* (ii. 325), and then at length in his *Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America, 1539–1603*, which makes Appendix vii. of the *Report for 1886 of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey*, with a chart illustrating the landfalls of Cabrillo and Ferrelo. He places Drake's Bay under Point Reyes. (Cf. *ante*, II. 444.) The first Mappemonde engraved in Russia was the work of Basile Kiprianoff in 1707. (Cf. Labanoff's *Cartes géographiques*, no. 51.) The tracks of Russian explorations before 1763 are also shown in a map published at St. Petersburg in 1775.

[3] *Ante*, II. 461. For editions see *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. nos. 1179, 1239, 1309, 1601, 1710, 3637. The Venegas manuscripts which Father André Buriel (ed. 1762) used in preparing this work are preserved in the University library and in the college of Saint Gregory at Mexico. Leclerc, no. 1035. The Jesuit William Gordon began at La Paz in 1734, and ended at Santiago in 1737, a MS. *Historia de las Misionas Jesuitas en la California baja, des de su establecimiente* [*1697*] *hasta 1737*, which is priced in *Quaritch's Catalogue*, Jan., 1888, at £63.

[4] Like Francis Drake, Linschoten (*ante*, II. 457), Dampier, Woodes Rogers, Shelvocke, etc. Of Drake and the early books on him, and of Linschoten, there is sufficient said in another volume (*ante*, Vol. III.). Dampier's *New Voyage* was published in London in 1699–1709; Woodes Rogers' *Cruising Voyage round the World* at London, 1718; George Shelvocke's *Voyage round the World*, 1719–1722, at London, 1726.

The period of about fifty or sixty years following the first occupation (1769) of Upper California by the Spaniards, and coming down to 1824, as Bancroft divides it, constituting an era of inland exploration, of the founding of missions,[5] of the establishing of the military presidios and the civil pueblos, is covered in Bancroft's list by about four hundred titles, of which sixty are of printed books, and of these only three relate exclusively to California. The first of these is Miguel Costansó's *Diario histórico de los viages de mar y tierra hechos al Norte de California* (Mexico, 1776).[6] It is an important document for the first expedition from Mexico to San Diego and Monterey in 1769–70, as is also the *Extracto de Noticias* of Monterey, published at Mexico in 1770. The third is what Bancroft calls "the standard history of California down to 1784," the *Relacion historica de la vida de Junípero Serra* (Mexico, 1787)[7] of Francisco Palou, the Franciscan next in place to Junípero, and who acted as president at times when that important character was absent from his post.[8]

Another work of Palou, his *Noticias de la Nueva California* (1768–1783), covers the history of the missionary explorations and settlements during that period. The text is left to us in a copy made in 1792 by a royal order to preserve copies of important manuscripts for the archives of Spain, the original having disappeared from the college of San Fernando where it was deposited,[9] and where it probably shared the fate of the convent at the time of its destruction. From a copy preserved in the Mexican archives[10] it was printed in 1857 (Doyle says 1846), somewhat imperfectly, in the *Diario Oficial*, whose twenty volumes contain many other documents relating to Sonora, Chihuahua, New Mexico, and California;[11] it was also printed as a part of the *Documentos para la historia de México* (IV. serie, vols. vi., vii.), and has also been edited by John T. Doyle for the California Historical Society (*Publications*, 1874, in four volumes).[12]

As in the case of the earlier period, the published narratives of navigators who had been on the coast,[13] and the comprehensive works of some Mexican and European writers, ouching America in general, or the Spanish parts of it, serve to fill out the range of naterial.[1]

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[1] Like Ramusio, Hakluyt, Purchas, Hacke, Saeghman, Harris, Van den Aa, Prévost and the varieties of his collection, Dalrymple, Churchill, and the later ones. See Introduction, Vol. I., *ante;* and James Burney's *Chronological History of Discovery in the South Sea* (London, 1803–16).

[2] Like Acosta, Herrera, etc. Lorenzana in his *Hist. de la Nueva España* enumerates the expeditions to California down to 1769. Other more or less comprehensive accounts of this early period are in J. G. Cabrera Bueno's *Navegacion Especulativa* (Manilla, 1734); Campbell's *Concise Hist. of Spanish America* (London, 1741), called later (1747) *The Spanish Empire in America;* José Antonio Villa Señor's *Theatro Americano* (Mexico, 1746; Eng. transl. *Statistical Account of Mexico* (1748) (cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 510); *Allgemeine Geschichte der Länder und Völker von America* (Halle, 1752); the *Apostólicos afanes dela Compañia de Jesus* (Barcelona, 1754); *Spanische Reich in America* (1763); *Staat von Amerika* (1766–69).

[3] Like Davis's *Worldes Hydrographical Description* (London, 1595, — of which a third copy, held at $1,000, has become known since the statement was made in Vol. III. p. 205), the *West indische Spieghel* (Amsterdam, 1624), De Laet, Davity's *Monde* (Paris, 1637), N. N.'s *America* (1655), apparently written to incite English encroachments on the Spanish possessions, Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (1655), Montanus, Dapper and Ogilby (cf. *ante*, IV. 390), Luyt's *Introductio ad Geographiam* (1692), and Heylyn's *Cosmography*.

[4] Like Ortelius, Mercator, Löw, Wytfliet, and Blaeuw.

[5] Cf. Bancroft's *California Pastoral*, ch. 5.

[6] An English version, *Historical Journal* (London, 1790). Cf. *California Pastoral*, p. 754, and *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. 3377.

[7] Also, Mexico, 1832, in a volume of the *Biblioteca Nacional y Estrangera*. Bancroft, *California*, i. 670, has a long note on the MSS. which he has on José Francisco Ortega, an active companion of Junípero.

[8] Bancroft, *California*, i. 418; *California Pastoral*, 754.

[9] *California Pastoral*, 756.

[10] Making vols. 22, 23 of the *Archivo general*, in thirty-two volumes, a collection of similar copies, vol. 1 of which has been lost. Bancroft, *California*, i. 419.

[11] Cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 529.

[12] Cf. H. C. Ford, *Etchings of the Franciscan Missions of California. With the outlines of history, description, etc.* (New York, 1883).

[13] F. A. Maurelle, *Journal of a Voyage, 1775* (London, 1780, — cf. D. Barrington's *Miscella-*

The final period of California, so far as the present history covers it, and as indicated by Bancroft, is that from 1824 to the discovery of gold in 1848. He enumerates in this ist 700 titles, 180 of which are books and 475 other printed matter, including documents printed in California (55 in number), beside newspapers (70) and periodicals (20).[2]

The narratives of voyages still serve us, but not so exclusively.[3] There are a few land ravels, which begin to be of interest,[4] and a few of the books first printed in California, f which the most important is Figueroa's *Manifesto a la República Mejicana* (Monterey, 835).[5] To these may be added certain official documents printed in California, some of he Mexican government and others of the United States,[6] all published in these years 1824–1848), and about one hundred and fifty titles concerning the same period, but printed ater.[7]

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ies). J. D. F. de la Perouse, *Voyage autour du Ionde, 1785–88* (Paris and London, 1798; Boson, 1801), with some historical material interpersed. Etienne Marchand, *Voyage autour du Ionde, 1790–92* (Paris, in six vols.). Vancouver, *oyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 798; in French, Paris, 1800), with other infornation than his own experience. The *Relacion el viage hecho por las galetas Sutil y Mexicana* 1802). G. H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travls, 1803–7* (London, 1813–14). William Shaler's *ournal of a Voyage, 1804*, appearing in the *Amercan Register* (iii. 137), was the earliest extended ccount of California which Bancroft could find mong those published in the United States (*Calfornia*, ii. 23). Otto von Kotzebue, *Entdeckungseise in die Süd See, 1815–18* (Weimar, 1821; nglish transl., London, 1821), including Chanisso's *Bemerkungen*, also in the latter's *Werke*. . de Rocquefeuil, *Voyage autour du Monde, 816–19* (Paris and London, 1823). Louis Chois, *Voyage autour du Monde* (Paris, 1822). Some f these and others can be found collectively in he collections of voyages made by La Harpe, erenger, Pinkerton, Kerr, etc.,— as already numerated (*ante*, Vol. I., Introduction). Cf. lso the histories of maritime discovery by J. . Forster (1786) and Burney (1803), elsewhere escribed (*ante*, chap. 2).

[1] Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario geog. hist. de s Indias occident.* (Madrid, 1786). F. X. Claigero, *Storia della California* (Venice, 1789), of hich Bancroft notes an English translation rinted in San Francisco. J. D. Arricivita, *rónica Seráfica y Apostólica* (Mexico, 1792). nquetil, *Universal History* (London, 1800). umboldt, *Essai politique sur la royaume de la ouvelle Espagne* (1811). R. H. Bonnycastle, *panish America* (London, 1818). G. T. Rayal, *Histoire Philosophique* (1820–21). Julio Rognon, *Porvenir de Vera Pas* (Guatemala, 1861, – cited by Bancroft).

[2] The Mexican newspapers were forty in numer, the Californian ten. Bancroft calls *Niles' egister* the most useful of the Eastern periodicals. Poole's *Index* and *Supplement* guide the inquirer to the periodical literature, mainly, however, of a later date.

[3] Kotzebue, *New Voyage, 1823–26* (London, 1830–31; French in Montemont, xvii.). F. W. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific, 1825–28* (London, 1831; Philad., 1832). B. W. Morrell, *Narrative of four Voyages* (N. Y., 1832). W. S. W. Ruschenberger, *Voyage round the World, 1835–37* (London, 1838). Abel de Petit-Thouars, *Voyage autour du Monde, 1836–39* (Paris, 1840–44), which Bancroft holds to be the best of the seaman accounts. Edw'd Belcher, *Voyage round the World, 1836–42* (London, 1843). Richard H. Dana, *Two Years before the Mast* (N. Y., 1840, 1857; Boston, 1873, 1880). A. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio intorno al Globo* (Turin, 1841; French, Paris, 1835). C. P. T. Laplace, *Campagne de Circumnavigation* (Paris, 1841–54). Eugene Duflot du Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies* (Paris, 1844). Charles Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition* (Philad., 1844, 1845; London, 1845). John Coulter, *Adventures on the Western Coast* (London, 1847). Sir Geo. Simpson, *Journey round the World* (Lond., 1847). Richard J. Cleveland, *Narrative of Voyages* (Cambridge, 1842; Boston, 1850).

[4] James O. Pattie, *Personal Narrative* (Cincinnati, 1833). John Bidwell, *Journey to California* (1842). Farnham, *Travels in the Californias* (N. Y., 1844, etc.). Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (N. Y., 1846). B. Bilson, *Hunters of Kentucky*, etc. (N. Y., 1847). Edwin Bryant, *Voyage en Californie* (Paris), or in English, *What I saw in California* (N. Y., 1848, 1849). William Kelly, *Excursion to California* (London, 1851).

[5] Bancroft was the first to bring these few early Californian prints to notice, the earliest of all being *Reglamento provisional para el gobierno interior de la Disputacion* (Monterey, 1834).

[6] *California Pastoral*, 759, 760; and Major Ben: Perley Poore's *Descriptive Catal. publ. U. S. government.*

[7] *California Pastoral*, 761, 762.

Frémont, who had already made an expedition westward in 1842, began a second in 1843, and was in California for the first time in 1844. Bancroft's foot-notes (*California*, iv. chap. 19), here as elsewhere, track the sources through all the varying changes, the Bear Flag revolt (*Ibid.* v. ch. 5) and the subsequent events, down to the final possession by the United States.[1]

Bancroft's first volume on *California* was published in 1884, and what had been done earlier in a general way is easily gone over. For thirty years before 1850 Bustamante had been printing his monographs, and Bancroft, who has that writer's MSS., says that these last are more complete than the printed pages. Ayala published his *Estadistica* of the Mexican empire in 1822. J. M. Burmudez's *Verdadera Causa de la Revolucion* (Toluca, 1831) threw some light on the progress of opinions in California. Alexander Forbes' *History of California* (London, 1839) was the earliest English account and one of the best.[2] The survey in Greenhow's *Oregon* (1844, etc.) extended down the coast, and something will be found in Muhlenpfordt's *Republik Mexico* (Hanover, 1844), and in F. Fonseca's *Historia general de real hacienda* (Mexico, 1845–53). In 1847 we have an early American history of the *Conquest of California and New Mexico* (Philad.) by James Madison Cutts; and in 1848 John T. Hughes first published his *California* at Cincinnati. The best Mexican account is found in Alaman's *Historia de Méjico* (Mexico, 1849–52). Shortly after the great American immigration took place, Alexander S. Taylor began his fragmentary contributions.[3] Edward Wilson endeavored to meet the growing interest in *The Golden Land* at Boston in 1852, while L. W. Hastings in a *New History of Oregon and California* (Cincinnati, 1849), John Frost in his *History of California* (Auburn, 1853, etc.), and Elisha S. Capron in his *Hist. of California* (Boston, 1854) did little more than essay to catch the curious reader. John W. Dwinelle, and a little later John T. Doyle, as is shown in Bancroft's list, did something to keep alive the local antiquarian interest. The first native chronicles of any considerable merit were Dr. Franklin Tuthill's *History of California* (San Francisco, 1866), and W. Gleeson's *History of the Catholic Church in California* (San Francisco, 1872), — the last the work of a priest who had certain advantages in tracing the story of the missions. A book by Albert S. Evans, *A la California*, was published at San Francisco in 1873. Professor Josiah D. Whitney, who had been at the head of the Geological Survey of California, furnished the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1875). J. D. B. Stillman's *Seeking the golden fleece. A record of pioneer life in California: annexed Footprints of early navigators, other than Spanish; with an account of the voyage of the Dolphin* (San Francisco, 1877), had in part originally appeared in the *Overland Monthly*.

The *History of California* (1884, etc.), by Hubert H. Bancroft, is based largely upon manuscript material not before used. He says that his collections of MSS. covering the period 1769–1848 are about eleven hundred in number, not counting minor and miscellaneous papers, and are about twice in number as compared with his printed books for the same period. Down to 1846, he considers his MS. sources superior in value to those in print. The main divisions of these manuscripts, as he says, are copies of the California Archives, 1768–1850, making 250,000 documents in all; full or condensed copies of many mission-records; public documents picked up in unofficial places, which include such papers as those of General Vallejo and Thomas O. Larkin, some of these collections being formed by others and acquired in their entirety; a large mass of single papers, consisting of diaries, journals, log-books, stray mission and governmental papers, the correspondence of prominent persons, Spanish and Mexican officials, Franciscan friars and pioneers. In addition to this, there is a large collection of narratives taken down from the dictation of old residents and pioneers, of which he considers the recitals by Vallejo the most important out of the one hundred and sixty of those whose activity was noticeable before 1848. He acknowledges that he has found much of this latter material a strange and inexplicable mixture of truth and fiction, but he claims to have guarded his narrative wherein it has been used by the corroboration and corrections of official documents.[1]

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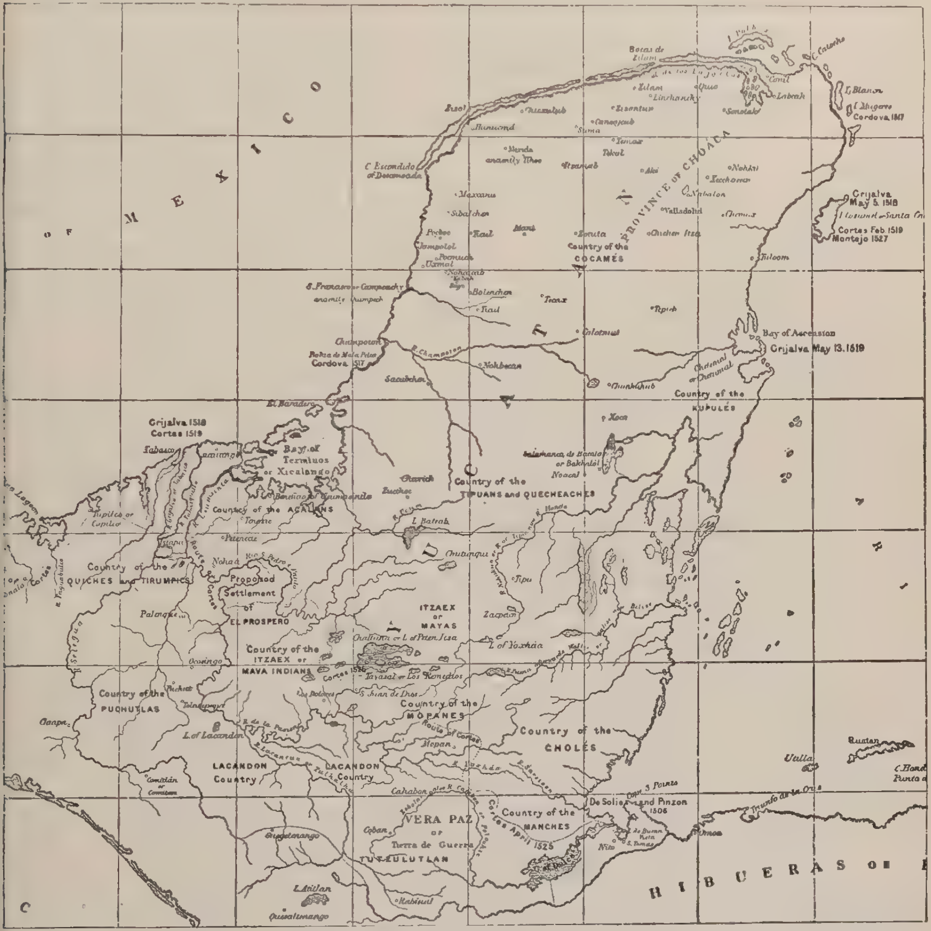
[1] Cf. particularly for sources, Bancroft's *California*, v. 187, 233, 241. Josiah Royce's *California, from the conquest in 1846 to the second vigilance committee in San Francisco. A study of American character* (Boston, 1886), is a careful study of this period. (Cf. Bancroft, *California*, v. 100.) There are references also *ante*, Vol. VII. (index). Another recent *History of California* is that by T. H. Hittell (San Francisco, 1885).

[2] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iv. 151.

[3] Cf. Bancroft's *California*, i. p. lxxxii.



YUCATAN, 1506–1700.*

There are two among the local histories which have something more than a local scope: the *Annals of San Francisco* (N. Y., 1855), by Frank Soulé and others, and John S. Hittell's *Hist. of San Francisco* (1878, etc.).[2]

The bibliography of Yucatan has been elsewhere given,[3] to be supplemented by titles in the list prefixed to Bancroft's *Central America*.[4] The *Papers relative to the rupture with*

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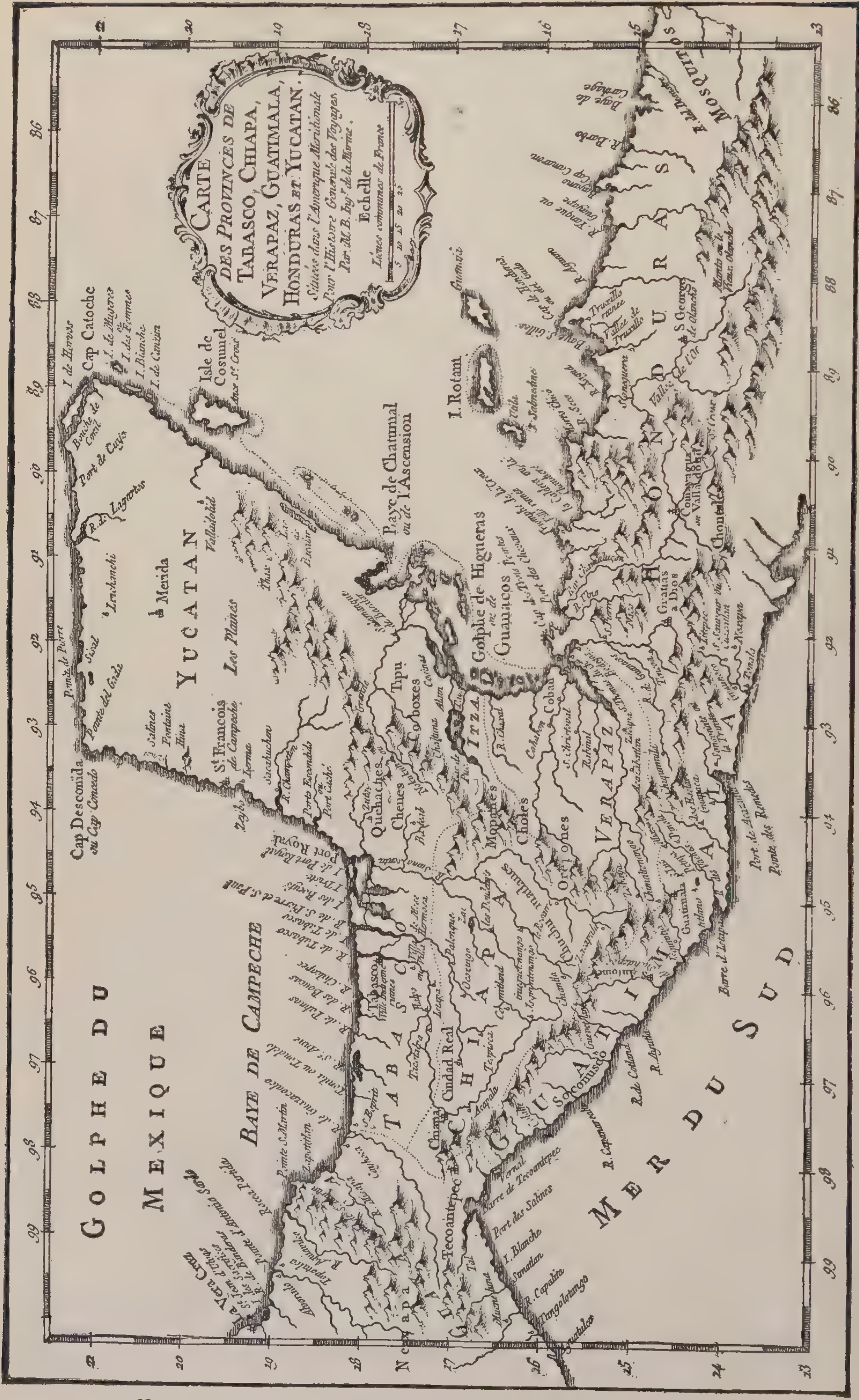
[1] *California*, i. p. viii; ix. 54, 56, 57; *California Pastoral*, 769.

[2] The various commercially prompted county histories hardly need enumeration. There are a few good local monographs: Frederick Hall's *San José* (1871); Warner and Hayes, *Los Angeles*.

[3] *Ante*, II. 429.

[4] The old *Historia de Yucathan* (1688) of Cogulludo was continued to 1650 only, and was

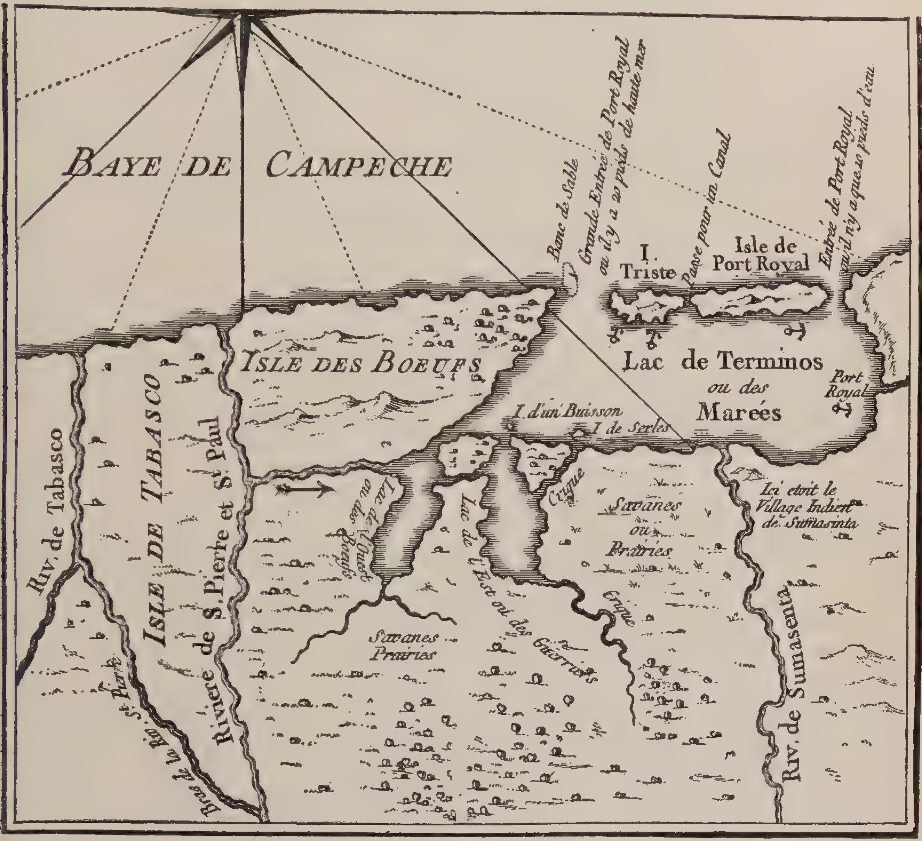
* From a map compiled by Dudley Costello, 1854, given in C. St. J. Fancourt's *Hist. of Yucatan* (London, 1854). Cf. *ante*, II. 384.



NOTE. — Reduced from a map in Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii.

Spain (London, 1672) gives the diplomatic fence between the two countries relative to the English occupancy of Campeche and Yucatan by their cutters of logwood.[1] For a later period see Serapio Banquiero's *Ensayo histórico sobre las Revolucionas de Yucatan* (Merida, 1871–72).

The bibliography of Guatemala has been already sketched (*ante*, II. p. 419), some of the works coming down to the later period; but the main recourse for titles is, as before, Bancroft's list to his *Central America* (vol. i.) and his general review of sources (vol. ii. pp. 735–762), covering the colonial period of the Central American provinces, which is mainly, however, a grouping of various published collections of voyages, which include such as touched at some point the Spanish-American coasts. The Spanish contributions


BAYE DE CAMPECHE
Banc de Sable
Grande Entrée de Port Royal ou il y a 20 pieds de haute mer
I. Triste
Passe pour un Canal
Isle de Port Royal
Entrée de Port Royal ou il n'y a que 10 pieds d'eau
ISLE DES BOEUFS
Lac de Terminos ou des Marées
Port Royal
I. d'un Buisson
I de Serles
Riv. de Tabasco
ISLE DE TABASCO
Riviere de S.t Pierre et S.t Paul
Bras de la Rio S.t Pierre
Lac de l'Ouest ou des Boeufs
Lac de l'Est ou des Guerriers
Crique
Savanes ou Prairies
Savanes Prairies
Ici etoit le Village Indien de Sumasinta
Riv. de Sumasenta

PORT ROYAL ET SES ENVIRONS.*

* From Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii.

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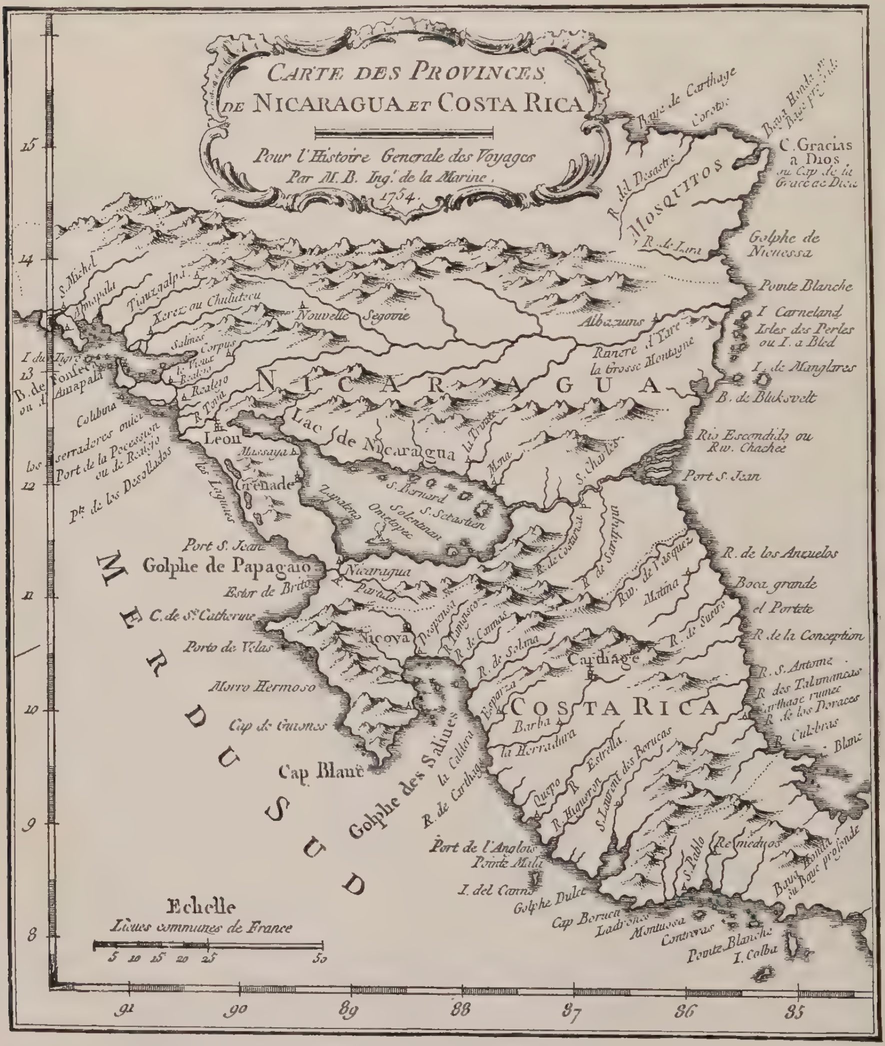
never completed as the title promised. *Los tres Siglos de la dominacion Española en Yucatan, ó sea Historia de esta provincia desde la conquista hasta la independencia* (vol. i., Campeche, 1842; ii., Merida, 1845).

[1] The book also sets forth the French claim to catching cod on the Newfoundland banks because of early visits of the Biscayans to those parts, while the English urged the priority of Cabot (Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 2588). The question was still pending when it was settled by a convention between Spain and England, July 14, 1786, in accordance with which Faden, the English cartographer, issued a *Map of the part of Yucatan allotted to Great Britain for the cutting of logwood* (London, 1787).

to this class of books are scant, and even the interest throughout Europe which instigated the allied publications of Green in England, of Prévost in France, and of the *Allgemeine Hist. der Reisen* in Leipzig had no corresponding issue in Spain.[1] This lack must be supplied by the editorial work of José Terrer de Couto and José March y Labores upon the *Historia de la Marina Real Española* (Madrid, 1849, 1854), by the voyage of Drake, by the maritime expeditions up the California coast, and by other literary aspects of Spanish-American naval history. The *Nuevo Viajero Universal* of N. Fernandez Cuesta (Madrid, 1859) covers the later times.



NOTE. — From Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii. p. 512.

The distinctive missionary efforts in Guatemala of the later period came through the founding of the Bethlehemite order in 1673, and the labors of their founder are described in the *Storia della Vita, Virtú, Donni e Grazzie del Pietro di S. Giuseppe Betancur, fondatore dell' ordine Betlemitico nelle Indie occidentali* (Rome, 1739), and the vicissitudes of the order are followed in José Garcia de la Concepcion's *Historia Bethlehemitica* (Seville, 1723).

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[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. I., Introd.

The provinces of Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama are still best represented in the list in Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i. (particularly pp. xlvi, liv, lvii, lxv, lxxi). The early documentary sources are best gathered in the *Colecciones* of Peralta and Fernandez.[1] The descriptive travels of Gage, Coreal, Uring, and Cockburn afford us the observations of their time.[2] The latest survey of the history of the Balize is in A. R. Gibbs' *British Honduras: an historical and descriptive account of the colony from its settlement, 1670. Compiled from original and authentic sources* (London, 1883).

Macaulay, in his *Hist. of England*, gives a readable account of the unfortunate Scotch colony at Darien,[3] based largely upon the numerous contemporary publications.[4]

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[1] *Ante*, II. pp. ix, 398.

[2] Thos. Gage, *The English-American, his travail by sea and land*, first issued in London, 1648, and often later in various tongues (Carter-Brown, ii. p. 612; Sabin's *Dictionary*). François Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes occidentales* (Paris and Amsterdam, 1722). Captain Nathaniel Uring's *History of* [his] *Voyages and Travels* (London, 1726), with a map of the Bay of Honduras. John Cockburn's *A journey overland from the gulf of Honduras to the great South Sea. Performed by John Cockburn, and five other Englishmen, viz., Thomas Rounce, Richard Banister, John Holland, Thomas Robinson, and John Ballman* [etc.], *1731* (London, 1735). It was reprinted as *The Unfortunate Englishman* (London, 1740, 1779).

[3] Cf. also Bancroft's *Cent. America*, ii. ch. 31; Berthold Seeman's *Hist. of the Isthmus of Panama* (Panama, 1867); *Retrospective Review*, n. s., ii.; Burney's *Chronol. Hist. Disc. in the South Seas;* and Edward Cullen's *Isthmus of Darien ship canal; with a full history of the Scotch colony of Darien, several maps, views of the country, and original documents*, 2d ed., enlarged. [With Appendix.] (London, 1853.)

[4] *An act of the Parliament of Scotland for erecting an East India Company* (Edinburgh, 1695; London, 1695).

Act for a company trading to Africa and the Indies, June 26, 1695 (Edinburgh, 1696).

Constitution of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies (Edinburgh, 1696).

Some seasonable and modest thoughts, partly occasioned by and partly concerning the Scots East India Company (Edinburgh, 1696).

A letter from a member of the Parliament of Scotland to his friend in London, concerning their late act for establishing a company of that kingdom, trading to Africa and the Indies (London, 1696).

Two discourses concerning the affairs of Scotland, written in the year 1698 (Edinburgh, 1698); one concerns the Scots' company.

Information touchant l'affaire de Darien (1699), — the Spanish protest against the colony.

A letter giving a description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots colonie is settled, from a gentleman who lives there . . . and a mapp of the Isthmus (Edinburgh, 1699).

A description of the Province and Bay of Darien, by I [saac] *B*[lackwell] (1699).

A short account from, and description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots' collony are settled, with a map . . . according to our late news and Mr. Dampier and Mr. Wafer (Edinburgh, 1699).

Observations of a person of eminence and worth in Caledonia (*Mr. Patterson*) *written to his friend in Boston, N. E., on their Scots' settlement, New Edinburgh, at Darien in America. St. Andrews, Feb. 18, 1698–99* (Boston, 1699).

Samuel Sewall's *Letter Book* (i. 227, 242) shows a letter which he wrote to the ministers of the colony, and also the Latin contract of surrender later imposed upon the colonists by the Spaniards.

The humble address to his majesty, 12th Feb., 1699 (London, 1699).

Letter from the Commission of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland to the Honorable Council and inhabitants of the Scots Colony of Caledonia in America, Glasgow, July 21, 1699 (Glasgow, 1699).

A just and modest vindication of the Scots' design for the having established a colony at Darien (London, 1699).

A Defence of the Scots' Settlement at Darien, with an Answer to prove that it is the Interest of England to join with the Scots and protect it; to which is added a Description of the Country, and a Particular Account of the Scots' Colony (Edinburgh, 1699).

The Defence of the Scots' Settlement at Darien answered Paragraph by Paragraph, by Philo-Britain (1699).

A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien (*where the Scots' Colonie is settled, from a gentleman who lives there at present*) *with an account of the Fertilness of the Soil, the Quality of the Air, the Manners of the Inhabitants, and the Nature of the Plants and Animals, &c., and a particular Map of the Isthmus and Entrance to the River of Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699).

There have been published of late years two considerable repositories of documentary material respecting the revolutionary period of the Spanish-American provinces. The first of these is Juan E. Hernandez y Dávalos' *Coleccion de documentos para la historia*

The history of Caledonia, or the Scots' colony in Darien in the West Indies: with an account of the manners of the inhabitants and riches of the country (London, 1699).

A short and impartial view of the manner and the occasion of the Scots' colony coming away from Darien (1699).

A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien, including an answer to the Defence of the Scots settlement there (1700).

An Enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots colony; or an answer to a libel intituled a Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien (Glasgow, 1700).

A short vindication of Phil. Scot's Defence of the Scots' abdicating Darien (London, 1700).

Scotland's present duty: or a Call to the nobility . . . to be duly affected with and vigorously to act for our common concern in Caledonia, as a means to enlarge Christ's kingdom (1700).

Scotland's right to Caledonia (formerly called Darien), and the legality of its settlement, asserted in three several memorials presented to his majesty in May, 1699 (1700).

Scotland's Grievances relating to Darien (1700).

Certain propositions relating to the Scots plantation of Caledonia (Glasgow, 1700).

Caledonia, or the Pedlar turn'd merchant. A tragi-comedy as it was acted by his majesty's subjects of Scotland in the King of Spain's Province of Darien (London, 1700).

A full and exact collection of all the considerable addresses, memorials, petitions, answers, proclamations, letters, and other public papers, relating to the Company of Scotland, 1695–1700 (1700). This contains the proclamations of Bellomont at New York and Boston, and of the governors of Barbadoes and Jamaica against the colony.

The original papers and letters relating to the Scots' company trading to Africa and the Indies, from the memorial given against their taking subscriptions at Hamburgh by Sir Paul Ricaut to their last address sent up to his majesty in Dec., 1699. Faithfully extracted from the Companies Books (1700).

A Speech in Parliament on the 10th January, 1701, by the Lord Belhaven, on the affairs of the Indian and African Company and its Colony of Caledonia (Edinburgh, 1701).

An Enquiry into the Caledonian project, with a defence of England's procedure (London, 1701).

A new Darien artifice laid open, in a notable instance of Captain Maclean's name being used to vouch for the Caledonian Company (London, 1701).

A choice collection of papers relating to state affairs during the late Revolution, etc. (London, 1703).

Speeches by a member of the Parliament, which began at Edinburgh the 6th May, 1703 (Edinburgh, 1703).

Account of a conversation concerning a right regulation of governments for the common good of mankind (Edinburgh, 1704).

A Collection of State Tracts (London, 1705–7), vol. iii.

A full and exact account of the Proceedings of the court of directors and council-general of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies (London, 1706).

Representation of the Council and Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies (Edinburgh, Nov. 7, 1706).

A letter concerning the union with relation to trade from several Scots gentlemen, merchants in England, to their countrymen in Scotland (London, 1707).

A state of Mr. Paterson's claim upon the equivalent, with original papers and observations relating thereto (London, 1712).

Report of the committee upon the petition of William Paterson, Esq. (1712).

An account of the Colony of Darien, with a Vindication of King William's honor and justice therein, included in *Memoirs of North Britain* (London, 1715).

Rev. Francis Borland's *Memoirs of Darien . . . with an account of the attempts of the Company of Scotland to settle a colonie in that place. Written in 1700 while the author was in the American regions* (Glasgow, 1715, 1779).

Part of a *Journal kept from Scotland to New Caledonia in Darien, with a short account of the country, by Dr. Wallace*, included in *Miscellanea Curiosa*, 2d ed., revised by W. Derham (London, 1723–27; 3d ed., 1726–27).

Dr. Houstoun's *Memoirs of his own life-time* [with] the *Scotch settlement at Darien* (London, 1747), repeated in *The Works of James Houstoun, M.D.* (London, 1753).

Darien papers: being a selection of original letters and documents relating to the establishment of a colony at Darien by the Company of Scotland, 1695–1700 (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1849).

J. H. Burton's *Narrative of Criminal trials in Scotland* (London, 1852).

The principal sources of the bibliography of the Darien colony are Sabin's *Dictionary*, v.; *Carter-Brown Catal.*, ii., iii.; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, sub *Darien*, etc. There are several lives of William Paterson (cf. Allibone, ii.). Cf. Eliot Warburton's *Darien, or the Merchant Prince*, for an historical romance.

de la Guerra de Independencia de México de 1808 á 1821 (Mexico, 1877, etc.), which has been the work for thirty years of a treasury clerk. The second is Emilio del Costillo Negrete's *México en el Siglo xix.* (Mexico, 1875, etc.), in which the historical narrative is broken by documentary material.[1] Reference may also be made in the *American Monitor*, a periodical devoted to South American affairs (London, 1824–25), and to *El Repertorio Americano* (Londres, 1826–27), in four volumes.

LÚCAS ALAMAN.*

Bancroft, in working up the most complete account which we have in English of this later period, and of the succeeding constitutional period, finds the works of Lúcas Alaman the most important contribution which any Mexican historian has made. Alaman was a youth of sixteen when he witnessed the fall of Iturrigaray in 1808, and he was present at Guanajuato during the memorable scenes of 1810. As he went to Spain to pursue his studies in 1814 and remained there till 1820, he had no personal contact with the events of that interval; but he had a half-brother, a canon of Mexico, Dr. Arechederreta, who kept a diary in that city from 1811 to 1820, and this document was of much use to Alaman in his historical work, which is republican rather than democratic in its tone.[2] As a member of the Ateneo Mexicana, he had begun his Mexican studies and gathered the results in his *Disertaciones sobre la historia de la República Mexicana, desde la*

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[1] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iv. 624–25.

[2] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iv. 823, for references.

* Frontispiece of his *Historia de Méjico* (Mexico, 1849), vol. i.

Conquista hasta la independencia (Mexico, 1844–49, in three volumes), which proved a preparation for his elaborate *Historia de Méjico desde los primeros movimientos que prepararon su Independencia en el año 1808 hasta la época presente* (Mexico, 1849–52), in five volumes. Alaman survived its completion only to June 2, 1853, when he died. The book is in the main one of scholarly impartiality, though he manifests little regard for revolutionary excesses, and is inclined to belittle the actions of those not of pure Spanish blood. His appendixes are fortified with documentary proofs, which he obtained in large part from the public archives. He stopped short of his promised end, and finished his work with the events of 1830.

Little of a similar conspicuous character belongs to the *Méjico y sus revoluciones* (Paris, 1836) of José Maria Luis Mora, likewise a native Mexican. He was thirty-six when in 1830 he set himself to his task, and conducted it in a not very orderly manner as to the arrangement of his periods, his first volume, for instance, describing the Mexico of his day, the second never appearing at all; the third goes over the history of Mexico from the Conquest to 1810, and volume four covers the opening years of the conflict under Hidalgo and the early patriots. Some of the later periods, however, find elucidation in his political papers which appeared in his *Obras Sueltas* (Paris, 1837).

The student of the history of Mexico hardly confronts a more prominent name than that of Cárlos Maria Bustamante. He has done good work as an editor in publishing a variety of the early writers; and as a commentator on the political events of his own day (born in 1774, he died in 1848), he has left a great mass of publications, somewhat ephemeral often, but warmly expressive, and touched, however wildly at times, with an historian's instinct. Perhaps the best enumeration of his writings is in the list of authorities in Bancroft's *Mexico*,[1] where a considerable quantity of his MSS. is noted as having fallen into Bancroft's hands.[2] Bustamante's fervid nature almost necessarily carried him over to the revolutionists when the crisis came in 1810. He organized a regiment under Morelos, and published his *Campañas del Gen. F. M. Calleja* in 1828; but his activity and criticism were best in other fields than military ones, and he experienced the trials and privations of a political outlaw before the completed revolution in 1821 suffered him to return to the capital, from which he had been excluded for nine years, only in due time to be imprisoned by Iturbide, and to be released upon that emperor's fall.

It was in the heat of the early days of the revolution that he began to make that record of its progress which was later published as his *Cuadro histórico de la revolucion de la América Méxicana, Comenzada en 1810*, in six volumes, between 1823 and 1832. The book, written from time to time as material accrued, is somewhat disjointed, and his variable states of mind as he went on make the book a rather curious study of a nature unstable, if not at times almost thrown off its balance, — all of which perturbations enable Lorenzo de Zavala, in his *Ensayo histórico de las revoluciones de Megico* (Paris, 1831), to accuse Bustamante of many slips and perversions, to say nothing of darker charges, which Bustamante was not slow in resenting. His sixth volume seems to have been suppressed, or at least it was not included in the "Segunda edicion aumentada," which appeared in five volumes in 1843–46. Bancroft's list (*Mexico*, i. p. xxxiii) shows a volume of MSS. which he says was intended by Bustamante to continue his *Cuadro histórico;* but he does not inform us whether it contains the matter which Bustamante included in what he published as a continuation, his *História del Emperador D. Augustin de Iturbide* (Mexico, 1846).[3]

Bancroft gives in no one place the bibliography of the revolutionary period of the North

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[1] Vol. i. pp. xxxii, etc.; and some characterizations, v. 804; where also he cites (p. 806) the account of Bustamante in Manuel Larrainzar's *Algunas ideas sobre la historia*.

[2] Bustamante's diary, which was the basis of much of his printed works on contemporary events, was placed by him in the college at Zacatecas. His other MSS. fell into the charge of Andrade, Maximilian's collector; and when that emperor was shot, the collection was carried to Europe and sold, when Bancroft bought most of the MSS. (*Mexico*, v. 806).

[3] Bancroft, *Mexico*, iv. 825; v. 804.

American Spanish provinces, but the titles are included in the lists in the first volumes of his *Mexico* and *Central America*, and at intervals in the progress of the movements he gives long notes to the matter, as for instance where (*Mexico*, iv. 64) he discusses the mass of contemporary publications on the deposing of Iturrigaray. Of this last kind, the books of Juan Lopez Cancelada, the editor of the *Gazeta de México*,[1] and among them chiefly his *Verdad Salida y Buena Fé guardada* (Cadiz, 1811), which was answered in a vindication of Iturrigaray by José Beye de Cisneros, and in Cancelada's reply, *Conducta del Exmo. Senor Iturrigaray* (Cadiz, 1812), we find the chief official documents on the fall of that ruler. He found another defender in Servando Tereso Mier y Guerra (*pseud.* José Guerra), who, having narrowly escaped arrest, fled to London and there published in 1813 his *Historia de la Revolucion de la Nueva España* (1808–1813), in which, while he defended Iturrigaray, he bitterly denounced Cancelada. He continued the story of the revolution down to the date of publication, and depended largely for the material for the period subsequent to his own escape upon the documentary evidence. As Mier went on in his narrative he swung to the republican side, and made Hidalgo his hero, which led to the distrust of Mier by Iturrigaray, so that, his allowance being stopped, he was put to straits. But a few copies of his book were distributed, as the bulk of the edition was lost on a vessel bound to Buenos Ayres.[2] Bustamante's *Martirologio de algunos de los primeros insurgentes* (Mexico, 1841) is concerned with the revolutionary and later careers of those implicated against the viceroy in 1811.

Bancroft points out the difficulty of securing from contemporary documents very trustworthy testimony of the career of Hidalgo. The press was in the hands of the royalists, and did not hesitate to circulate false statements for political effect.[3] Hidalgo's period has been treated among later writers in a single volume which was published of the *Memorias para la historia de las Revoluciones de México* (Mexico, 1869) by Anastacio Zerecero, a violent advocate of the revolution. Of the more comprehensive writers notice will be given later.

The earliest account of Mina's expedition in 1817 is in William Davis Robinson's *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution*,[4] in which the author made use of the journal of Brush, the commissary-general of Mina. Robinson knew the field, and had had some experience with Spanish methods in trading operations that brought him into the custody of the law, from which he escaped to tell all he could to injure the Spanish name. Some part of his denunciation was omitted in the Spanish translation, and Bustamante finds not a little to refute and something to add. Bancroft (*Mexico*, iv. 686) tells how he has collated the rival accounts, and gathered other details from different sources, in the account which he gives of the expedition (*Ibid.* iv. ch. 28).

The literature illustrative of the Iturbide period is extensive, and naturally groups itself round his own *Memoirs*, which, with an appendix of documents, was published in London in 1824.[5] Beside the *Historia* of Bustamante, elsewhere mentioned, we have the *Iturbide* of Cárlos Navarro y Rodriguez (Madrid, 1869), a Spanish and monarchical view, and the *Apuntes históricos sobre D. Augustin Iturbide* of José Ramon Malo (Mexico, 1869), a companion of the emperor, and prompted to say what he could in his defence, as does José Joaquin Pesado in his *El libertador de México* (Mexico, 1872). When Iturbide's remains were removed in 1838 to the Cathedral in Mexico, José Ramon Pacheco made the *Descripcion de la Solemnidad* (published by order of President Herrera, Mexico, 1849) the vehicle of an interpretation of such a patriotic intent of Iturbide as was hardly recognized in nis day.

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[1] Bancroft speaks of Diaz Calvillo's *Noticias para la Historia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* (Mexico, 1812) as an emphasized rescript of the versions of events given in the *Gazeta* (*Mexico*, iv. 374). On the opposing journalistic phases of the movement in Spain at this time, see *Ibid.* iv. 450.

[2] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iv. 452.

[3] *Mexico*, iv. 287, where he gives a long list of miscellaneous references.

[4] Philad., 1820; London, 1821; in Spanish, London, 1824.

[5] Cf. *Mémoires autographes* (Paris, 1824), and *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Leipzig, 1824).

For the period following the consummation of the movement for independence, and through all the revolutionary changes, Bancroft's foot-notes still are the completest record of sources, and he occasionally masses his references, as in vol. v., pp. 67, 147, 249, 285, 344, etc.

The condition of Mexico since its independence was confirmed has been the subject of a few books of good character, which may supplement the story in Bancroft. Such are the *Mexico* of H. G. Ward (London, 1829), who was the representative of England in the capital in 1825–27; Brantz Mayer's *Mexico as it was and as it is* (Philad. 3d ed., 1847), Mr. Mayer having been the secretary of the American legation, 1841–42; the *Die äusseren und inneren politischen Zustände der Republik von Mexico* (Berlin, 1854, 1859) of Emil Karl Heinrich von Richthofen, at one time Prussian minister in Mexico, but he only slightingly follows the course of political events, giving rather a commentary on their results. The *Méjico en 1842* of Luis Manuel del Rivero (Madrid, 1844) takes that date as a point to glance back over American history, not confining the survey, however, to the later period. The revolution which resulted temporarily in the placing of Maximilian on the throne produced, and was in part instigated by, sundry publications, which for those political ends ran over the course of Mexican independence.

The period of the presidency of Anastacio Bustamante, from 1836 to the elevation of Santa Anna, is covered in a somewhat impetuous way in C. M. Bustamante's *El Gabinete* (Mexico, 1842).

The period of Santa Anna, with his ups and downs, is traversed in part (1821–1833) in Juan Suarez y Navarro's *Historia de México y del General Santa Anna* (Mexico, 1850), — the author being a partisan of that leader; and C. M. Bustamante also specially treats a later period in his *Apuntes para la historia del gobierno de Santa Anna*, 1841–44.[1]

The story of the revolution in the Central American provinces, with their later changeful destiny, is told in the third volume of Bancroft's *Central* America, with a full complement of references.

Justin Winsor

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[1] Cf. titles in Bancroft's *Mexico*, i. p. c.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH MAIN.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR.

THERE were two histories of the West Indies in the seventeenth century, not without some mark in their day. The Père J. B. Du Tertre published first in 1654 a *Histoire générale des isles de Saint Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinque*, which he later enlarged into a *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François* (Paris, 1867–71), in four volumes. The maps and plans in the work are of much interest.

The book which is usually attributed to César de Rochefort, though by some to Francisco Raymundo, and published at Rotterdam in 1658, under the title of *Histoire naturelle des iles Antilles de l'Amérique* (cf. Sabin, xviii., 72314, etc.), has not escaped a suspicion of being a mere compilation, as was the opinion of Buckingham Smith. A second edition was printed in Rotterdam in 1665 (reissued with new title, dated 1716), and a third edition at Lyon, in

1667. A Dutch version, by H. Dullaert, appeared also at Rotterdam in 1662. The English translation by John Davies (London, 1666) is called a *History of the Caribby islands*. There is also much relating to the history of the West Indies in the seventeenth century in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series, vol. i.*, ending with 1660, and continued in vol. v. to 1668.

In the eighteenth century the islands were mainly viewed in a collective way according to the domination they were under. The French islands were thus subjected to examination by Moreau de Saint Méry in his *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies françaises de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1784), and a part of Raynal's well-known work was also published separately as a *Histoire philosophique et politique des isles françaises dans les Indes occidentales* (Lausanne, 1784).

LE R.P. J.B. LABAT JACOBIN MORT A PARIS LE 6 JANVIER 1738 AGE DE 75 ANS
Ecrivain curieux des païs et des moeurs,
Il orne ses Ecrits des graces de son stile ;
Corrige en amusant, l'homme de ses erreurs,
Et sait mêler par tout, l'Agréable et l'utile

JEAN PIERRE LABAT.*

In the first half of the eighteenth century the cultivation of sugar in the British islands drew home capital in a large degree to what were known as the Sugar Islands, and the division of opinion as to legislation concerning them produced a mass of pamphlets.[1] Oldmixon in his compilation, *The British Empire in America* (London, 1708), had caught the popular interest; but in his later edition, in 1741, he much improved his account.[1] G. M. Butel-Dumont's *Histoire et Commerce des Antilles Angloises* (Paris, 1758; in German, Leipzig, 1786), and Bellin's *Description géographique des isles Antilles possedées par les Anglais* (Paris, 1758), with its maps, denotes the interest with which the French were watching the English development. The most considerable account, however, of these English possessions came in Bryan Edwards' *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (London. 1793), in two volumes, to which a third was added in 1801. There was an abridged edition of the first two in 1794 and 1798, and the whole was reissued in four volumes in 1806, at Philadelphia, and in five volumes in 1819, at London. A French translation appeared at Paris in 1801. The book did not fail to incite some conflicting judgments, as appeared in William Preston's *Letter to Bryan Edwards* (London, 1795). There are later histories of the islands by Captain Thomas Southey, *Chronological Hist.* (London, 1827); by R. M. Martin (London, 1836); and the *Histoire générale des Antilles* (Paris, 1847–48) of Adrien Dessalles, in five volumes. This author used material in the Archives de la Marine.

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[1] *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. pp. 137, 143, 147, 150, etc.

* From the *Nouveau Voyage* (Paris, 1742), vol. i.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.*

One of the most interesting observers of the early years of the eighteenth century was the author of the *Nouveau Voyage aux isles d'Amérique*, the priest Labat, — a book originally published at La Haye in 1724, but issued in a more complete form at Paris in 1742.[2] It has maps of the principal islands.

What is now considered the best history of Cuba is that of Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Historia de la isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1868); though Ramon de la Sagra's *Historia de la isla de Cuba* (Habana, 1831; Sabin, xviii. pp. 240–42) was for a long time a principal source. The student cannot neglect the observations of Humboldt in his *Essai politique sur l'isle de Cuba* (Paris, 1826). The lesser ones are E. M. Masse's *L'isle de Cuba et la Havane* (Paris, 1825), and M. M. Ballou's *History of Cuba* (Boston, 1854). Cf. José Antonio Saco's *Coleccion de papeles sobre la isla de Cuba* (Paris, 1858),[3] and V. de Rochas's "Cuba sous la domination Espagnole" in the *Revue contemporaine* (vol. lxx., lxxi.).[4]

The principal event of the war in 1762 was the siege and capture of Havana (Aug. 13) by the English fleet under Admiral Pococke and the Duke of Albemarle. The Spanish documentary source is a *Recueil de documents sur la Havana; Enquête faite par ordre du Roi au sujet de la prise de la Havane* (cf. Leclerc, no. 1357), and the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (iii. p. 355) shows a collection of proceedings against the officers of the place conducted in 1764 The leading contemporary English historians of the war, Entick and Mante, give the details, and the official accounts of the English (being beside in the *Gazette*) may be found at the end of a conglomerate *Account of the Settlements in America* (Edinburgh, 1762). Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xii. An *Authentic Journal of the siege of the Havana by an officer* (London, 1762) has prefixed a plan,

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[1] There was a German translation at Lemgo, 1744.

[2] There is a Dutch ed., Amsterdam, 1725; German, Nuremberg, 1782.

[3] Cf. on Saco's works on Cuba, etc., Sabin's *Dictionary*, xviii. p. 212.

[4] Bachiller, in an appendix to a literary history of Cuba, describes the books published in that island from the introduction of printing to 1840, — the earliest in 1724; but Harrisse (*Bib. Amer. Vet.*, p. xxxviii) points out one dated 1720; but he disbelieves the statement of Ambrosio Valente that a book was printed as early as 1698.

* After a print in the *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden* (Weimar, 1807). On Humboldt in the New World, see ch. 3 of Bancroft's *California Pastoral*

"drawn by an officer on the spot," one of Jefferys' publications, which shows the landing and subsequent movements. The cartographer Thomas Kitchin published a large plan of the attack, and other plans are in Entick, Mante, the *London Mag.* (May, 1762), and *Gentleman's Mag.* (1762).

HAVANA IN 1720.*

After having been from 1509 in the possession of the Spaniards, Jamaica, in 1655, fell into the hands of the English, by a combined attack of land forces under General Venables and a fleet under Admiral Penn, sent out by Cromwell. We have the report of an eye-witness in a *Brief and perfect journal of the late proceedings and success of the English army in the West Indies continued until June 24, 1655, by I. S.* (London, 1655), and another contemporary account in *A brief description of the island of Jamaica, and a relation of possessing the town of St. Jago de la Vega, with the routing of the enemies from their forts and advance, and taking the said island, May 10, 1655;* and of course the events of the capture enter into the official records and general and naval histories of England and the Commonwealth. There are various papers relating to the expedition in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series*, vol. i., and on the subsequent history of

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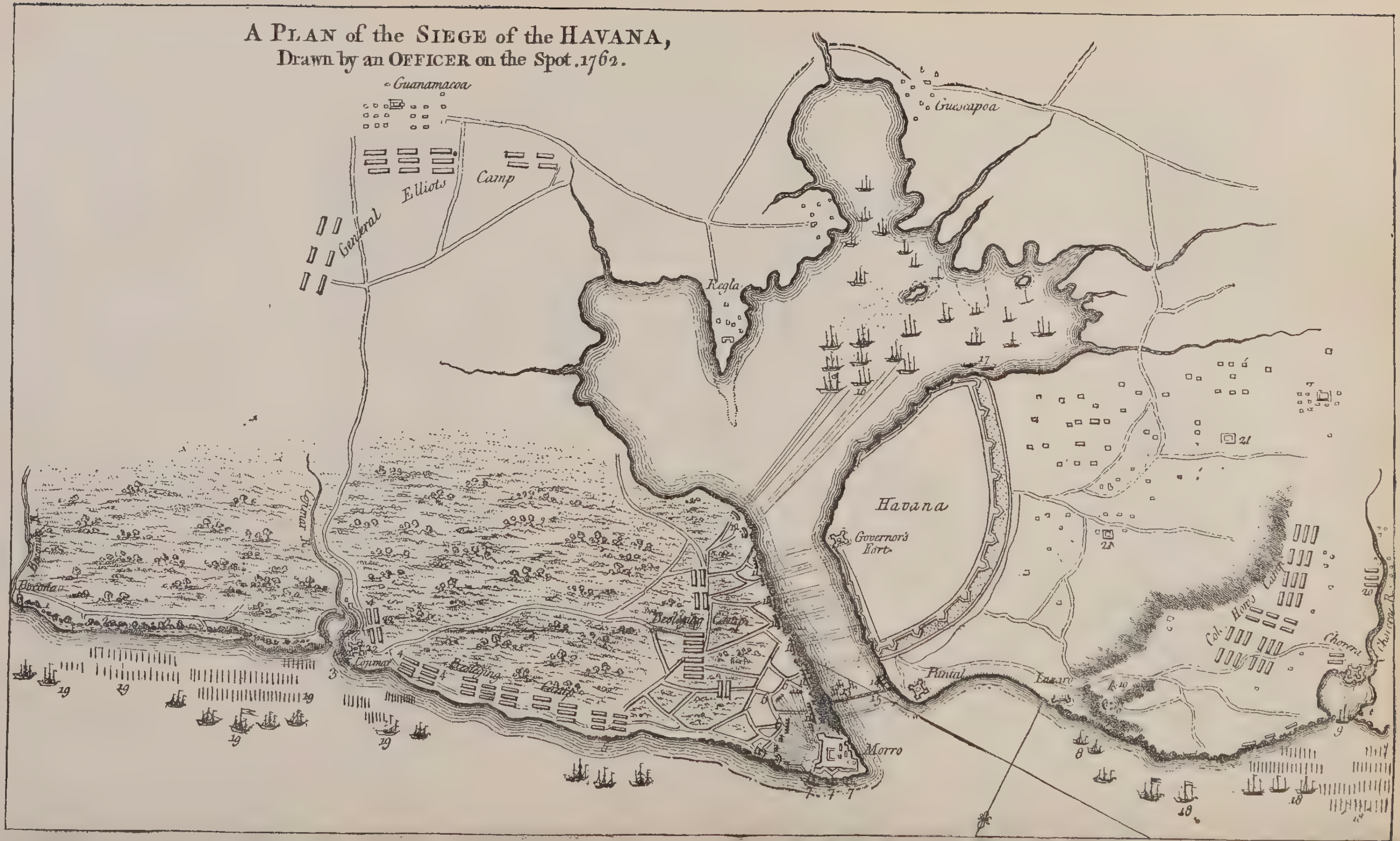
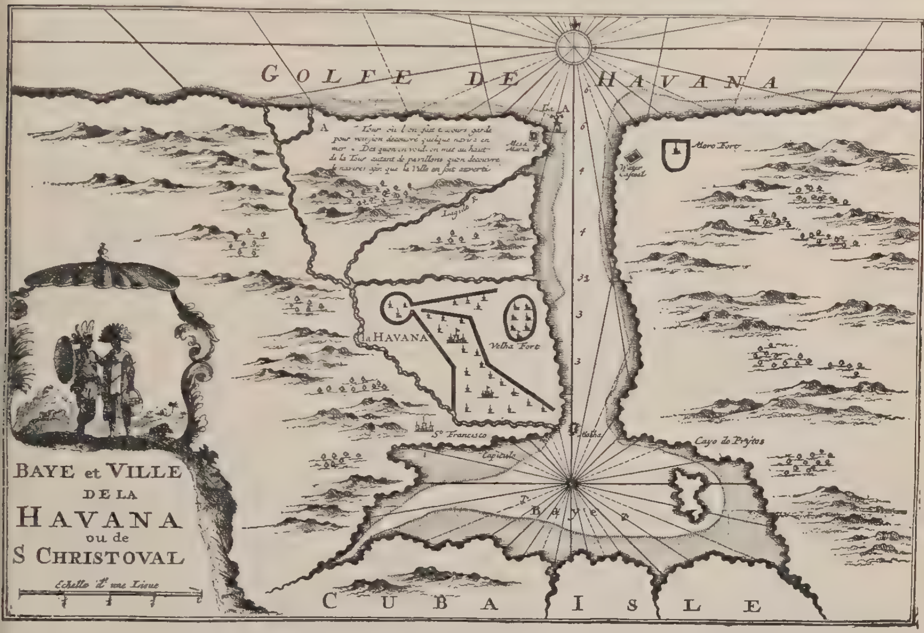
* From Gage's *Voyage* (Amsterdam, 1720), vol. ii. Cf. view from Montanus (1670), *ante*, Vol. II. p. 202; and that on the map in *An account of the Spanish settlements in America* (Edinburgh, 1762).

A PLAN of the SIEGE of the HAVANA,
Drawn by an OFFICER on the Spot. 1762.



the island in *Ibid.*, vol. v. (1660–1668). Cf. Grenville Penn's *Memorials of the Life of Admiral Sir William Penn.*[1] The possession of the island was later confirmed to England by the treaty of Madrid in 1670. The earliest general description after the English rule was established appeared in Richard Blome's *Description of the Island of Jamaica, with the other Isles and Territories in America to which the English are related, taken from the Notes of Sir Thomas Gruich, Knight, Governour of Jamaica, and other experienced Persons in the said places* (London, 1672, 1678), and was later refashioned in a more condensed way in his *Present State of his Majesty's isles and territories in America* (London, 1687).[2] Reference may be made to *Interesting Tracts relating to the island of Jamaica, Consisting of State papers, Councils of war, letters, petitions, narratives, etc., which throw great light on the history of that island from its conquest [1655] to 1702* (St. Jago de la Vega, 1800); and to *The State of the island of Jamaica, chiefly in relation to its*



HAVANA.*

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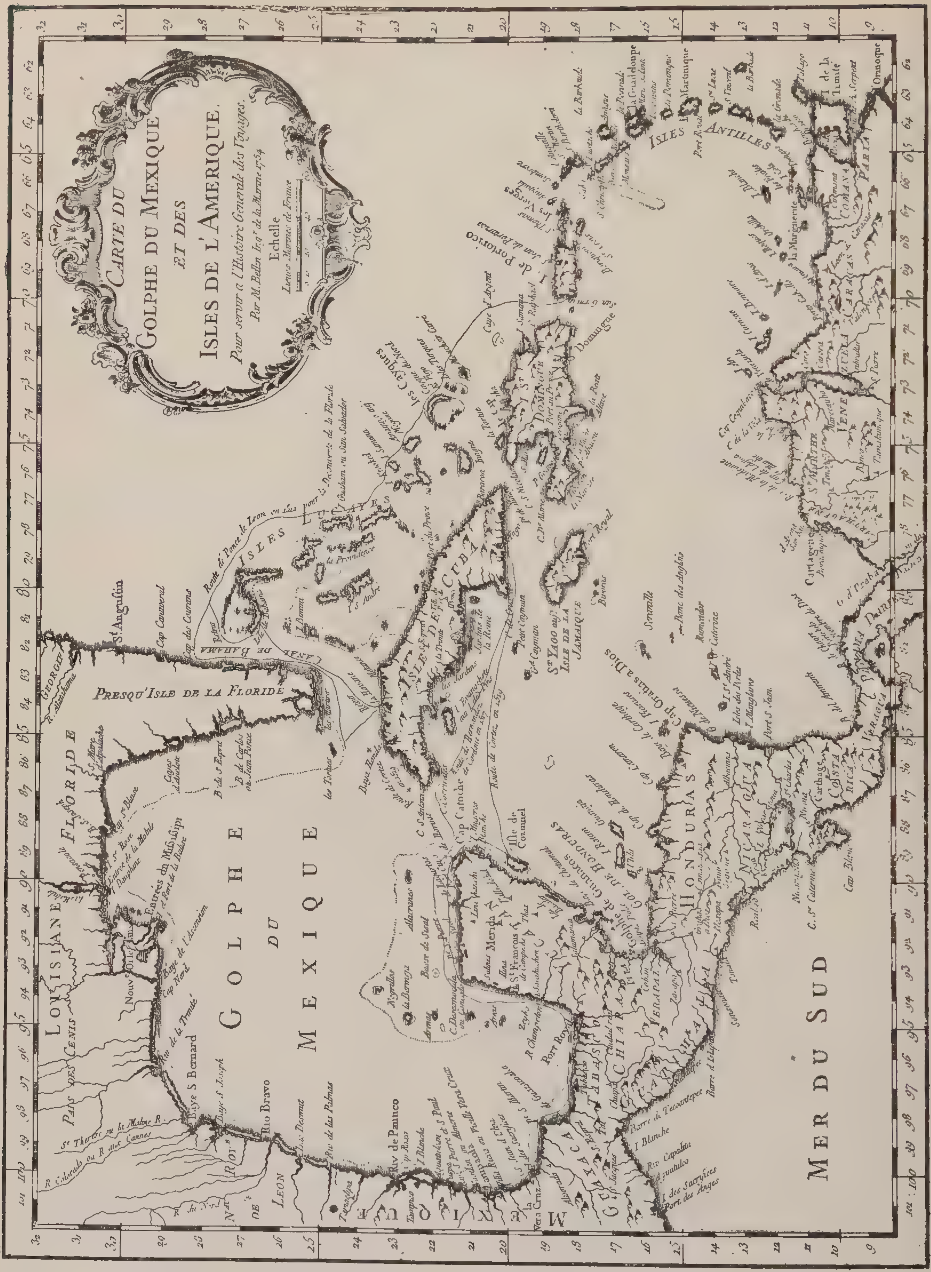
[1] It will be remembered that it was to requite services and pay indebtedness to Penn that his son received later the grant of Pennsylvania, named after his father.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. p. 449; V. p. 340. Both books have maps, the first a large one, and the latter one of Morden's small series. Of the *Present State* there is a French translation (Amsterdam, 1688), and a German (Leipzig, 1697). Cf. Henri Justel's translation from the English of a *Recueil de divers Voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique* (Paris, 1674), which has also a map of Jamaica.

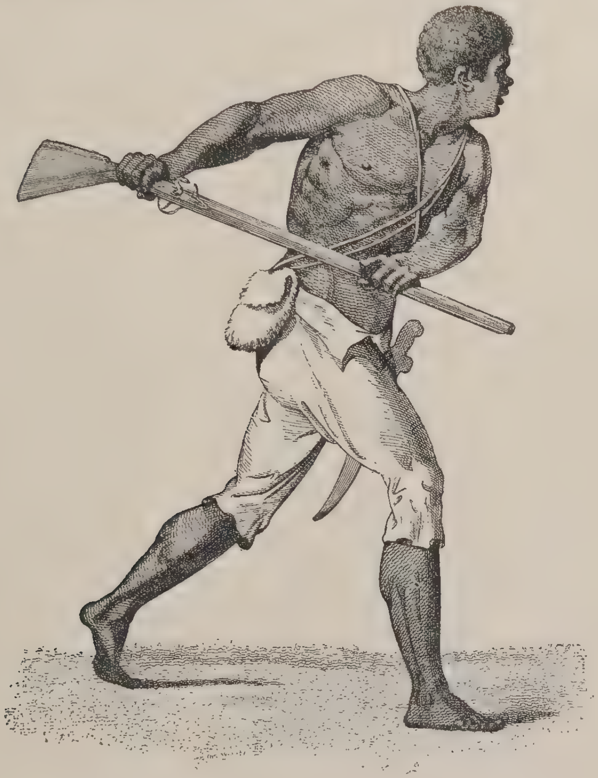
NOTE TO OPPOSITE MAP. — Reduced from a map in *An Authentic Journal of the Siege* (London, 1763). — KEY: 1, Where his Majesty's troops first landed. 2, The march of the army. 3, His Majesty's ship ' Dragon" against Cojimar. 4, Where the army first encamped. 5, Where the cannon and stores were anded. 6, The batteries against the Morro. 7, The "Dragon," "Cambridge," and "Marlborough," against he Morro. 8, The bombs against the Puntal. 9, His Majesty's ship "Bellisle" against Chorera Fort. o, The batteries on the west side against the Puntal. 11, The batteries on the Cavannes hill. 12, The noëtzers against the shipping. 13, Three Spanish men-of-war, sunk. 14, One company's ship, overset. 5, The chain and bomb. 16, The Spanish admiral and fleet. 17, Two ships on the stocks. 18, Sir George Pocock with the men-of-war and transports. 19, Com. Keppel with the men-of-war and transports. 20, Camp t the water-mills. 21, Fortified houses. 22, Headquarters.

* From *Voyage de François Coreal* (Amsterdam, 1722), vol. i. Cf. other plans of town and harbor in Otten's *Nova isthmi Americani tabula* (Amsterdam, 1717), and in his *Grand Théâtre de la Guerre en Amérique* (1717); Bowles' plan (London) followed in one by Homann (Nuremberg, 1739); *Gentleman's Mag.* (1740); *Geog. Desc. of the Coasts of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740); Jefferys in his *Desc. f the Spanish Islands* (1762), and his *Atlas;* a Spanish one by Tomas Lopez (Madrid, 1785); and that n Humboldt's *Essai politique* (Paris, 1826; Spanish, Paris, 1827).



NOTE. — The above map is reduced from Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii. The best grouping of the maps of the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies is in Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana* (pp. 53–79), and this may be supplemented by the subject headings in the *British Museum Map Catalogue*. The collection of loose maps in the Harvard College collection is a large one. The maps of these enclosed waters down to the end of the sixteenth century have been enumerated in *ante*, Vol. II. 217, etc. For the seventeenth century, reference may be made to those in Van Loon's *Zee-Atlas* (1661), and that one which apparently belongs to Clodoré's *Relation* (1671) but is seldom found with it (Leclerc, no. 2 13). The maps of the eighteenth century are numerous; but a few may be selected as typical: That in Nathaniel Uring's *Voyages* (London, 1726); those of Herman Moll (*London Mag.*, 1740); of Popple, improved by Buache (1740); the *commerce and the Conduct of the Spaniards in the West Indies, by a person who resided several years at Jamaica* (London, 1726). As the residence of Sir Henry Morgan, who was made its deputy governor by Charles II, it became associated with the story of the buccaneers, and in a little *New History of Jamaica* (London, 1740)[1] we find some of their adventures duly set forth.

The famous Sir Hans Sloane lived here also for a while (1709–10); and his sojourn resulted in his *Voyage to the islands Madeira, Barbados, Nieves, St. Christopher's, and Jamaica* (London, 1707, 1725), in two folio volumes. It is more commonly quoted as Sloane's *History of Jamaica,* and the French translation (Londres, 1751) bears a corresponding title. William King satirized it in his *Useful Transactions containing a Voyage to Cajamai, translated from the Dutch* (London, 1709).



LEONARD PARKINSON, A CAPTAIN OF MAROONS.*

Dr. Patrick Browne published a *Civil and Natural History of Jamaica* (London, 1756), which, somewhat enlarged, and improved with Kitchin's map, came to a second edition in 1789. It was held to be an important book, but a more exclusively historical treatise had appeared in the interval in Edward Long's *History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), in three quarto volumes, with Kitchin's maps,[2] that of the island itself

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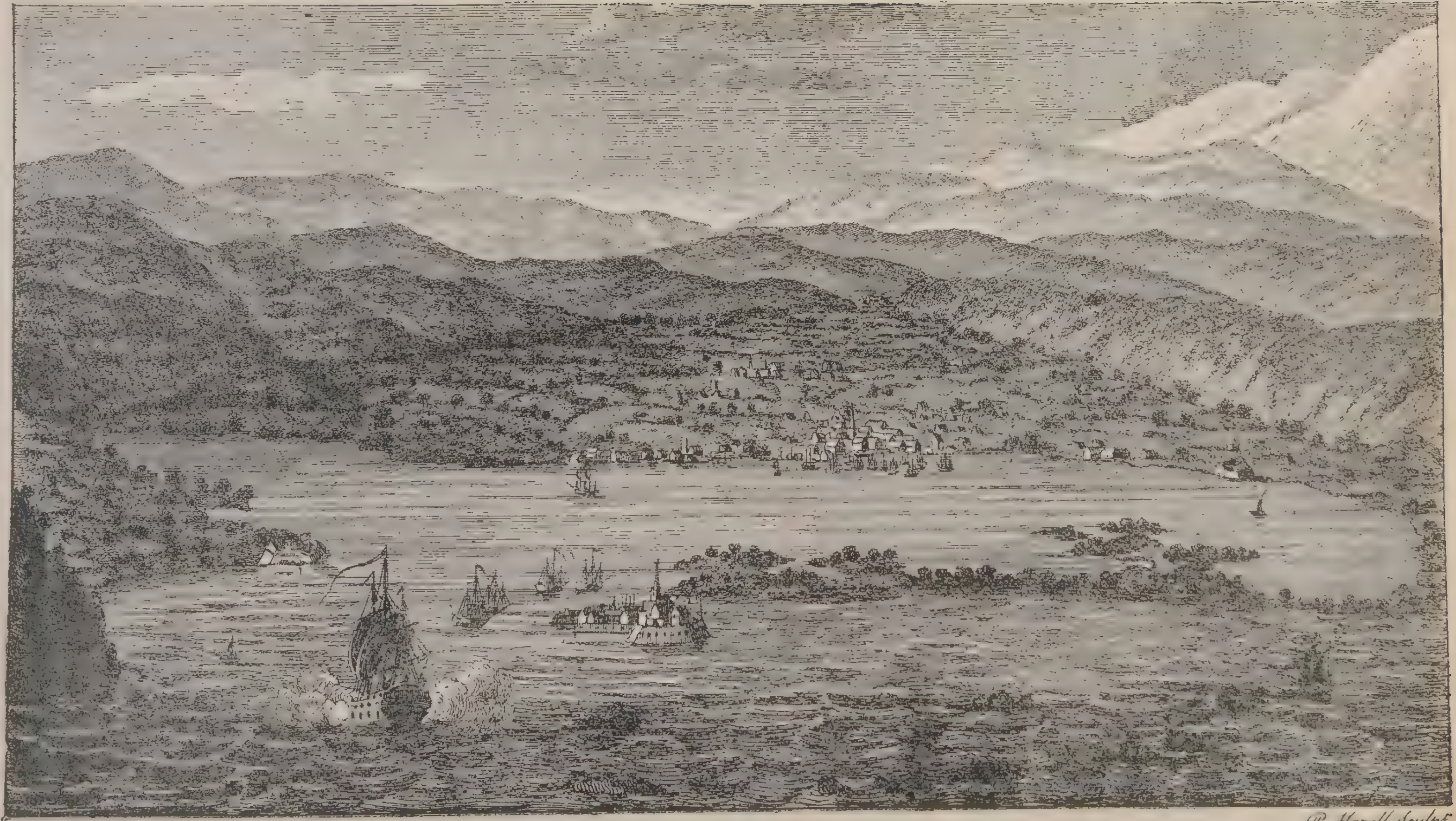
[1] This book has a folding map of the island. It was translated into French by Raulin (Londres, 1751). Cf. Boucher de la Richarderie, vi. 186.

[2] Jefferys' map of 1768 is in his *General Topography of No. Amer. and the West Indies.*

Spanish map of Tomas Lopez and Juan de la Cruz (1755); Vaugondy's in the *Histoire et Commerce des Antilles Angloises* (1758); Jefferys' in 1758, and those by him included in his *French Dominions in No. and So. America* (1760), and in his *Description of the Spanish islands and Settlements of the West Indies, chiefly from original drawings taken from the Spaniards in the last war* (London, 1762 and later); those (1759) in Prévost, xv., and in the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xviii.; Joseph Smith Speer's *West India Pilot* (London, 1771 and later); Kitchin's as given in Robertson's *America;* that in B. Edwards' *West Indies* (1794); and later ones of Homann (1796), Arrowsmith (1803), etc.

* From Bryan Edwards' *Proc. of the Gov. and Assembly of Jamaica in regard to the Maroon Negroes* (London, 1796).



P. Mazell Sculpt.

being from a survey made in 1770. Long had lived in Jamaica as a judge, and his book was readily recognized as an important one.

The Negro problem in Jamaica fast becoming serious, William Beckford (not the author of *Vathek*) published his *Negroes in Jamaica* (1788), and two years later printed his *Descriptive Account of the island of Jamaica* (London, 1790), in two volumes. The negro slaves of the Spaniards, when deserted by them at the conquest of 1655, had fled to the mountains; and for a hundred and forty years they carried on an harassing warfare upon the settlements of the English. The story of their final subjugation is told in R. C. Dallas's *History of the Maroons from their origin to the establishment of their chief tribe at Sierra Leone, with a succinct history of Jamaica* (London, 1803). The book is accompanied by a map to illustrate the Maroon War, and another of the "Cockpit," the principal seat of that war in 1795–96. Cf. Bryan Edwards' three books: *British Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1803); *Proceedings of the Governor and associates of Jamaica in regard to the Maroon Negroes* (London, 1796); *Historical Survey of St. Domingo* (London, 1801); Lord Brougham in the *Edinburgh Rev.*, ii. 376; *Once a Week* (1865); Col. T. W. Higginson on "The Maroons of Jamaica" in the *Atlantic Monthly* (v. 213), and in his *Travellers and Outlaws* (Boston, 1889), where will also be found a similar treatment of the "Maroons of Surinam."

The later general accounts of Jamaica are: Robert Renny's *History of Jamaica* (London, 1807); *An account of Jamaica and its inhabitants, by a gentleman long resident in the West Indies* (London, 1808, 1809; Kingston, Jamaica, 1809); Drouin-de-Bercy's *Histoire civile et commerciale de la Jamaique* (Paris, 1818); Cynric R. Williams's *Tour through Jamaica, 1823* (London, 1826, 1827); J. Stewart's *View of the past and present states of Jamaica* (Edinburgh, 1823); James Hakewell's *Picturesque Tour of Jamaica* (London, 1825); G. W. Bridge's *Annals of Jamaica* (London, 1828), etc.[1]

A large part of the interest, early and late, of West Indian history centres in that island where the Spaniards founded their first city, Hispaniola, and the best key to the bibliography and cartography of the subject is in an enumeration by H. Ling Roth in the *Supplemental Papers* (vol. ii.) published in 1887 by the Royal Geographical Society,[2] and for the maps alone in the section on Haiti in Uricoechea (pp. 70–79).[3] Benzoni (1565) gives one of the best early descriptive accounts. Gomara (1568) is an early historian, to say nothing of the rest. D'Anville, in his maps, endeavored from his study of Herrera and Oviedo to place the earliest of the Spanish settlements, and these maps are found in the Paris edition (1730) of Charlevoix's *Histoire de l'isle Espagnole, ou de St. Domingue, ecrite particulièrement sur des mémoires, MSS.,[4] de P. J. B. Le Pers, jésuite, missionnaire à S. Domingue, et sur les pièces originals qui se conservent au dépôt de la Marine.* There were later editions: Paris, 1731; Amsterdam, 1733, all of which give much help in the cartography of the time of its publication. This is the earliest monographic history of the island, helpful in the study of the early periods; but to be supplemented for later ones by B. Ardouin's *Études sur l'histoire d'Haiti* (Paris, 1853–1861), in eleven volumes, covering the period 1784–1843; Barbé-Marbois's *Histoire des désastres de Saint Domingue, précedée d'un tableau de régime et des progrès de cette colonie, depuis sa fondation jusqu'à d'Époque de la Révolution Française* (Paris, —1796?); Antonio del Monte y Tejada's *Historia de Santo Domingo, desde su Descubrimiento hasta nuestras Dias* (Madrid, 1853–1860); Jonathan Brown's *History and Present Condition of St. Domingo* (Philad., 1837); Thomas Madiou's *Histoire d'Haiti* (Port-au-Prince, 1847–48), in 3 volumes, covering 1492–1807, but chiefly elucidating the revolutionary period 1789–1807; and Baron V. P. Malouet's *Collection de Mémoires . . . sur l'administration des Colonies* (Paris, 1802), in vol. iv., gives us the administrative aspect of its history towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Champlain, in his *Voyage to the West Indies* (1599–1600), gives us some of the earliest graphic helps for the period following the era of discovery and colonization. It was not till thirty years later that the little island of Tortuga (Tortue, as the French called it), adjacent to Hispaniola, received (1630) from St. Kitts

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[1] See a list of anonymous publications on Jamaica in Sabin's *Dictionary*, vol. ix.

[2] Cf. Sabin's *Dictionary*, xviii. p. 260. There is a collection of Hayti tracts given to Harvard College Library by Obadiah Rich; and the "Hunt Collection" in the Boston Public Library is a full survey of Haytian history.

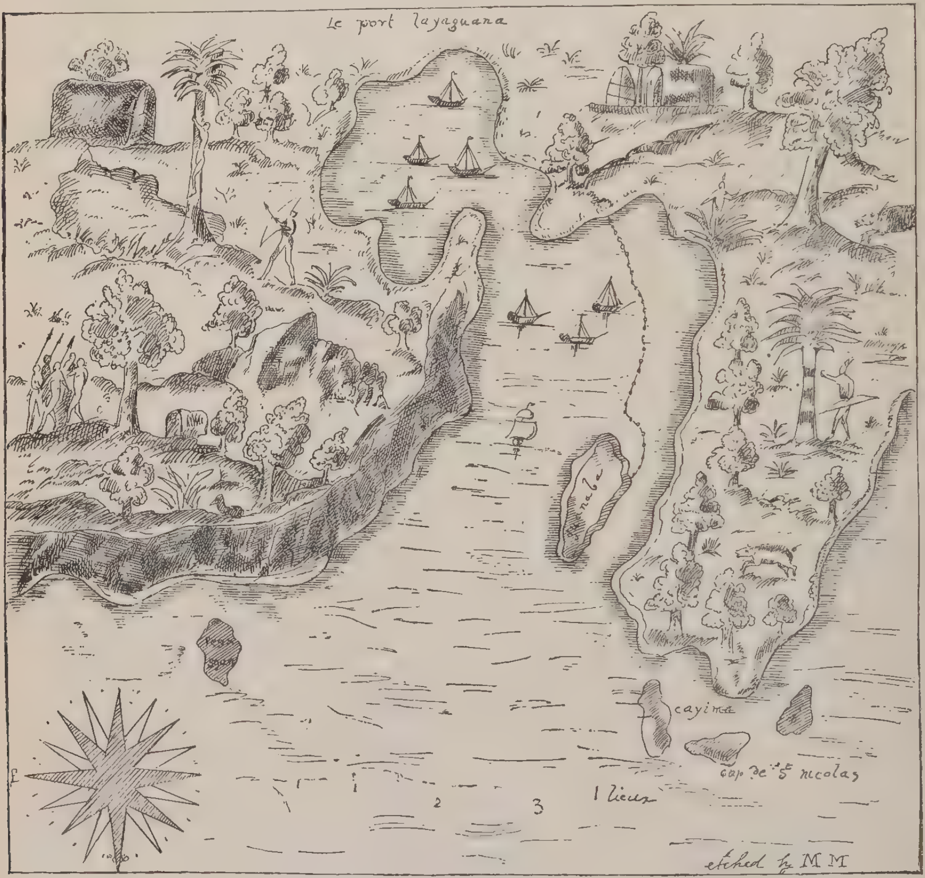
[3] Ramusio's map (1556) is given *ante*, Vol. II. p. 188. After the eighteenth century came in the chief maps are those of Delisle (1722–1725, etc.); that in Labat (v. 55); those of D'Anville (1730–31); in Prévost (xv.) and *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (1759), xvii.; Bellin (1764, etc.); Jefferys (1762, etc.); Juan Lopez (Madrid, 1784); Bryan Edwards (1797); that in Ducœur-Joly's *Manuel des habitans des S. Domingue* (Paris, 1803); and J. B. Poirson's (1803, 1825) in Métral's *Expéd. à St. Domingue* (Paris, 1825).

[4] These are said to be in existence, and Le Pers is said not to have been satisfied with Charlevoix's use of them.

NOTE TO OPPOSITE CUT. — From Long's *Jamaica* (London, 1774), vol. ii.

(Saint Christopher's) the remnants of the combined settlements of French and English in that island, who had fled before the attacks of the Spaniards. Here the fugitives found some Dutch who had been already driven from Santa Cruz by the same common enemy; and the three could well combine as they did in using the little island, which had welcomed them, as a vantage ground to renew their depredations upon Spanish commerce. A few years later the Spanish routed the confederated foe on the island once more (1638), and hardly any escaped except those who chanced to be absent on their marauding expeditions; but these were sufficient in numbers to return and reoccupy the little island.

The French meanwhile reëstablished themselves at St. Kitts, and sent a French governor, Le Vasseur, to Tortuga, when the English among the settlers there retired to Jamaica, which had in 1655 fallen into English hands, under the attack of Penn and Venables, after their failure at Saint Domingo. Cf. Carvallido y Losada's *Noticia de las invasiones* (Madrid, 1655) and the reference elsewhere given.[1] The years which followed were varied with alternate fates. The Spaniards recaptured Tortuga; De Rossy and De la Place again took it; and then the West India Company under Ogeron gained possession in 1664, and began to settle the adjacent coast of the larger island of Saint Domingo. It was not long before the French and Spaniards drifted into disputes over the line that should separate their provinces, accompanied with predatory contests which ended with a gain of territory to the French. A little later the buccaneers were called upon to quell for the



HARBOR IN SAN DOMINGO.*

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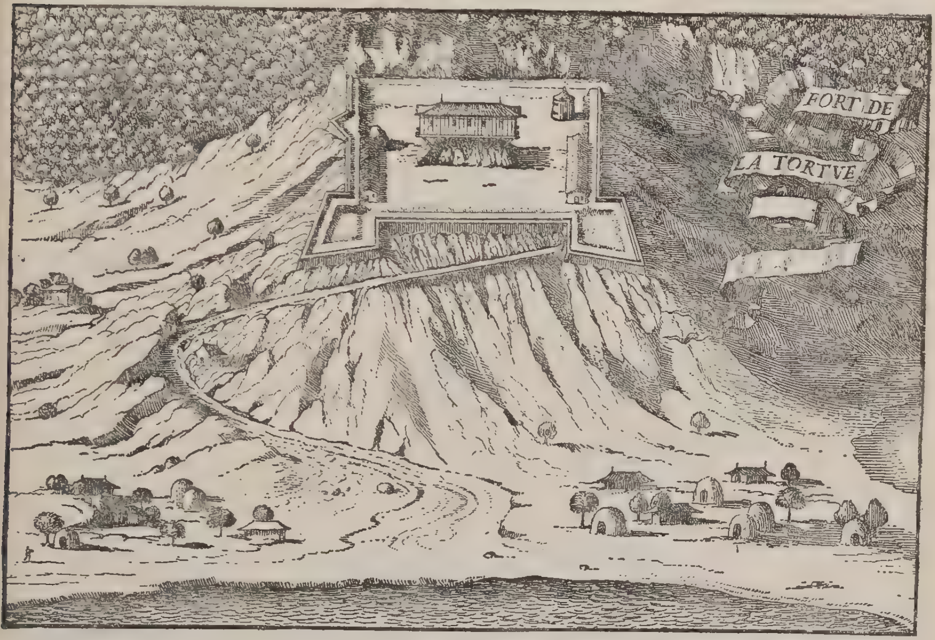
[1] Cf. a later page.

* From Champlain's own sketch as reproduced in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (Hakluyt Soc.), 1859. Drawn in 1599 or 1600.

settlers a negro insurrection (1678); and when Governor De Cussy came in 1684 he found that Tortuga had been deserted for the advantages of the larger island. The compacting of the French was opportune, for when war broke out between France and Spain in 1689, both sides rallied round their national flags in their marches and conflicts on the island. At the battle of Sabana Real, Jan. 21, 1691, the Spaniards from the easterly end overcame the French and sacked Cape François. The French were soon recruited from St. Kitts, when the English drove the French thence;[1] and in turn Du Cosse, now made governor, attacked Jamaica and brought away much plunder. The scales soon turned, for the English and Spaniards joined forces and captured Cape François. This retaliatory warfare ceased when the Peace of Ryswick (1697) confirmed France in her possession of the western end of the island, which now under peaceful French domination entered upon a career of prosperity.

At the Spanish end the times were after a while more stirring. The hostilities between Spain and England in 1740[2] exposed the commerce of the English to many hazards in these waters, and the town of Santo Domingo gained importance by the accessions to its resources from the Dutch and Danish trade, which was invited, and inducements were held out to immigrants, when a considerable body came from the Canary islands. Still later the Spaniards did not neglect the opportunity for predatory exploits when the war of 1762 followed in the train of events.



FORT DE LA TORTUE.*

The boundary disputes, which were a bar to pacification, were finally brought to a close by a treaty in 1777, under which the French and Spanish parts of the island were satisfactorily separated. The treaty is given with a "notice historique" in Calvo's *Recueil des traités*, iii. 99, and in English in the appendix of Hazard's *Santo Domingo.* Hilliard d'Auberteuil published at this time his *Considérations sur l'état present de la Colonie française de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1776–77), in two volumes. The condition of the island in the year just before the bursting of the revolutionary passions is portrayed for us, for the Spanish part, in Antonio Sanchez Valverde's *Idea del Valor de la isla Española* (Madrid, 1785), the author having been long a resident, and the inheritor of his father's collection of papers. For the French part, — M. L. E. Moreau de Saint Méry published his *Lois et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique sous le Vent* (Paris, 1784–85), in five volumes; but the French Revolution breaking out he did not complete the work till a *Description topographique et politique de la partie Espagnole de l'ile de Saint Domingue* appeared in Philadelphia (1796, and a large map; also in English, by W. Cobbett, 1796), and a *Partie Française* (Philad., 1797–98), a second edition of both parts coming out in Paris, 1875–76.

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[1] Margry has given contemporary material respecting the early settlements of the French, 1692, in the *Revue Maritime et Coloniale* (Paris, 1862), pp. 794–1818.

[2] D'Anville's war map of the West Indies at this time is a convenient accompaniment of the naval accounts.

* From a print in Du Tertre's *Antilles* (Paris, 1667).

Touſsaint Louverture.

There was a further contribution to the study of this period in the record of the visit to the island of F. A. Stanislaus, the Baron de Wimpffen, whose *Voyage to Saint Domingo, 1788–1790, translated from the original MS.*, was first published in London (1797), while the original text appeared a few months later (Paris, 1797).

When the doctrines of the French Revolution began to be talked of, the rich French planters thought their opportunity was come, and they began to organize to secure their independence. They called assemblies, but they denied the mulattoes a share in their deliberations, which naturally drove the half-breeds into the support of equal rights, while the governor and his party drifted into open war with the whites and their assembly. The mulattoes prematurely rose under one of their number, James Ogè, who had been sent over by the National Assembly of France to present their decree establishing equal rights; but they were soon put down, while Ogè fled within the Spanish territory. He was given up on condition that his life should be spared; but the whites were faithless, and broke him on a wheel.

The passions of all sides were at once let loose. The whites were divided among themselves, and this did much to help the negroes, who now rose in revolt, to carry out under great provocation their nefarious plans of murder and devastation. It was a curious spectacle, with the negroes embattled for the French king, and the whites in opposition. The blacks were not generally successful in the field till the mulattoes joined them, when at Croix des Bouquets, March 28, 1792, they defeated the white forces.

We have the French official reports on the causes and scenes of this period of horror in several forms: J. Ph. Garan-Coulon's *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1797–99), in four volumes. *An inquiry into the causes of the insurrection of the negroes in the island of St. Domingo; to which are added Observations of M. Garran-Coulon before the Nat. Assembly* (London, 1792). *Production historique des faits qui se sont passés dans la partie de l'ouest, depuis le commencement de la révolution de Saint Domingue jusqu'au premier Février, 1792, présentée par les gardes nationales du Port-au-Prince à Messieurs les Commissaires Civils* (Port-au-Prince, 1792).[1] *A particular account of the commencement and progress of the*

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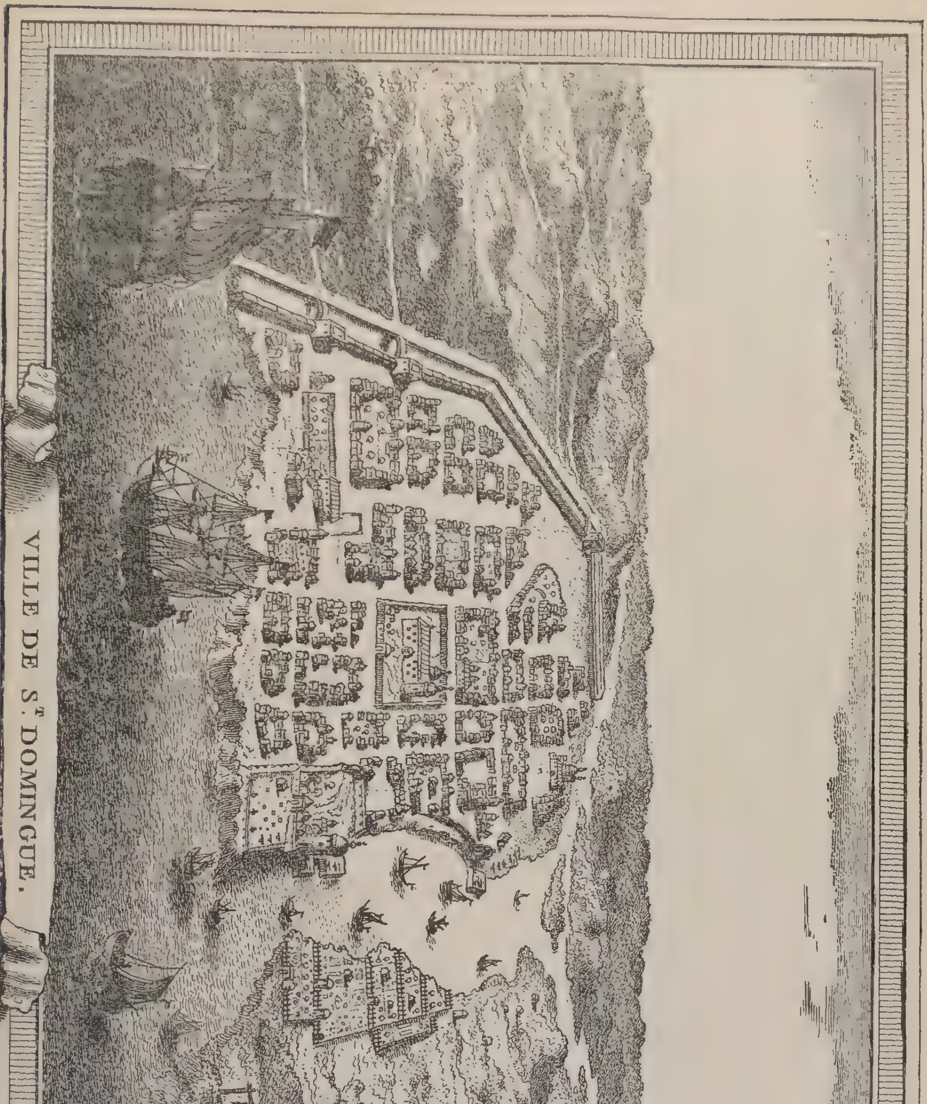
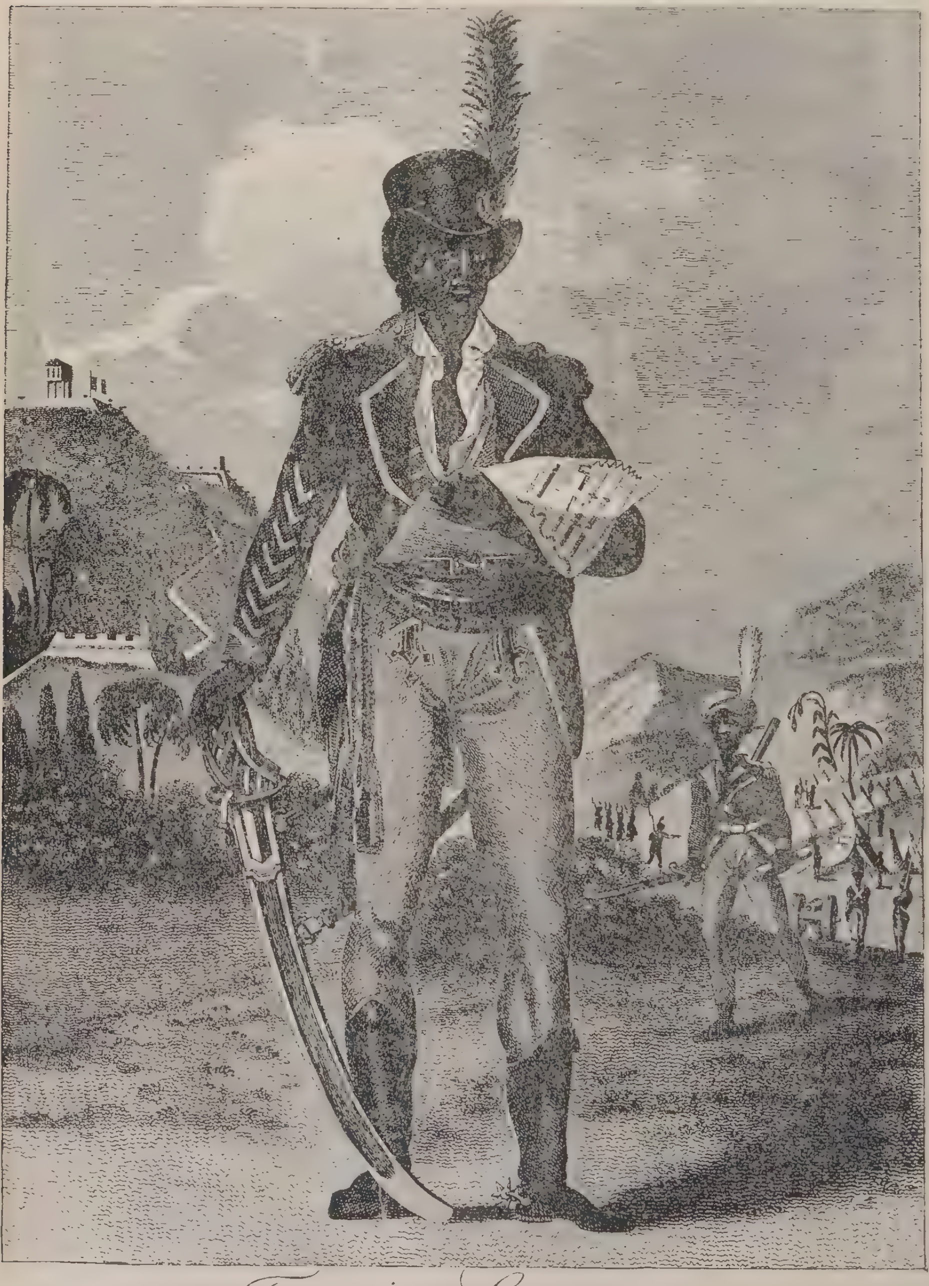
[1] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 3554.

NOTE. — The above cut is reproduced from Charles Yves Cousin d'Avalon's *Histoire de Toussaint-Louverture* (Paris, 1802). Cf. other engravings in Antoine Métral's *Hist. de l'Expédition des Français à Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1825); in Louis Dubroca's *Vie de Toussaint-Louverture* (Paris, 1802). Marcus Rainsford, in his *St. Domingo* (London, 3d ed., 1802) gives a full-length back view, with profile head, in uniform, as sketched by Major Rainsford from life. Still another likeness is in *Toussaint-Louverture's frühere Geschichte nach Englischen Nachrichten bearbeitet* (Fürth, 1802).


VILLE DE S^{T}. DOMINGUE.

NOTE. — Reduced from a plate in Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii. There is a modern engraving of this same view in Hazard's *Santo Domingo* (N. Y., 1873), p. 62, and a plan (p. 219). Cf. other plans and views in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (p. 350, in connection with Drake's voyage, 1585–86); in Otten's *Grand thèâtre de la Guerre* (Amsterdam, 1717), sometimes found also in his *Nova Isthmi Americani Tabula* (1717); Charlevoix's *Espagnole;* Jefferys' *Desc. of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762); and the Spaniard Lopez (1785).

insurrection of the negroes in St. Domingo, made to the Nat. Assembly, by the deputies from the general assembly of the French part of St. Domingo (London, 1792). *Dévellopment des causes des troubles et désastres des Colonies Françaises, présenté à la Convention Nationale par les Commissaires de Saint Domingue sur la demande des comités de marine et des colonies, réunis après en avoir donné communication aux colons résidens à Paris, le 11 Juin, 1793.* Of Saint Amand's *Histoire des*



Toussaint Louverture

NOTE. — After a picture in Marcus Rainsford's *Hist. Acc. of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London, 1805).

Révolution d'Haïti (Paris, 1860), apparently only the first volume, covering 1789–1792, was published. The early years of the revolution are also dealt with in Boisrond-Tonnerre's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Haiti* (Port-au-Prince, 1804), which with other matter and an *Étude historique par Saint Remy*, was republished at Paris in 1851.

In 1792, an army of 6000 troops was sent by the ruling powers in France to control events in St. Domingo. They were joined by the mulattoes, who thus separated their fortunes from the blacks. The commissioners who accompanied the troops came empowered to recognize no distinction of color in free men. The French troops captured Port-au-Prince, and the negroes were subdued.

Soon after the news of the execution (Jan. 21, 1793) of Louis XVI reached the island, the blacks abandoned the French part and went over to the Spaniards, when Jean François was created a general, and Toussaint a colonel, in the Spanish army. At the same time (May, 1793), war breaking out between England and France, the governor of Jamaica was directed to capture such ports in St. Domingo as he could, and to hold them in the British interest. Thus the English and Spaniards joining, the adherents of the French Republic were soon driven into one corner of the island.

On the 14th of June, 1794, the English captured Port-au-Prince. Events now moved rapidly. The French, under Levaux, were besieging the British at Port de Paix, when Toussaint with his negroes deserted his new masters, the Spaniards, and joined forces with Levaux.

Votre très humble &
obéisst Serviteur
Toussaint Louverture*

The next year (1795) the Peace of Basle gave the French the entire control of the island, and the Spaniards evacuated it, and carried with them to Havana and from the city of Saint Domingo the remains of Columbus.

There are two contemporary narratives of events up to this period. Dalmas wrote while in the United States in 1793–94, a fugitive from the revolution of the blacks, a *Histoire de la Révolution de Saint Domingue depuis le commencement des troubles*, which was not printed for some years (Paris, 1814); and M. E. Descourtily's *Histoire des désastres de St. Domingue* (Paris, 1795).

Toussaint now found his army increasing round him. His people trusted him. The French perceived him to be a man who controlled himself and his people. So the prospect brightened. "Cet homme fait l'overture partout," said some one. It seemed prophetic, and Toussaint became L'overture. The grateful home government of France in 1797 made him general in chief, and the next year he forced the English general off the island, and effected a treaty that was to keep Saint Domingo independent during the war.

The black chief soon tranquillized the island, and only a small section was held by the French republicans under Rigaud; but this region finally succumbed.

The Spaniards, who had not been prompt in carrying out the treaty of 1795, finally, on Jan. 2, 1801, opened the gates of the city of Saint Domingo to Toussaint, and in July the island was declared independent, under a constitution with Toussaint as chief.

When the war with England had ceased under the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte, then first consul, turned his attention to Saint Domingo and sent a large force under Leclerc, his brother-in-law, to reoccupy it; England agreeing to be neutral, and Holland lending the ships. With it went Rochambeau (the son of the soldier of Yorktown) in command of a division, and Villaret as the admiral of the fleet.

In Jan., 1802, the French descended upon the island in three places, captured the city of Saint Domingo, and secured Cape François, but not till Christophe, the negro chief in charge of its garrison, had set it on fire and fled. Toussaint resisted all bribes and persuasions, and entered upon an active campaign against the invaders. It ended, however, in his submission, after his trusted adherents had deserted him, and in a peace by which the power of France was restored throughout the island. Toussaint was treacherously seized and sent to France, where he died in durance, April, 1803.

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* From the close of an autograph document given in Rainsford's *Hist. Acct. of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London, 1805).

Toussaint is the central figure of a large body of historical writings, and the following titles in their chronological order will indicate the growth of interest and the development of knowledge: —

Charles Esmangart's *Des Colonies Françaises et en particulier de l'ile de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1801).

Louis Dubroca's *La Vie de Toussaint Louverture; suivie de notes sur Saint Domingue . . . et des opérations militaires du Général Leclerc* (Paris, 1802), upon which was based a *Histoire de Toussaint Louverture par Charles Yves Cousin d'Avalon* (Paris, 1802).

The successive books of Captain Marcus Rainsford: *A Memoir of Transactions that took place in St. Domingo in the spring of 1799, affording an idea of the present state of that country, the real character of its black governor, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the safety of our West India islands from attack or revolt* (London, 1802, 31 pp.); *St. Domingo, or an historical, political and military sketch of the Black Republic, with a view of the life and character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the effects of his newly established dominion* (London, 1802, 2d ed., pp. 63); *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti, comprehending a view of the principal transactions in the revolution of St. Domingo* (London, 1805, pp. 477). This last has a long appendix of historical documents, with a plan of Cape François as it was before its destruction.[1] A German translation was published at Hamburg in 1806.

René Perin's *L'Incendie du Cap ou le Régne de Toussaint Louverture* (Paris, 1802).

F. C.'s *Soirées Bermudiennes, ou Entretiens sur les évènements qui ont opéré la ruine de la partie française de l'isle Saint Domingue* (Bordeaux, 1802).

Colonel Charles Chalmers' *Researches on the late war in St. Domingo* (London, 1803).

The Life and military achievements of Toussaint Louverture, from the year 1792 to the fall of 1803 (Philad.?, 1804; 2d ed., 1805).

Augustin Régis' *Mémoire historique sur Toussaint Louverture, suivi d'une notice historique sur Alexandre Pétion* (Paris, 1818).

Antoine Métral's *Histoire de l'expédition militair des Français à Saint Domingue, sous Napoléon Bonaparte; suivi des mémoires et notes d'Isaac Louverture sur la même expédition, et sur la vie de son père* (Paris, 1825; again, 1841).

James Franklin's *Present State of Hayti* (London, 1828).

Lemonier-Delafosse's *Second Campagne de Saint Domingue, Dec., 1803–July, 1809; précédée de souvenirs historique de la première campagne: expédition du général-en-chef, Leclerc, Dec., 1801–Dec., 1803* (Havre, 1846).

John R. Beard's *Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the negro patriot of Hayti: comprising an account of the struggle for liberty in the island, and a sketch of its history to the present period* (London, 1853).

Joseph St. Remy's *Vie de Toussaint L'Overture* (Paris, 1850), using material in the French archives; and his *Mémoires du Général Toussaint L'Ouverture, écrits par lui-même, pouvant servir à l'histoire de sa vie, précédés d'une étude historique et critique, suivis de notes et Renseignements, avec un Appendice contenant les opinions de l'Empereur Napoléon 1er sur les évènements de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1853).

Hannah F. Lee's *Memoir of Pierre Toussaint* (Boston, 3d ed., 1854).

Charles Wyllys Elliott's *Saint Domingo, its revolution and its hero, Toussaint L'Ouverture* (N. Y., 1855).

An address on Toussaint Louverture, by Wendell Phillips, delivered Dec., 1861, and included in his *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters* (Boston, 1864).

Gragnon de Lacoste's *Toussaint Louverture, . . . écrit d'après des documents inédits et les papiers historiques et secrets de la famille Louverture* (Paris et Bordeaux, 1877).

A few minor references: An article by S. H. Swiney in *Macmillan's Mag.*, lvi. 311; by H. Adams on Napoleon and St. Domingo in *Revue historique*, xxiv. 92; a dramatic poem on Toussaint by Lamartine; and Harriet Martineau's novel, *The Hour and the Man* (N. Y., 1841).

The fate of Toussaint once more inflamed the passions of the blacks, and they rose under Dessalines, Cristophe, and Clervaux. Leclerc had died, and given place to Rochambeau, who was now cooped up in Cape François (1803), where he was besieged by Dessalines. War again breaking out between England and France, a British fleet blockaded the port at the same time. On Nov. 19, the French surrendered the town and went aboard the ships, and going out the harbor lowered their flags to the English admiral.

The way was again open for an independent government, and the three black generals declared the island to be subject to no external power, and Jean Jacques Dessalines was made governor-general for life. Power, thus confirmed to him, awoke his baser nature, and he entered upon a murderous career against the French part of the population, which was certainly not undeserved, in the view of their own excesses, and he crossed (May, 1805) the mountains with 25,000 men to besiege St. Domingo, from which he was obliged to retire on the appearance of a French fleet. He next declared himself emperor, under the title of Jacques I. Of the 4,000,000 souls now on the island, a large proportion were women, and an army of 15,000 men, which Dessalines organized, was a good deal of a strain upon the population. His excesses brought him the hate even of his own soldiers, and he was ambushed and shot, Oct. 17, 1806.

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[1] Cf. the earlier plans in Charlevoix's *Espagnole* (1733, etc.), and in Bellin's *Desc. des Débouquemens au nord de St. Domingue* (Versailles, 1773).

The special treatment of this period is found as follows: —

Louis Dubroca's *Vie de Dessalines, avec des notes sur les chefs des noirs depuis 1792* (Paris, 1804; in German, Leipzig, 1805).

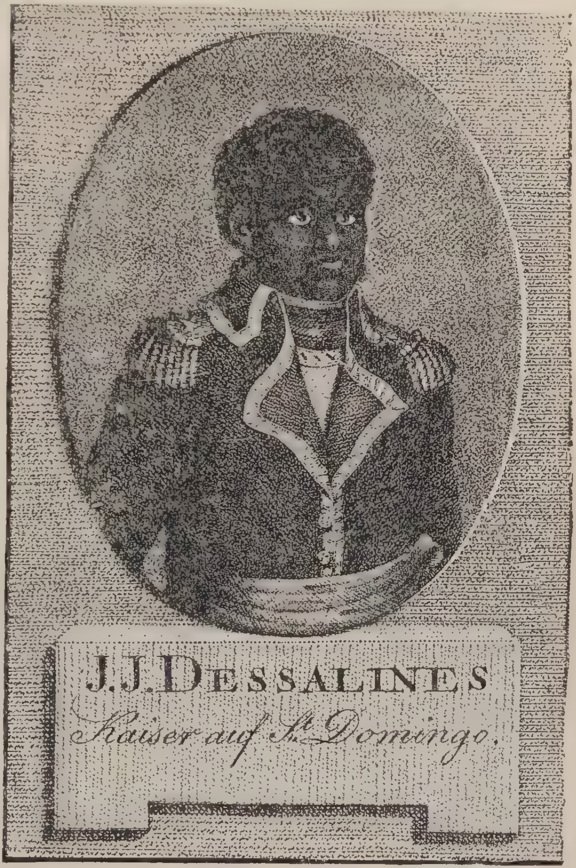
A. P. M. Laujon's *Précis historique de la dernière expédition de Saint Domingue depuis le départ de l'armée des côtes de France, jusqu'à l'évacuation de la colonie* (Paris, 1805).

Philippe Albert de Lattre's *Campagnes des Français à Saint Domingue et réfutation des reproches faits au Capitaine Général Rochambeau* (Paris, 1805).

Miss Hassal's *Secret history of the horrors of St. Domingo, written at Cape François during the command of Gen. Rochambeau* (Philad., 1808).

Cristophe early succeeded in the north to Dessaline's power, but his rule farther south was disputed by Pétion, a mulatto, who had been educated at the military academy in Paris. In the internal dissensions which ensued Pétion was defeated, January, 1807, and fled; but he succeeded in maintaining about him such adherents as backed his pretensions in the south, and finally, in 1812, the rivalry of the two leaders had settled down into a sort of agreement that each was to govern in their respective strongholds, — Cristophe at Cape François and Pétion at Port-au-Prince. The French forces still held the city of Saint Domingo, but not peacefully, for the Spaniards revolting under Juan Sanchez Ramirez, they defeated the French general, Ferrand, who had marched out against them, but only to shoot himself in his chagrin at defeat. The French were now shut up in Saint Domingo and Samana. In November, 1809, the English took Samana and handed it over to the Spaniards, and they had also captured Saint Domingo, and put Ramirez in command. In 1814 the treaty of Paris confirmed the Spanish possession.

Meanwhile disquiet and revulsion of one kind and another so succeeded each other in the west, that with the Emperor Cristophe and the President Pétion in the midst of the turmoils, life to each became a burden. Pétion finally died of mortification in March, 1818, and Cristophe was assassinated in October, 1820.



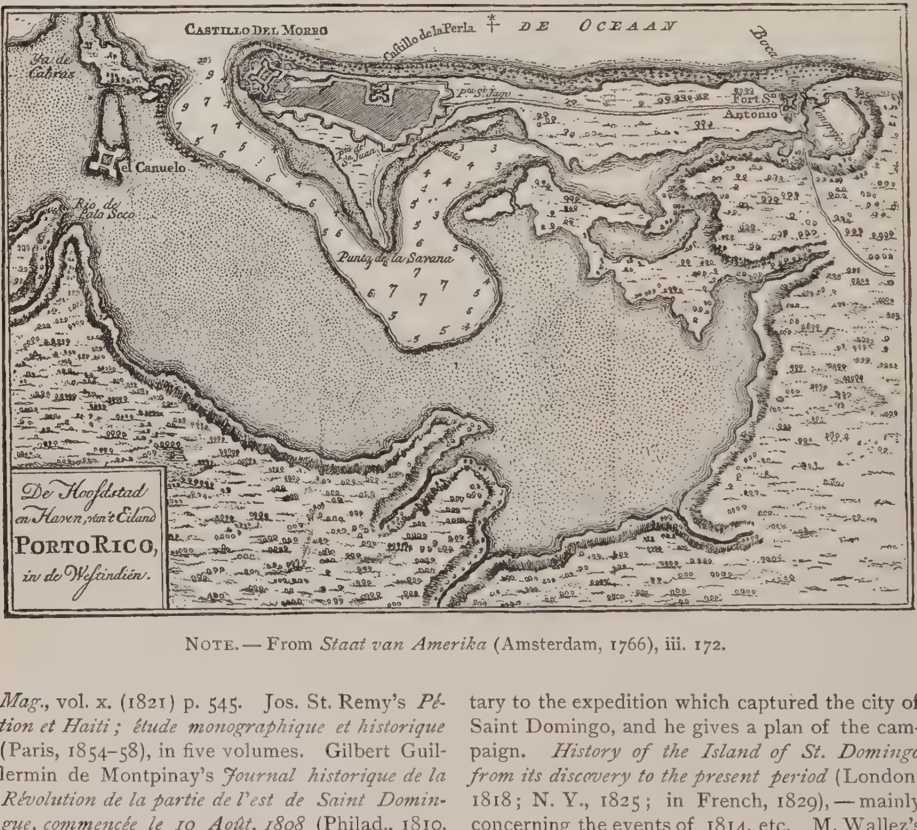
Boyer, a dark mulatto, who joined to a love of show too much laxity of purpose, found nevertheless the opportunity in the death of Cristophe to strengthen the power to which he had been elevated on the death of Pétion. So he succeeded in reuniting the provinces of the west, and soon became president over all; while in 1822, having succeeded in pacifying the entire island, he entered Saint Domingo, and established the Republic of Hayti, — a government which was to last for an unwonted term of years. France refused to recognize the new power, and sent a fleet under Baron Mackau, and compromised her claims under an agreement

NOTE. — The above cut is reproduced from the *Leben des J. J. Dessalines* (Leipzig, 1805).

(1825) by which France was to enjoy some commercial privileges and receive a large money indemnity, failing the payment of which last the island was to become once more a colony of France.

Boyer continued in office till 1843, when he was deposed. The separation of the Spanish end of the island followed, under an independent government, Juan Pablo Duarte leading the revolt, which ended in the declaration of a separation from Hayti, February 27, 1844.

This later period and the last of the present survey has found special treatment by observer and student: Charles Mackenzie's *Notes on Hayti* (London, 1830), with a fac-simile of one of Cristophe's proclamations. The author was consul-general for Great Britain, and had facilities for securing information. C. C. Robin's *Voyage dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, . . . de St. Domingue*, etc. (Paris, 1807). *Haytian Papers: a collection of the very interesting proclamations and other official documents; together with some account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Kingdom of Hayti, with a preface by Prince Sanders, agent for the Haytian Government* [of Cristophe] (London, 1816). W. W. Harvey's *Sketches of Hayti, from the expulsion of the French to the death of Christophe* (London, 1827). A paper on Cristophe in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Mag.*, vol. x. (1821) p. 545. Jos. St. Remy's *Pétion et Haiti; étude monographique et historique* (Paris, 1854–58), in five volumes. Gilbert Guillermin de Montpinay's *Journal historique de la Révolution de la partie de l'est de Saint Domingue, commencée le 10 Août, 1808* (Philad., 1810, Paris, 1811); and his *Précis historique depuis le 10 Août, 1808, jusqu'à la capitulation de Santo Domingo* (Paris, 1811). This last volume contains a "Plan des environs de St. Domingue avec les positions et retranchments des révolté, 27 Nov., 1808–July 3, 1809," and a portrait of General Ferrand. Dorvo-Soulastre's *Voyage par terre de Santo Domingo au Cap François* (Paris, 1809). William Walton, Jr.'s *Present State of the Spanish Colonies, including a particular report of Hispaniola* (London, 1810). The author was secretary to the expedition which captured the city of Saint Domingo, and he gives a plan of the campaign. *History of the Island of St. Domingo from its discovery to the present period* (London, 1818; N. Y., 1825; in French, 1829), — mainly concerning the events of 1814, etc. M. Wallez's *Précis historique des négociations entre la France et Saint Domingue; suivi de pièces justicatives et d'une notice biographique sur le général Boyer* (Paris, 1826). Inginac's *Mémoires* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1843). He was secretary under Boyer. The military events of this revolutionary period are touched with more or less fulness in Mathieu Dumas' *Précis des Evénéments militaires, 1799–1814* (Paris, 1817–26), in nineteen volumes, and in Jomini's *Guerres de la Revolution* (Paris, 1820–24), in fifteen volumes. Cf. Lt.-General the



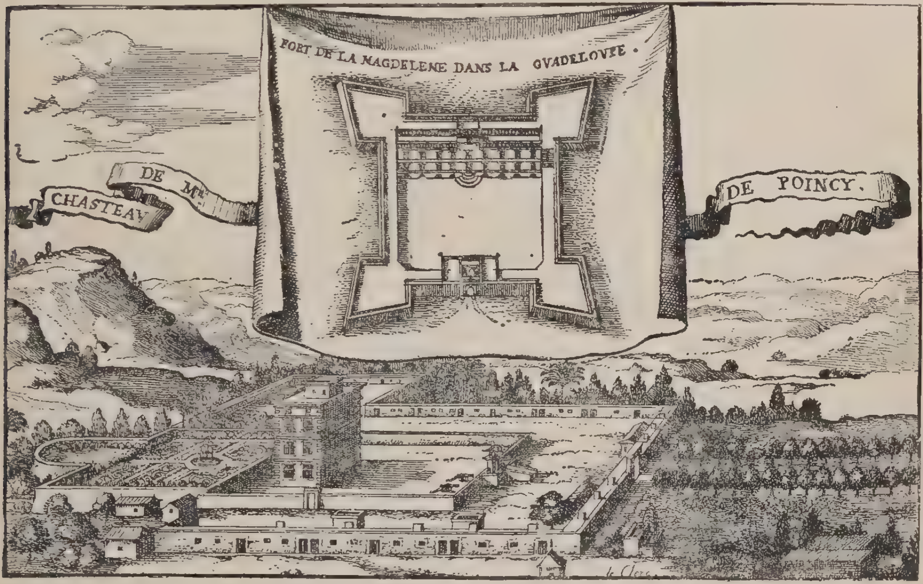
NOTE. — From *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), iii. 172.

Baron Pamphile de la Croix's *Mémoires pour servir à la histoire de la revolution de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1819).

It may be well now to run down the succession of the chief and most characteristic histories of the island, especially for its later periods, the writing of which was in the main instigated by the events that made part of the long revolutionary history of St. Domingo: J. B. J. Breton's *Histoire de l'Isle de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1802). Drouin de Bercy's *De Saint Domingue, de ses guerres, de ses revolutions*, etc. (Paris, 1814).

The Baron de Vastey abandoned the French republic in 1795, and went over to the Spaniards. He was killed in 1820. His successive publications: *Reflexions politique sur les noirs et les blancs . . . le Royaume d'Haiti* (Cap Henry, 1816). *Reflexions politiques sur quelques ouvrages et journaux français concernant Hayti* (Sans Souci, 1817; in English in *The Pamphleteer*, London, xiii. 165); and *Essai sur les causes de la révolution et des guerres civiles d'Hayti* (Sans Souci, 1819; in English, Exeter, 1823).

Antoine Metral's *Histoire de l'insurrection des esclaves dans le Nord de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1819), and his *Histoire de l'Expédition des Français à Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1844). *History of the island of St. Domingo to the present period* (London, 1818). Du Pradt's *Pièces relatives à Saint Domingue et à l'Amérique* (Paris, 1818), a supplement to his work on America. L. J. Clausson's *Précis historique de la révolution de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1819). Pamphile de la Croix's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de St. Domingue* (Paris, 1819), in two volumes. Charles Malo's *Histoire de l'isle de Saint Domingue depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'année 1818* (Paris, 1819); *jusqu'en 1824* (Paris, 1825). Civique de Gastine's *Histoire de la République de Haïti* (Paris, 1819). Justin Placide's *Histoire politique et statistique de l'ile de Hayti, écrits sur des documents officiels et des notes communiquées par* [Sir] *James Barskett* (Paris, 1826). It has convenient maps for showing the respective territories of King Cristophe and President Pétion, and the range of the French rule. Jonathan Brown's *History and Present Condition of St. Domingo* (Philad., 1837), in two volumes. Peter S. Charotte's *Hist. Sketches of the Revolution and the foreign and civil Wars in St. Domingo* (N. Y., 1840). Wilhelm Jordan's *Geschichte der insel Hayti* (Leipzig, 1846–49). *Documents relatifs à touts les phases de la Révolution de Saint Domingue, recuellis et mis en ordre par Edmond Bonnet* (Paris, 1864).


FORT DE LA MAGDELENE DANS LA GVADELOVPE.
DE Mr CHASTEAV
DE POINCY.
le Clerc

NOTE.— From a print in Du Tertre's *Antilles* (Paris, 1667).

The best work on Porto Rico is Inigo Abbad's *Historia, geografica, civil y politica de la isla de S. Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico* (Madrid, 1788), edited by Villadores de Sotomayor, and reprinted with a collection of documents in P. T. Cordova's *Memorias de Puerto Rico* (Puerto Rico, 1831), in two volumes.

The principal books on Antigua are John Luffman's *Brief account of Antigua* (London, 1789), and *Antigua and the Antiguans from the time of the Caribs* (London, 1844), in two vols.

Cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, *Colonial series*, vol. v. (1661–1668).

Guadaloupe came into prominence with the attack of the British upon it, Jan. 23, 1759, the forces under General Barrington and the fleet under Commodore Moore. The attack is described, with a map, in Mante's *Late War* (London, 1772), and there is a contemporary map of the attack in the *London Mag.*, 1759, p. 287, and a larger one in Jefferys' *Atlas*.[1] Cf. E. E. Boyer-Peyreleau's *Les Antilles françaises, particulièrement la Guadeloupe, depuis la découverte jusqu'au 1er Nov. 1825* (Paris, 1825), in three volumes. Labat has maps of the early part of the last century.

On Dominica see Thomas Atwood's *History of Dominica, the conquest by the French and its restoration to the British Dominions* (London, 1791). Cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, *Colonial series*, vol. v. (1660–1668).

The island of Martinique has been frequently the point of struggle in the West Indian warfare. Labat describes it early in the eighteenth century, and gives us maps and plans of the Ville Royal, with its forts and the Fort St. Pierre. The attack of the English upon the French there and elsewhere in the Antilles is particularly described, with a plan of the naval and land attack, in Captain Richard Gardiner's *Account of the expedition to the West Indies against Martinico, with the reduction of Guadelupe, etc., subject to the French king, 1759* (Birmingham, 1762; also in a French translation, 1762). Cf. *London Mag.*, 1758. Martinique with St. Lucia and St. Vincent were again taken by the British in 1762, under Rodney and Monckton. Mante gives a map taken before its attack, and there is another in the *London Mag.*, Apr., 1762. The island reverted to France under the treaty of Paris, 1763. Of the later capture by the British in 1794, we have a large folio by Cooper Willyams, *An account of the Campaign in the West Indies, in 1794, under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, with the reduction of Martinique* (London, 1796). The Peace of Amiens (1802) carried the island again to the French, and in 1815 the English put down a Bonapartist revolt there and confirmed the French rule.

The first actual English settlement at St. Lucia was in 1638. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, *Colonial series*, vol. v. p. lxvi. We must also refer to the *Memorials of the English and French Commissaries* (London, 1755; see *ante*, V., 476), and the war scenes as narrated in Mante's *Late War* (London, 1772). The history of St. Vincent runs in part parallel with that of St. Lucia. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, *Col. series*, vol. v. (1660–1668). There is an *Historical account of the island of St. Vincent*, by Charles Sheppard (London, 1831). Papers concerning the expedition against the Caribs in St. Vincent, in 1772, are contained in *Papers laid before the House of Commons* (London, 1773). Cf. Sir William Young's *Account of the Black Charaibs in the island of St. Vincents, with the Charaib Treaty of 1773, and other original documents* (London, 1795).

The English took possession of the depopulated Barbadoes in 1625. The rival claims of Carlisle, Montgomery, Marlborough and Courteen are traced in the *Calendar of State Papers*, *Colonial series*, vol. i.; and later history in vol. v. (1660–1668).

There was in these earliest days some transient connection with New England (cf. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxxix. 132; *Narragansett Reg.*, iii. 230, 282). Nicholas Darnell Davis goes over the early history in his *Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbadoes, 1650–52* (Georgetown, Brit. Guiana, 1887). Cf. *A Brefe Relation of the late horrid Rebellion acted in the island of Barbadoes,—acted by the Waldronds and their abettors, 1650. Written at sea by Nicholas Foster* (London, 1650). R. Ligon's *True and exact history of the Barbadoes* (London, 1657, 1673), with a large folding-map, showing the houses of the planters. Cf. the map in Henri Justel's *Recueil de divers Voyages* (Paris, 1674). Samuel Clark's *True and faithful Account of the four chiefest plantations of the English in America; to wit, of Virginia, New England, Bermudas, Barbados* (London, 1670). Blome, in his *Jamaica* (1672), also told of Barbadoes. In the next century we have the narrative of Labat, with his map (vol. iv.). *Some Memoirs of the first settlement of the island of Barbados, to 1741* (Barbados, 1741). The Voyage of Robert in Green's *Voyages* (vol. i.). *Defence of the Conduct of Barbadoes during the late expedition to Martinique and Guadeloupe* (London, 1760). George Frere's *Short History of Barbados to 1767* (London, 1768). Frere is called partial and unfair in *Remarks* on his book (Barbados, 1768). Jefferys' *French Dominion*. John Poyer's *History of Barbados from the first discovery in 1605 till 1801* (London, 1808). R. H. Schomburgk's *History of Barbadoes* (London, 1848).

Labat will serve us again for Grenada in the early part of the eighteenth century, with text and maps. Later we have help in John Campbell's *Considerations on the Sugar Trade* (London, 1763). Beside the general histories we find an account of the French successes in their naval attack on the island, July 6, 1779, in the *Relation du combat naval de la Grenade* (Grenade, 1779), pp. 4, and *Relation de la prise de la Grenade* (Grenade, 1779), pp. 44. There are also some minor contemporary accounts of the revolt in 1795: Gordon Turnbull's *Narrative of the revolt of the French inhabitants in the island of Grenada* (Edinburgh, 1795; London, 1796); *A brief inquiry into the quelling of the insurrection in Grenada* (London, 1796); and John Hay's *Narrative of the insurrection in the island of Grenada, 1795* (London, 1823).

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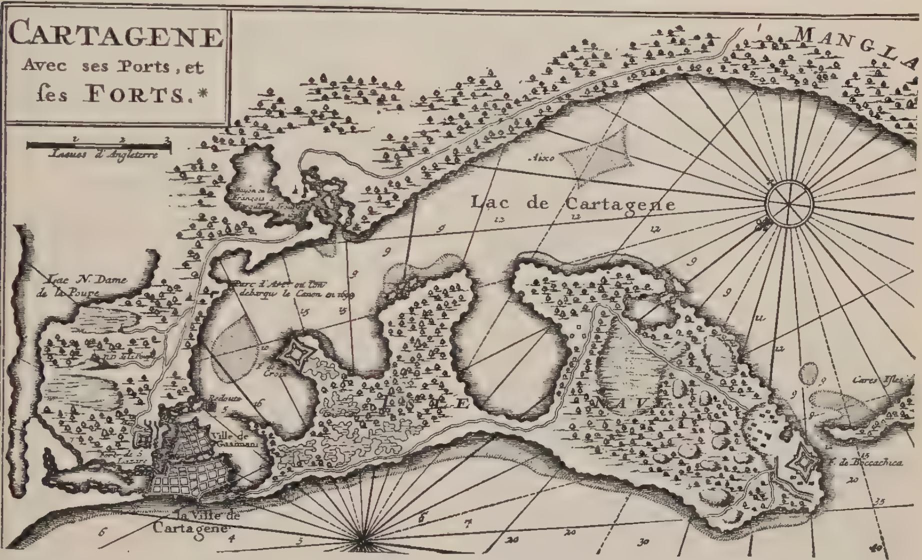
[1] Cf. also the map in Gardiner's *Acc. of the exped.*, etc. (1762).

Of Tobago we find several accounts: César de Rochefort's *Tableau de l'isle de Tobago* (Leyden, 1665; Paris, 1666; in German, Hamburg, n. d., and 1717); Capt. John Poyntz's *Present Prospect of the famous and fertile island of Tobago* (London, 3d ed., 1695); J. C. P.'s *Tobago, insulæ Caraibicæ in America* (Hagæ Comitis, 1705?; Groningæ, 1727). Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Col. series*, vol. v. (1660–68).

Of Trinidad we have a recent history in P. G. L. Borde's *Histoire de l'ile de la Trinidad sous le gouvernement Espagnol*, 1498–1797 (Paris, 1876), in two volumes. Cf. also W. H. Gamble's *Trinidad, historical and descriptive* (London, 1866); E. L. Joseph's *History of Trinidad, 1498–1837* (Trinidad, 1838).

Two years before Lima was established as the capital of the Spanish viceroyalty in South America, Carthagena, the first Spanish city on the continent, was founded by royal authority in 1533, and it speedily became, and for a long time remained, the centre of Spanish-American prowess and commerce on the Spanish main. The three signal events in its history were the attack upon its fortifications by Drake in 1585, the French plunder of it in 1697, and the futile attack of the English in 1741.



The measure of Drake's success in his predatory expedition of 1585 (*ante*, Vol. III. p. 73), in which not only Carthagena, but Saint Augustine and San Domingo were made to experience the English audacity, was reckoned by the bullion which, on his return to London, he delivered at the Tower. An enumeration dated Dec. 26, 1585, was found among the Salisbury MSS., and is noted in the *Historical MSS. Commission Report*, iv. 223. A plan of Carthagena at the time of Drake's attack was discovered in 1884, in the Archives of the Admiralty at Whitehall, marked "Johannes Baptista me fecit, 1586," and is described in the *London Athenæum*, June 26, 1884, p. 62. There are two contemporary engraved plans of the attack, differing from each other, in the *Expeditio Francisci Draki* (Leyden, 1588), and in the English version of it, *Summarie*, etc., published at London in 1589. It was included in the first collected edition of the Drake narratives, *Sir Francis Drake revived* (London, 1652–53). See *ante*, III. 79, 80. A narrative is also included, with a plan, in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*[1] (p. 352).

Of the French attack on Carthagena, in 1697,[2] we have an account by the commander of the expedition in Baron Jean Bernard Louis Desjean de Pointis's *Relation de l'expédition de Carthagene faite par les Français en 1697* (Paris and Amsterdam, 1698), which has a large plan of the town. An English version was published in

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[1] Cf. the view from Montanus, *ante*, Vol. II. p. 192.

[2] Bibliography in Sabin, xv. p. 234.

* Reduced from Coreal's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1722), vol. i.

London in 1699, *Account of the taking of Carthagena by the French*, which also had a plan of the harbor and forts (Carter-Brown, ii. no. 1547). Soon after appeared *Monsieur de Pointi's* [sic] *Expedition to Cartagena, being a particular relation, etc., Englished from the original* (London, 1699). Forty years later, when the English in their turn were contemplating an attack, the same narrative was twice reprinted: —

A genuine and particular account of the taking of Carthagena by the French and buccaniers, in 1697. With a preface, giving an account of the original of Carthagena in 1532, to the present time (London, 1740); *An authentick and particular account of the taking of Carthagena by the French, in 1697* [*etc.*]. *2d ed.* (London, 1740). It was also included in Daniel Coxe's *Collection of Voyages* (London, 1741). Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 69.

ADMIRAL VERNON.*

The affair was not without rivalries, and sides were taken by the adherents of Pointis and of Du Casse, the leader of the buccaneers. Pointis was defended in a *Relation de ce qui s'est fait à la prise de Carthagene, scituée aux Indes Espagnoles, par l'escadre commandée par M. de Pointis* (Bruxelles, 1698), which was written by an officer of the fleet. The defence of Du Casse, who was governor of San Domingo, was undertaken in *Relation fidele de l'expédition de Cartagene* (1699). Cf. C. B. Norman's *Corsairs of France* (London, 1887), p. 110

It was over forty years before Carthagena again became the centre of naval interest, and in this interval we find frequent reminders of its earlier experiences in the plans and views of the town and bay. Cf. Coreal's *Voyage;* Charlevoix's *Espagnole* (Amsterdam, 1723), vol. iv. p. 318; Laval's *Voyage de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1728), p. 68; D'Anville's *Plan de la Baye de Carthagene, tiré d'une carte espagnole* (1730).

The campaign, which the English Admiral Vernon undertook in the interests of a home faction, when he sailed to the West Indies in 1739, was in the end a disgraceful failure. War had been declared in 1739 against Spain, to punish her for the way in which she had permitted her cruisers in the West Indies to disturb British commerce. Vernon had boasted in the British Parliament that he could capture Porto Bello with six ships, and he made good his word, as has elsewhere been shown.[1] This success led to more ambitious schemes, and he was entrusted with a large fleet in order to capture Carthagena, and Anson was dispatched with a coöperating fleet to the Pacific to assail the Spanish possessions on that side. Disabled by a storm, Anson was delayed in reaching the upper coasts of South America and the Isthmus, only to learn that Vernon had been worsted at Carthagena, and he returned home, as already related, by the western route. Vernon, who had made his way into the great bay of Carthagena with his powerful armament, failed largely through the want of harmony which existed between him and Wentworth, the commander of the land forces, and this led to a war of pamphlets. These contemporary publications are as follows: —

The Conduct of Admiral Vernon examined and vindicated (London, 1741).

Original Papers relative to the Expedition to Carthagena (London, 1744).

Authentic Papers relative to the Expedition against Carthagena (London, 1744).

An Account of the Expedition to Carthagena, with explanatory notes and observations (London, 1743, three eds.,; Dublin), and an answer called *A Journal of the Expedition to Carthagena* (London, 1744, two eds.; Dublin, 1744). Tobias Smollett, the novelist, who as a surgeon's mate took part in this expedition, has left some graphic descriptions in his *Roderic Random*, and furnished an account of it in his *Compendium of Voyages* (1756), which is usually printed in his *Miscellaneous Works* as "An account of the expedition against Carthagena."[2]

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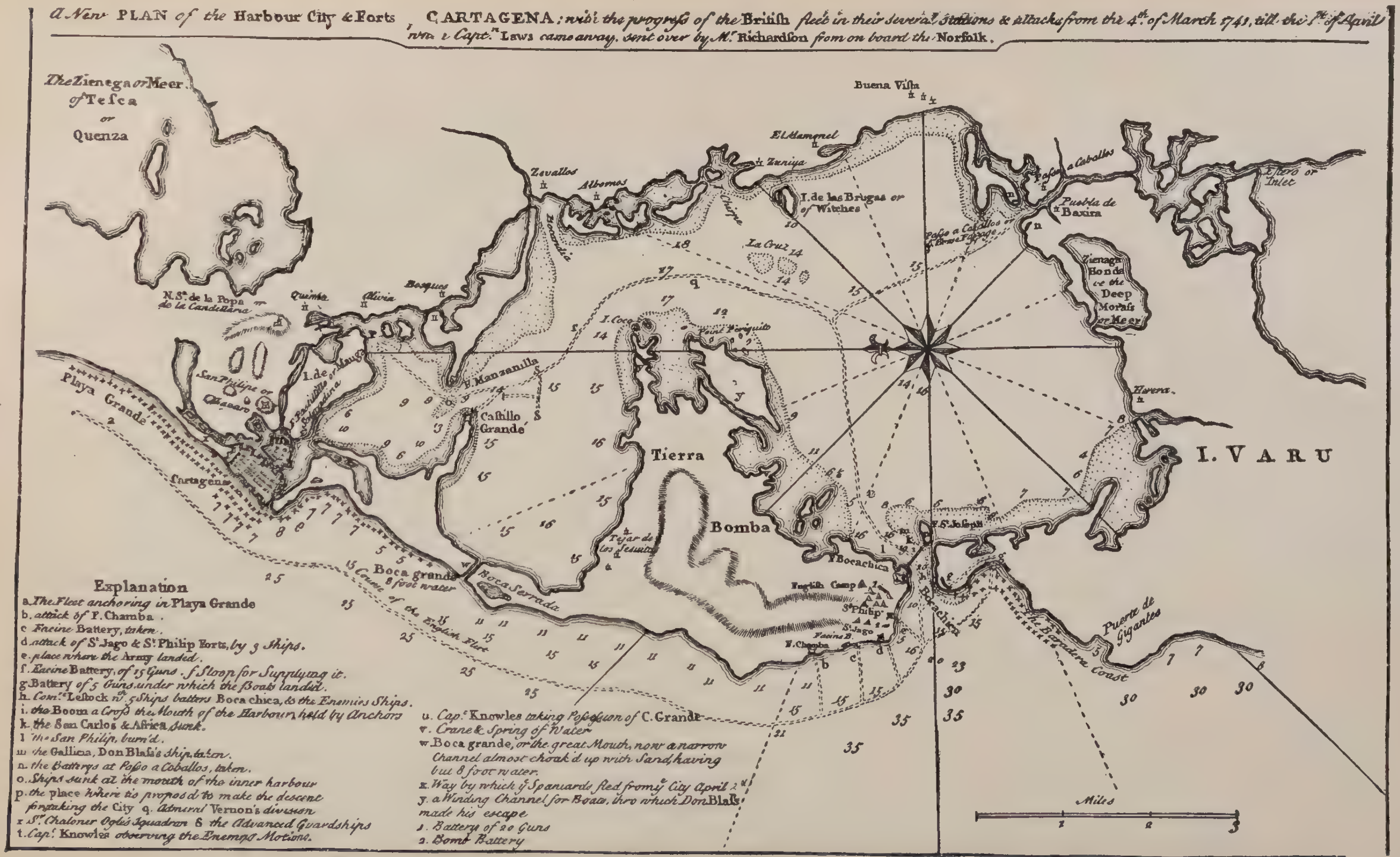
[1] *Ante*, ch. 4.

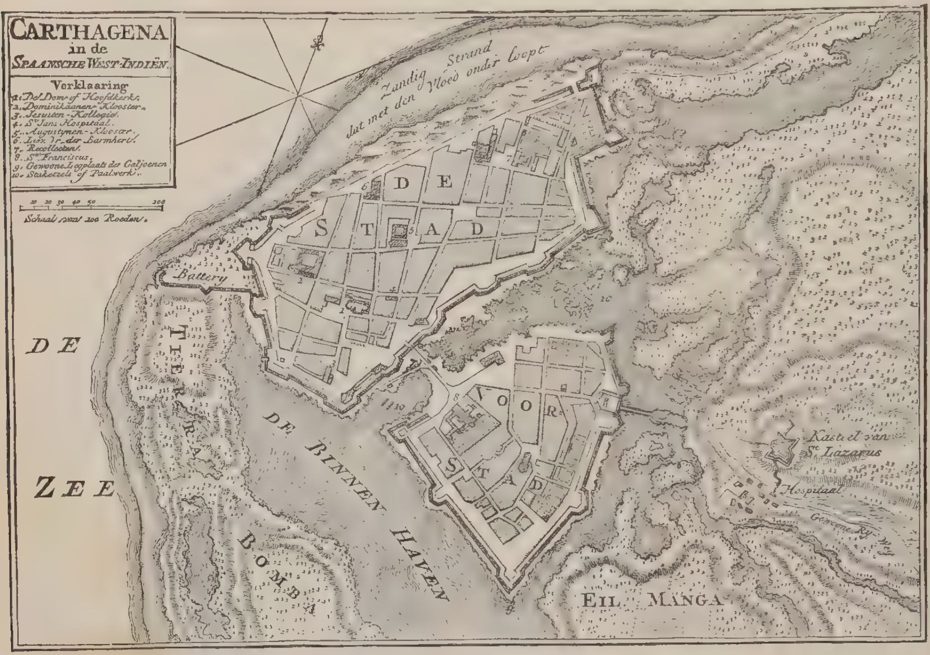
[2] Of the English colonies to the northward, Virginia and Massachusetts furnished 500 men each to the military force which was engaged. Only about 50 of the Massachusetts men returned. Ellis Ames has given an account of the part of Massachusetts in the business, — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1881.

* From a cut in *The Englishman's Evening Post* (London, May 15–17, 1740).


A New PLAN of the Harbour City & Forts, CARTAGENA: with the progress of the British fleet in their several Stations & attacks from the 4th. of March 1741, till the 1st. of April when Capt.n Laws came away, sent over by Mr. Richardson from on board the Norfolk.
The Zienega or Meer of Tesca or Quenza
N.S.a de la Popa de la Candelaria
Quinta
Olivia
Bosquy
Zevallos
Albornos
Bocacolla
Chirpe
Zuniga
El Mamonel
Buena Vista
I. de las Brugas or of Witches
La Cruz
Passo a Caballos
Puebla de Baxira
Estero or Inlet
Zienaga Honda or the Deep Morass or Meer
Herena
I. V A R U
Playa Grande
San Philipe or Lazaro
Cartagena
I. de Manga
F. Manzanilla
Castillo Grande
I. Coco
Point Periquito
Tierra
Bomba
Tejar de los Jesuitas
Bocachica
English Camp
St. Philip
St. Jago
F. Chamba
St. Joseph
Boca grande 8 foot water
Boca Serrada
Course of the English Fleet
Puerte de Gigantes
The Baradera Coast
Miles
Explanation
a. The Fleet anchoring in Playa Grande
b. attack of F. Chamba.
c Facine Battery, taken.
d. attack of St. Jago & St. Philip Forts, by 3 Ships.
e. place where the Army landed.
f. Facine Battery, of 15 Guns. f Sloop for Supplying it.
g. Battery of 5 Guns, under which the Boats landed.
h. Com.re Lestock with 5 Ships batters Boca chica, & the Enemies Ships.
i. the Boom a Cross the Mouth of the Harbour, held by Anchors
k. the San Carlos & Africa Sunk.
l the San Philip, burn'd.
m the Gallica, Don Blass's ship, taken.
n. the Batterys at Passo a Caballos, taken.
o. Ships sunk at the mouth of the inner harbour
p. the place where tis propos'd to make the descent for taking the City q. Admiral Vernon's division
r St. Chaloner Ogle's Squadron & the Advanced Guardships
t. Capt. Knowles observing the Enemys Motions.
u. Capt. Knowles taking Possession of C. Grande
v. Crane & Spring of Water
w. Boca grande, or the great Mouth, now a narrow Channel almost chook'd up with Sand, having but 8 foot water.
x. Way by which ye Spaniards fled from ye City April 2d.
y. a Winding Channel for Boats, thro which Don Blass made his escape
1. Battery of 20 Guns
2. Bomb Battery

ATTACK ON CARTHAGENA, 1741.

There was a Spanish journal of the siege printed at Madrid in August, 1741, of which a French version, *Journal du Siège de Carthagène*, was published in Paris in Sept., 1741. Cf. the memorandum in Calvo's *Recueil des Traités*, iv. 54.



NOTE. — There is an English plan by Jefferys very similar to this.

NOTE TO MAP ON PAGE 293.— Reduced from a map in *An Account of the Expedition to Carthagena*, 2d ed. (Lond., 1743). Captain Laws, mentioned at the top of this map, also attested, as brought over by him a similar but much larger plan, published in London, May 29, 1741, as *The Harbor, town and several forts of Carthagena in which is exhibited a perfect view of the English fleet as they anchored all along the coast in the bay near the town, and also after they moved and laid under the forts of St. Jago and St. Philipe, and at the Boca-Chica, or mouth of the harbour; likewise of the English ships as they moved in different parts in the harbor in order to lay siege to the town.*

The maps illustrating the siege are numerous, as issued in anticipation or in consequence: *London Magazine*, April, 1740. Alcedo y Herrera's *Aviso . . . con las noticias del Perú, Tierra Firme, Chile y Nuevo Regno de Granada, 1730–40* (Madrid, 1740). *A Geographical Description of the coasts, harbors and sea ports of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740); a rude plan in *The Newsman's Interpreter* (Manchester, Eng., 1741, second ed.). Prévost's *Voyages*, 1756, vol. xiii., and the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, ix., xv. Ulloa's *Voyage*, Tomas Lopez's *Atlas geographico de la America Sept.* (Madrid, 1758). Jefferys' *Description of the Spanish islands* (London, 1762), and in later collections. *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), i. 316. *Carte topographique de la baye, Ville et Faubourg de Cartagene, 1741*, with side plans of the several forts, by Beaurain (Paris). Another French plan, *Cartagene avec ses ports et fortresses.*

A German map published at "Norimbergae ab Hermann heridibus," — *Neu und verbesserter Plan des Havens von Carthagena nach dem Entwurf des Pr. Chassereau, Archt., 1740, nach Engelland gebracht.*

The British Museum *Catalogue of King's Maps* (i. 210, 211) shows various MS. plans, dated 1739, 1741, 1743, 1767. There are early views of the town by Van der Aa and by Carolus Allard.

CHAPTER V.

COLONIAL HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA, AND THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C. B.

FOR more than two centuries and a half the whole of South America, except Brazil, settled down under the colonial government of Spain, and during the greater part of that time this vast territory was under the rule of the viceroys of Peru residing at Lima. The impossibility of conducting an efficient administration from such a centre, which was separated from its dependent parts by many hundreds of miles of mountains, deserts, and forests, at once became apparent. Courts of justice called *Audiencias* were, therefore, established in the distant provinces, and their presidents, sometimes with the title of captains-general, had charge of the executive under the orders of the viceroys. The *Audiencia* of Charcas (the modern Bolivia) was established in 1559. Chile was ruled by captains-general, and an *Audiencia* was established at Santiago in 1568. In New Grenada the president of the *Audiencia*, created in 1564, was also captain-general. The *Audiencia* of Quito, also with its president as captain-general, dated from 1542; and Venezuela was under a captain-general. Buenos Ayres was ruled by a governor, who was virtually independent of the viceroy; and Brazil was under governors during the time that Portugal was subject to Spain, from 1582 to 1640, and became a viceroyalty when the mother country regained her independence.

The colonial policy of Spain was mainly directed to the benefit of the mother country, and the colonies were looked upon as sources of revenue and profit. The first duty of the viceroy of Peru was to transmit treasure to Spain, and to force Spanish goods on the colonists. There was an absolute monopoly. No manufactured goods were allowed to be imported into the colonies except from Spanish ports; and all industries were discouraged or prohibited which were supposed to compete, directly or indirectly, with Spanish interests. Forced labor, under humane restrictions which were systematically evaded, prevailed in so aggravated a form that the population rapidly decreased. It is true that, so long as their selfish policy was enforced, the home government displayed anxiety to promote the welfare both of the colonists and the aborigines, and the same disposition was generally shown by the great noblemen who went to Peru as viceroys. But the two things were incompatible. The viceroys governed on the principles laid down by Don Francisco de Toledo, and his rules and ordinances formed the basis of their administration. The native chiefs, called *caciques*, were hereditary, had certain privileges, and exercised magisterial functions over the Indians. There were also Spanish officials with the title of Protectors of the Indians. The rules for the *mitta*, or forced service in mines and factories, were humane, and the class of *Mamaconas*, or domestic servants, was declared to be free. But in practice the provisions intended for the protection of the Indians were disregarded; and their condition was worse than that of the negro slaves who were largely imported to cultivate the estates in the coast valleys of Peru. A zealous compliance with the demand for treasure and for exclusive privileges to Spanish traders could not coexist with an enforcement of the humane rules intended for the protection of the colonists and aborigines. The viceroys were thus placed in a difficulty which was strongly felt by the more enlightened among them, but no effectual remedy was possible.

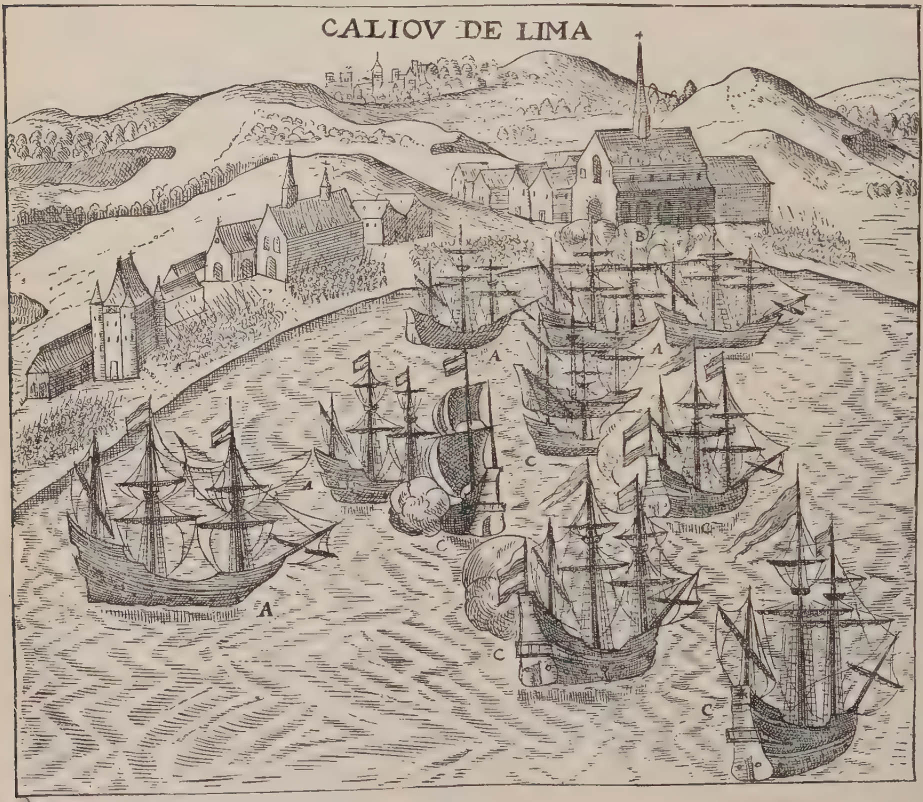
The opening of the seventeenth century found the Marquis of Salinas ruling as viceroy. When he was removed to Mexico, his successor, the Conde de Monterey, arrived at Lima in 1604, but died after a residence of little over a year, and from 1607 to 1615 the viceroyalty was filled by one of those well-intentioned noblemen who did his best to reconcile his orders from Spain with justice and Christian charity. Of course, the efforts of Don Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis de Montes Claros, were fruitless; but the elaborate report which he drew up for the information of his successor shows that he endeavored to check the irregularities which rendered the law null and void. He acknowledged his own debt, and that of all succeeding viceroys, to the code of ordinances left them by Francisco de Toledo. "Indeed," he declared, "we are all disciples of that great master; at least, I willingly confess it." The Spaniards of the conquest desired complete mastery over the persons of the natives, and the right to buy, sell, and use them as slaves. The *Tasos* or ordinances of the Viceroy Toledo were intended to prevent this abuse. The tribute was fixed, while a seventh part of the able-bodied laborers of each village might be hired in turn. This was called the *mitta*; and provisions were enacted to prevent these laborers from being taken more than a certain fixed distance from their homes, and to regulate their payment and treatment. The Marquis of Montes Claros further enacted, in 1609, that the *mitta* should not apply to coca plantations where the climate is unhealthy, or to vine and sugar estates on the coast, which were to be worked by negro labor. The *Yanaconas* were a class existing in the time of the Incas, who were in an exceptional position. They were domiciled in the houses of their masters, who found them in food and clothing, paid their tribute, and gave them a piece of land to cultivate in exchange for their services. But to prevent this from degenerating into slavery, a decree of 1601 ordered that they should be free to leave their masters and take service elsewhere on the same conditions. With regard to the Spanish colonists, the Marquis of Montes Claros reported that there was much noble blood among the citizens, but that there was still a licentious set of vagabonds loose over the country, and calling themselves soldiers, who formed a very dangerous class. The silver mines, to which the chief attention of the government was directed, were at Potosi, Oruro, Vilcabamba, and Castro-Vireyna; gold was obtained from Caravaya, and quicksilver from Huancavelica.

From 1569 to 1784, a period of 215 years, the administrative divisions of Peru consisted of five bishoprics or *Obispados*, which were subdivided into forty-seven *Corregimientos*, each under a corregidor, or civil governor.

The great noblemen who filled the vice-regal office had many persons of rank in their train, and the court at Lima was often gay and brilliant. The viceroys were generally statesmen of experience, sometimes of cultivated tastes. They brought out with them very excellent copies of old masters to adorn the churches, and frequently enriched the university and convent libraries with valuable presents. The Marquis of Montes Claros was succeeded by Don Francisco de Borja y Aragon, a grandson of that famous Duke of Gandia who became third general of the Jesuits and was eventually canonized. Don Francisco was Prince of Squillace in Italy by right of his wife, and was descended from the royal house of Aragon. He was only thirty-two years of age when he entered Lima as viceroy in December, 1615. The Prince of Squillace was a poet and a scholar. Mr. Ticknor refers to his sonnets and madrigals with appreciative praise, although his more ambitious work on the Aragonese conquest of Naples was not so successful. At Lima the vice-regal poet assembled learned and accomplished men at his palace, and held discussions on literary and scientific subjects. He took interest in the encouragement of education and in expeditions of discovery, rather than in the administrative details of his government. Under his auspices a college for noble Indians, called San Borja, was founded at Cuzco, and another at Lima; and he established the first settlement on the river Marañon, beyond the Pongo de Manseriche, in 1619, which was named Borja in his honor. He also sent an expedition to survey the coasts of Tierra del Fuego in the same year, and the islets southeast of Cape Horn were named Diego Ramirez, in honor of the chief pilot. On the other hand, the Prince of Squillace was no friend to the unfortunate victims of the *mitta*, which was enforced in his time with illegal rigor. Over two thousand Indians were obliged to labor in the quicksilver mines of Huancavelica, fourteen hundred at the silver mine of Castro-Vireyna; while the demand for labor was increased by the discovery of the rich silver mine of San Antonio de Squillace, near Puno. The prince ordered the war with the Araucanians in Chile to be defensive only, thus reducing the heavy drain on the finances, while he placed the fleet at Callao on an efficient footing. He so worked the mines, and the *alcabala* or excise duties, that he raised a revenue of 2,250,000 ducats, the expenditure being 1,200,000 ducats, thus transmitting to Spain an annual surplus of a million ducats.

Without waiting for his successor, the Prince of Squillace left the government in charge of the senior judge, and returned to Spain on the last day of 1621. He still had many years of an honored and prosperous life before him, dying at Madrid in 1658, at the age of seventy-six.

Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, the first Marquis of Guadalcazar, was viceroy of Mexico; but the death of his German wife made him desirous of change, and he was appointed to succeed the Prince of Squillace in Peru.



CALLAO.*

He arrived at Lima in July, 1622, with his two fair daughters, and his nephew Don Luis as captain of his guard. The marquis was a very diligent administrator, and his minutes and despatches have been collected in three large manuscript volumes. He had to make provision for the Araucanian war, the repulse of piratical attacks, and the suppression of disturbances at the mines of Potosi. He adopted the policy of his predecessor as regards Chile, sending his nephew, as captain-general, to establish a strictly defensive system of tactics. The twelve years' truce between Spain and the Netherlands expired in 1621, and fleets were equipped by the States-General to attack the colonies in South America. Piete Heyn captured a treasure fleet, and brought home an immense sum of money; while a powerful fleet under Jacob l'Heremite was sent to the Pacific. In May, 1624, the Dutch ships appeared off Callao, a few days after the treasure ships had sailed for Panama. The invaders occupied the island of San Lorenzo, where their admiral died, and, after making unsuccessful attacks on Callao, Pisco, and Guayaquil, the attempt was given up, and the hostile squadron left the coast. This Dutch expedition may be looked upon as the precursor of those predatory voyages which were the natural outcome of the Spanish monopoly, and the forerunners of the occupation of most of the West Indian Islands by powers opposed to the exclusive policy of Spain.

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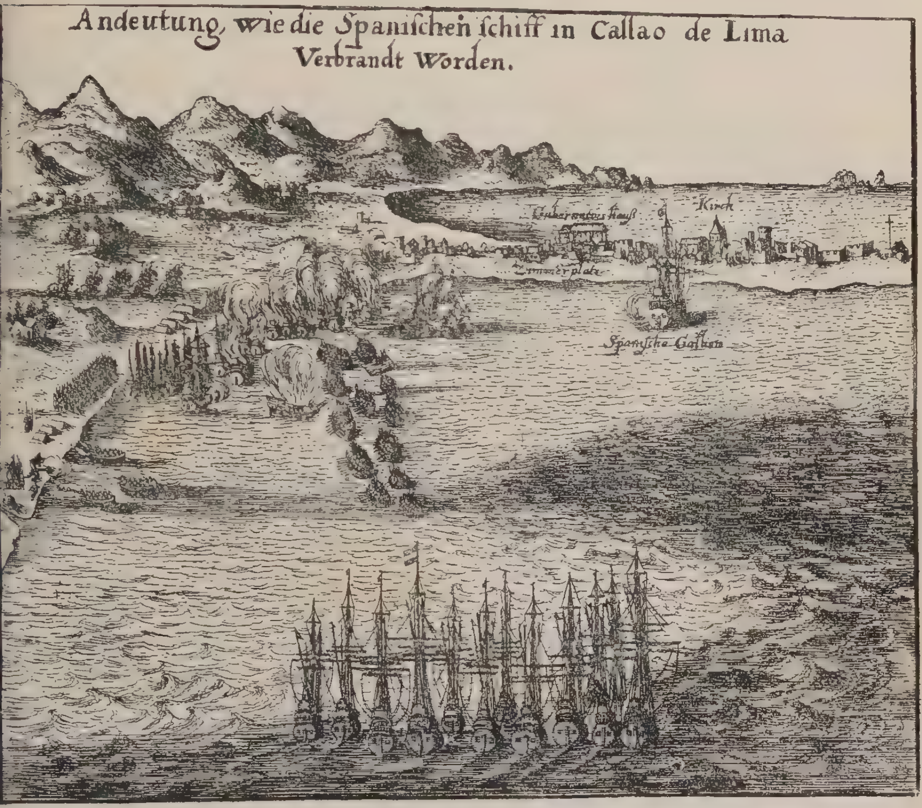
* [From Hulsius, *Sammlung*, xvii., being the *Reiss und Schiffart* of Spilbergen (Franckfort am Mayn, 1620). There is a later view of the anchorage and town in Frezier's *Voyages* (1713). Cf. plan of Callao in Coreal's *Voyage*, in the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (Leipzig, 1751), vol. ix. 416; and in the *Relation of the Earthquake at Lima* (London, 1748); and a later view in W. B. Stevenson's *Twenty Years' Residence in South America* (London, 1825). — Ed.]

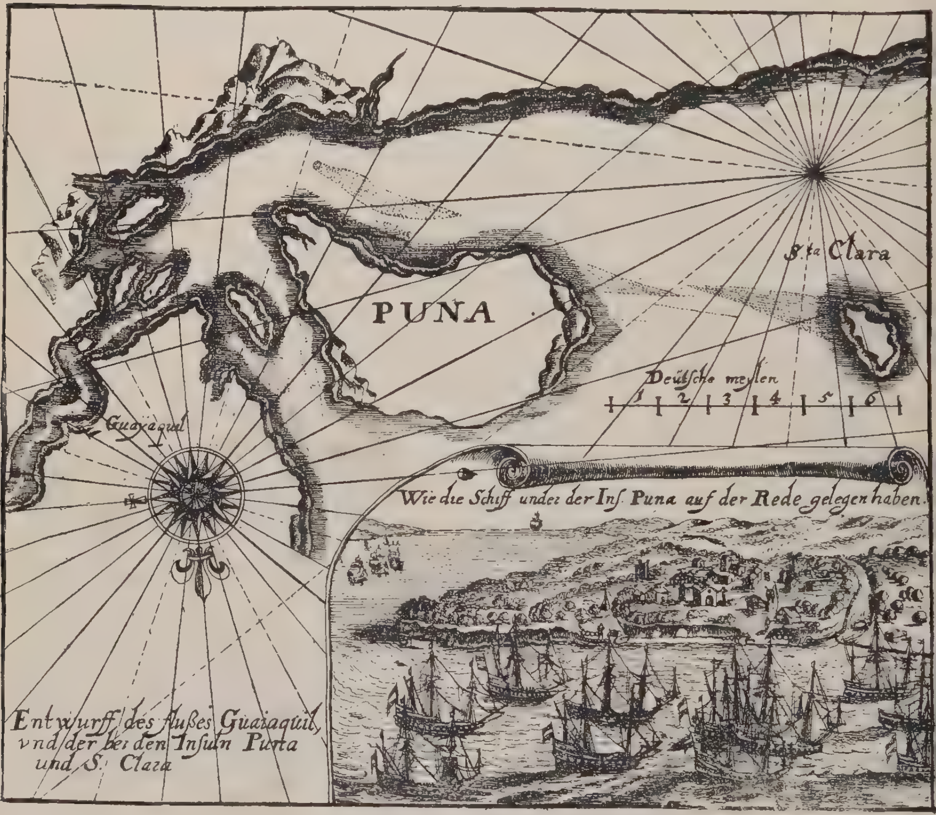


From Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*, 1655.

The troubles at the mines of Potosi originated in the rancorous greed of speculators. The miners were divided into hostile factions called Vascongados and Vicuñas; there were incessant bloody encounters and murders, while neither the authority of the officials nor the exhortations of priests could appease their rancor or put down the riots. It was only by a compromise that a truce was established by the viceroy's officials in 1625.

It is much to the credit of the Marquis of Guadalcazar that he was strongly opposed to the odious proceedings of the Inquisition which had been established at Lima. Although his power was not sufficient to prevent the *autos* entirely, he discountenanced those cruel exhibitions, and only one took place during his government, when three victims to priestly fanaticism suffered in the great square of Cuzco. The marquis delivered up charge to his successor and returned to Spain in January, 1629.

Don Luis Geronimo de Cabrera, Count of Chinchon, the next viceroy, was an enlightened and able statesman of high rank, descended from an ancient Catalonian family. Spain was utterly impoverished, and when the count left Cadiz in August, 1628, the government was clamoring for money from the Indies. Officers who received new appointments were to refund half their first year's pay, voluntary contributions were called for, and the excise duties were increased. Thus the new viceroy, who was anxious to govern well and to improve the condition of the people, was placed in a most trying position. His difficulties were increased by the rumors of the approach of hostile Dutch fleets, which obliged him to incur expenditure on the fortifications of Callao and the defences of the Chilian ports. The new


S.ta Clara
PUNA
Deütſche meylen
1 2 3 4 5 6
Guayaquil
Wie die Schiff under der Inſ. Puna auf der Rede gelegen haben.
Entwurff des flußes Guaiaquil, vnd der beiden Inſuln Puna und S. Clara

From Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*, 1655, p. 595.

captain-general of Chile, Don Francisco Lasso de la Vega, an officer who had served with distinction in the Low Countries, came out with the Count of Chinchon. He conducted the defensive war with the Araucanians from 1629 to 1639, when he was succeeded by the Marquis de Baydes. In 1647 Baydes made the first peace with the Araucanian Indians, which was solemnly ratified.

Notwithstanding his financial difficulties, the Count of Chinchon was a vigilant protector of the Indians. In 1633 he issued fresh regulations respecting forced service; he ordered that journeys to and from the mines should be paid for by the employers; and he reduced the numbers of the *mitta* for the mines of Potosi. These measures, adopted in the face of incessant demands from home for more silver, redound to his credit. But he was not so firm in discountenancing the atrocities of the Inquisition. Three *autos-da-fé* were celebrated during his viceroyalty, at which upwards of a hundred persons, including several of wealth and position, were sacrificed to the insatiable bigotry of the priests. The Indian population was, however, always protected from this form of persecution, as being in the position of catechumens.

From the *Compendio historico de la Provincia . . . y puerto de Guayaquil, por Dionysio de Alcedo y Herrera* (Madrid, 1741).

An insurrection among the Indians of Lake Titicaca was suppressed after some hard fighting in 1634, the viceroy declaring that it was caused by the tyranny and injustice of the Spaniards, who illegally forced the people to work without pay, and seized their harvests. But the most important event during the viceroyalty of the Count of Chinchon was the discovery of the febrifuge virtues of Peruvian bark. The first wife of the count was the Lady Ana de Osorio, daughter of the Marquis of Astorga, but she died before he became viceroy. Doña Francisca Henriquez de Ribera, his second wife, accompanied him to Peru, and was attacked at Lima in 1638 by a tertian fever. The news of the illness of the countess reached Don Francisco Lopez de Cañizares, who was then corregidor of Loxa, and who had become acquainted with the febrifuge qualities of the bark. He sent a parcel of it to the vice-queen, and the new remedy, administered by her physician Don Juan de Vega, effected a rapid and complete cure. The Countess of Chinchon left Peru in 1639, but she died at Cartagena on the passage home. The remedy was known as countess's bark, and afterwards as Jesuit's bark, and the genus of plants which produces it received the name of *Chinchona*, in honor of the countess. This discovery has conferred inestimable benefits on the whole human race, and renders memorable the viceroyalty of the Count of Chinchon. That distinguished statesman gave up charge to his successor, the Marquis of Mancera, in December, 1639, and returning

D. Luis Fernandez de Cordoua
Marques de Baydes
D. Fran^co Laso de la Vega
AT

From Ovale's *Regno de Chile* (Rome, 1648).

to Spain, he died eight years afterwards at his castle of Chinchon, near Madrid.

The Marquis of Mancera was succeeded as viceroy by the Count of Salvatierra, these two rulers holding office from 1639 to 1655. Then followed Don Luis Henriquez de Guzman, the Count of Alba de Liste and Grandee of Spain, who had been viceroy of Mexico and was uncle to his predecessor, the Count of Salvatierra. He entered Lima in February, 1655, bringing with him the eminent mathematician Don Francisco Ruiz Lozano. The attention of the Count of Alba de Liste was devoted almost exclusively to the creation of an adequate navy, to strengthening the defences of the ports, and securing the tranquillity of Chile. Lozano was appointed cosmographer, and was the first mathematical professor in Peru, while a native of Malines named Kœnig officiated as his assistant. Kœnig took numerous astronomical observations, constructed a map of Peru, and engraved it on silver plates with his own hand. On the death of Lozano in 1677, Kœnig succeeded him as mathematical professor. In 1678 he was appointed cosmographer, and from 1680 to 1708 he published the Ephemerides of Peru. Thus the Count of Alba de Liste was the founder of scientific studies in the land of the Incas, and his energies were equally directed to the military defence of the country. He expended large sums and sent a considerable force to Chile; built two powerful frigates at Guayaquil; and his two sons were successively admirals of the South Sea. The viceroy returned to Spain in 1661, and was succeeded by Don Diego Benavides y de la Cueva, Count of Santistevan.

The new viceroy was of the blood royal, being descended from Alfonso VII. He had distinguished himself both as a soldier and a diplomatist, and had been viceroy of Navarre before he embarked for Peru to succeed the Count of Alba de Liste. The ill-treatment of the Indians, the open defiance of all rules for their protection, and the rapid decrease of the population, had now become such crying evils that the torpid government of Charles the Bewitched was forced to take some action. A detailed report had been drawn up in July, 1657, by the licentiate Don Juan de Padilla, on the cruel and illegal treatment of the Indians; and he petitioned for prompt and efficacious remedial measures. In this memorable state paper the clergy are condemned as strongly as the civil authorities. The rules respecting the *mitta* had become a dead letter. There was a system of kidnapping throughout the country. In many places, where all the male adults had been dragged off to the mines, the women and children alone were left to till the fields. Boys were torn from their homes when only six to eight years old, taken to slavery in the factories, and cruelly beaten. The expenses of journeys to the mines were never paid, and all wages were withheld. At the mines and factories there were shops for the sale of Spanish goods. The Indians were forced to incur debts at these places, and then detained in perpetual slavery. Tribute was exacted from the villages and not from individuals, and when the population decreased the same sum was required. These atrocities were rapidly destroying the natives of Peru, when the persistent outcry of Padilla at length forced the authorities to listen. The fiscal judge of the *Audiencia* of Lima, Don Diego de Leon Pinelo, pronounced the views of Padilla to be correct, and even strengthened his statements on some points. It was further shown that the exactions and tyranny of the clergy were almost as oppressive as the cruelty of laymen. The bishops scarcely ever visited their diocese personally. There were some provinces which had not seen one for fifty and many more for twenty-five years. There was nothing to control or restrain the greed of the priests. The people were driven to mass, where they were forced to pay fees to the priests, and, if unable, their clothes were taken from them in defiance of the law. Large fees were also exacted from the Indians for their dead, though in most cases the priest had neither administered the sacrament nor performed the burial service. The government of the king sent out orders to the viceroy to preside at a committee appointed to examine the charges of Padilla, and to apply a remedy. Excellent regulations were once more promulgated. In 1664 the Count of Santistevan fixed the hours of work from 7 A. M. to 5 P. M., and the rations to be issued in all factories. No aged persons or children were to be employed, no one was to be taken to a distance of more than two leagues from their homes, and wages were to be paid in presence of a government official. But the *mitta* was retained.

The Count of Santistevan died at Lima in March, 1666, and his successor, the Count of Lemos, arrived in November, 1667. This nobleman, a grandee of Spain and descendant of King Sancho IV, was the son of the ninth Count of Lemos, who was the patron of Cervantes. The tenth count was thirty-three years of age when he was appointed Viceroy of Peru. He was married to the beautiful Ana de Borja, daughter of the Duke of Gandia, and three of his children were born in Lima, their godfather being the saintly Jesuit, Francisco del Castillo.

While the attention of his predecessor was mainly directed to measures for checking the abuses in the treatment of the Indians, the Count of Lemos was called upon to remedy the state of anarchy which prevailed in the mining districts. Both these evils arose from the insatiable demand for the precious metals. The state of affairs at Potosi had long been disgraceful. The disputes were incessant, they were invariably settled by a resort to arms, and the civil authority was set at defiance. Potosi had long been a scene of strife and bloodshed. In 1657 a very rich silver mine had been discovered at Layca-cota, near Lake Titicaca, and a speculator named Gaspar de Salcedo had become enormously rich. This caused jealousy among other miners, which resulted in the formation of armed bodies of men and frequent bloody encounters. In 1665 the anarchy was so complete that the Count of Lemos determined to repair to the spot in person. But he did not set out until 1668, when he proceeded to Arequipa, and thence to Paur-car-colla, with a suitable force. The viceroy was a devotee, and he was in the habit of subordinating his judgment to that of his religious adviser. When left to himself he was hasty and impulsive. He opened a summary court to try offences, with one of the judges of the *Audiencia* of Lima as his assessor. As many as forty-two persons were publicly executed, including José de Salcedo. Upwards of sixty more were banished and heavily fined. The town of Layca-cota was razed to the ground, and Puno was declared to be the capital of the province. The Count of Lemos returned to Lima, by way of Cuzco, in 1669. He justified his severity by reference to the works of theologians who had declared that the prince who pardons a crime without urgent cause, sins mortally. But the brothers of Salcedo appealed to the king; the lawsuit lasted nearly forty years, and finally the viceroy's judgment was reversed.

During the absence of the Count of Lemos, his young wife, Ana de Borja, administered the government at Lima as vice-queen. The viceroy's proceedings at Puno were considered by his confessor Castillo to have been needlessly harsh and cruel, and he was plunged into the depths of remorse and contrition. He ordered twelve hundred masses for the souls of the men he had executed; and he himself acted as sacristan in his chapel, blowing the organ and attending to the lamps. He founded the schools of the *Desamparados* for poor children, in conjunction with Castillo; and the viceroy's fervor and pious enthusiasm were especially conspicuous on the occasions of the canonization of Santa Rosa of Lima, and of his wife's ancestor, San Francisco de Borja.

The Count of Lemos also exerted himself in defence of the Indians. He prohibited the abuse of having what were called "Indios de faltriquera," or supernumeraries, forcibly carried off to be ready to serve in place of any who might be able to buy themselves off. He reduced the *mitta* at Potosi from 4,000 to 1,800; and he went so far as to urge that the *mitta* should be entirely abolished, and that the mines should be worked by voluntary labor. The viceroy was attacked by a dangerous illness at Lima, which carried him off, at the age of thirty-eight, on December 6, 1672. His body was buried in the church of San Pedro, while his heart was deposited in the Church of the Desamparados, at the foot of "Our Lady of the Forsaken Ones." The countess returned to Spain with her children, and the senior judge took charge until the arrival of the Count of Castellar, the new viceroy.

The Count of Castellar was a younger son of the Duke of Albuquerque, viceroy of Sicily, and was born at Madrid in 1626. Educated at Salamanca, he became rector of one of its colleges, and afterwards ambassador in Germany. This viceroy was a zealous defender of the revenues, economical, strict, and upright; and, like most of his predecessors, he strove to satisfy the requirements of the country, while at the same time he sent home large sums of money to Spain. In four years he succeeded in transmitting $4,462,597, besides the value of quicksilver sent to Mexico, valued at $221,592. The Count of Castellar did his duty in this respect, but he was equally energetic in his efforts for the welfare of the people. He frequently punished corregidors and priests for acts of injustice, and in 1674 he declared that Araucanians captured in the wars of Chile should not be slaves, as hitherto, but absolutely free. Some very slight relaxation in the Spanish monopoly was the cause of the viceroy's fall. He had allowed some commercial intercourse with Mexico, and this had led to the introduction of articles from China into Peru. His indulgent policy caused an outcry from the Spanish merchants, who made loud complaints, and, without being heard, the viceroy was summarily superseded, and ordered to be strictly judged as regards the acts of his administration. The archbishop of Lima, Don Melchor de Liñan y Cisneros, took charge on July 7, 1678, and the Count of Castellar was ordered to reside at the village of Surco, near Lima, during his trial. It lasted for two years. Eventually he was acquitted; but strict orders were issued to prevent all trade with China, and to destroy all Chinese articles. After returning to Spain, the count was appointed a member of the Council of the Indies, a post which he occupied until his death in 1686.

The archbishop, who held office for three years and a half, was a great-nephew of the famous regent-cardinal Ximenes. In November, 1681, he was relieved by the Duke of La Palata, a descendant of the kings of Aragon and vice-chancellor of that kingdom; and the Count of Monclova, who followed, was the last viceroy appointed during the period of the Austrian dynasty. Don Melchor Portocarrero, third Count of Monclova and a grandee of Spain, was a very distinguished military officer, and had lost an arm in the battle of the Dunes, near Dunkirk, in 1658. He was viceroy of Mexico, and came to Lima by sea from Acapulco in 1689. During his government Charles the Bewitched, the last king of the house of Austria, died; and when the Count of Monclova was carried off by a fever at Lima in 1705, the Bourbons were established on the throne of Spain.

During the last fifty years of the seventeenth century the power of Spain had rapidly decreased. Fleets of buccaneers harassed and insulted the coasts of Peru and Chile; while English and French settlers occupied several West Indian islands, without regard for that Spanish sovereignty which could no longer be maintained.

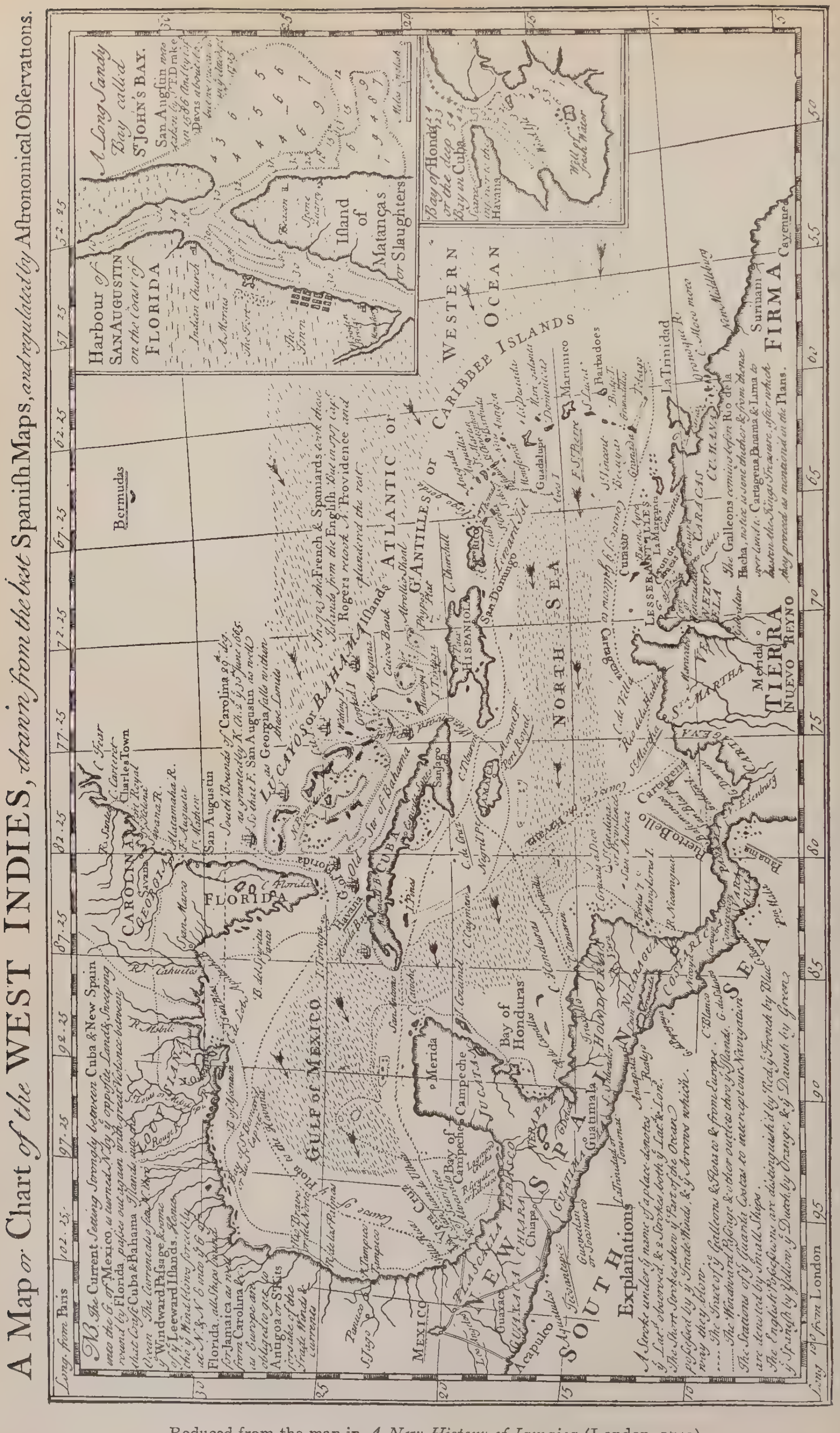
The Spanish discoverers and conquerors of the sixteenth century, when they pressed forward to the occupation of the rich islands of Hispaniola and Cuba, and to the subjugation of Mexico and Peru, passed by the smaller islands of the Caribbean Sea, and their discovery by Columbus was not followed by occupation. These lovely islands, therefore, offered convenient headquarters for those who wished to prey on Spanish commerce, and subsequently became colonies of England and France. As early as 1625 the governments of the two countries resolved to plant a royal colony of each nation on one of the West Indian Islands for mutual support against the Spaniards. The island of St. Kitts was selected for this purpose, and Pierre

Blain D'Esnambuc, the founder of French power in the West Indies, landed on one side of the island on the same day that the English landed on the other. D'Esnambuc also occupied the island of Guadaloupe; but in the midst of plans for further conquest, he died at St. Kitts in 1637. The French also occupied the island of Tortuga and the western side of St. Domingo; and in 1655 the English, under orders from the Lord Protector, took possession of Jamaica. Soon afterwards the depredations of French and English freebooters began along the Spanish Main, and in 1671 Henry Morgan crossed the Isthmus, sacking and burning the city of Panama. In 1680, during the viceroyalty of the Count of Monclova, the buccaneers or freebooters proceeded to still more audacious enterprises. They crossed the Isthmus of Darien, embarked in canoes supplied by the Indians, and captured several Spanish ships in the bay of Panama. In 1684 a buccaneer arrived in the Pacific by a voyage round Cape Horn, and in the following years the Spanish ports were attacked, prizes were taken, and the coast was kept in a constant state of alarm. The Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, put an end to buccaneering for a time, but it was resumed during the War of Succession, and the Spanish colonial system received its first great blow from the Treaty of Utrecht. By that time the Leeward and Windward Islands had become colonies either of England or France, while the growth of sugar by slave-labor made them very profitable possessions.

Philip V was recognized as King of Spain at the Peace of Utrecht, and he founded the Bourbon dynasty in that country. The treaty was signed on March 13, 1713, and England obtained two important concessions. She acquired the right to import slaves by an agreement called "Asiento de Negros," as well as to send a ship, called the "Navio de Permiso," with six hundred and fifty tons of merchandise, when the galleons went to Porto Bello. The French reaped still greater advantages, owing to the new Spanish king being their countryman. French ships were allowed to come round Cape Horn to trade in Chilian and Peruvian ports; and they were sometimes hired for the defence of the coast. Thus there was a sensible relaxation in the monopoly which had hitherto been rigidly enforced. French and English goods found their way to South America through other channels than the annual fleet of galleons sailing from Cadiz. But the supply continued to be inadequate to the demand. It increased the appetite without satisfying it, and the strong and increasing desire for more free intercourse with the outside world was sure to bear fruit in the time to come.

Meanwhile the jealousy of the Spanish merchants, and the desire to use the colonies solely for the benefit of the mother country, continued to manifest themselves. The Marques de Castell dos Rios was the first viceroy sent out by a Bourbon king, and when he died, in 1710, he was succeeded by the excellent Bishop of Quito, Dr. Diego Ladron de Guevara. His enlightened policy created enemies, and he was superseded in 1716, on the ground that his expenditure for Peruvian purposes was too liberal.

Carmine Nicolas Caraccioli, Prince of Santo Bono, a Neapolitan noble-



Reduced from the map in *A New History of Jamaica* (London, 1740).

man who had been ambassador at Rome and Venice, entered Lima as viceroy on the 5th of October, 1716. The gleam of toleration which followed the Treaty of Utrecht was transient, and the prince came out with stringent orders to destroy all foreign trade in the Pacific, burning ships and merchandise. Two large frigates arrived soon afterwards, under the stern command of Captain Juan Nicolas de Martinet, and several French ships were seized. This vacillating policy had the effect of inciting the desire of the colonists for freedom, while the selfish policy of Spain aroused their indignation. The Prince of Santo Bono was superseded at his own request in 1720, and was succeeded by the most distinguished military man who ever came to Peru as viceroy. Don José de Armendariz, Marquis of Castelfuerte, was a Navarrese. He became a lieutenant-general in 1706, and his gallant charge broke the enemy's left wing at the battle of Villaviciosa. He also took part in the siege of Barcelona, and was captain-general of Guipuzcoa when Philip V appointed him to the viceroyalty of Peru. The Marquis of Castelfuerte entered Lima on the 14th of May, 1724. He was a stern disciplinarian. Accusations had been brought against Diego de los Reyes, governor of Paraguay; and Dr. Don José Antequera was sent to Asuncion with a commission to try the accused official. Antequera assumed the government, and put Reyes in prison, finding that he was a tool of the Jesuits. The government at Lima disapproved of these proceedings, and suppressed the commission of Antequera, ordering Reyes to be reinstated. The viceroy then gave orders for Antequera to come to Lima; but he refused, and called the people to arms. Finally Antequera was arrested and sent to Lima in April, 1726. Society at Lima was in his favor. Great efforts were made to delay his trial. But the viceroy was resolved to punish him, and sentence of death was passed. The judges, the university, the municipality, petitioned for pardon, as well as the people of all classes. The stern old marquis refused to listen, and Antequera was brought out for execution in the great square of Lima on July 5, 1731. There were cries for pardon, and the mob began to throw stones. Hearing the tumult, the viceroy came out on horseback and ordered his guards to fire. Antequera fell dead, as well as the two priests by his side, and several others. The viceroy then ordered the body to be taken to the scaffold and beheaded. His conduct received the approval of the king by a decree of September, 1733.

The Marquis of Castelfuerte was inflexibly just, and, when complaints were brought before him, he protected the people from oppression. In the provinces of Guamanga and Andahuaylas the exactions of the priests became so intolerable that even the civil authorities interfered. The bishop supported his clergy, and went so far as to excommunicate the officials who had submitted the petitions of the Indians. The viceroy firmly supported the civil power, and the bishop was forced to yield to the severe but upright representative of the king. Castelfuerte also resisted the excesses of the Inquisition. Once the Holy Office had the audacity to summon the viceroy to appear before their tribunal. He came with a regiment of infantry and two fieldpieces. Placing his watch on the table, he informed the inquisitors that if their sitting was not over in fifteen minutes and he was outside, the room would be bombarded. This resolute and able ruler gave up charge to his successor, the Marquis of Villagarcia, in January, 1736, and returning to Spain by way of Mexico, he was decorated with the order of the Golden Fleece.

PROCESSION OF THE INQUISITION.*

The new viceroy belonged to that great house of Mendoza which had already given five rulers to Peru. He had been ambassador to Venice, and viceroy of Catalonia, and was already a veteran statesman when he entered Lima, and received charge from the Marquis of Castelfuerte. The first years of the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Villagarcia were rendered famous by the measurement of an arc of the meridian near Quito by the French academicians La Condamine, Bouguer, and Godin, assisted by the accomplished Spanish naval officers Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa.[1] This great work was completed in 1736, and M. Godin was afterwards professor of mathematics at Lima for ten years. No credit is due to the viceroy in connection with these scientific achievements. Alarmed by the presence of Anson's fleet in the Pacific and by the sack of Payta, he recalled the Ulloas from their valuable labors; while his name is also tarnished by the bigoted zeal with which he encouraged the horrible *autos-de-fe* of the Inquisition. The aged Marquis of Villagarcia set sail for Spain by way of Cape Horn in July, 1745, but died during the voyage home.

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[1] [Charles Marie de la Condamine's *Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale. Depuis la côte de la Mer du sud jusqu'aux côtes du Brésil & de la Guiane, en descendant la rivière des Amazones* (Paris, 1745) was also appended to Bouguer's *Figure de la Terre* (Paris, 1745), and his *Journal du Voyage* appeared at Paris in 1751. A new edition of the *Relation* was issued at Maestricht, 1778. An English *Succinct Abridgment* was printed at Lon-

* After a plate in Durret's *Voyage de Marseille à Lima* (Paris, 1720), ii. 27.

From this period there was a change in the class of men who were selected to be viceroys of Peru. Hitherto they had been noblemen of exalted rank and position. In the last eighty years of Spanish power they were generally distinguished naval and military officers of wide experience, who may be assumed to have been more in sympathy with the colonists. Coincident with this change in the class from which the rulers were chosen, there was a relaxation in the strictness of the monopoly, and a disposition to conciliate the Creole population. Formerly no ship bound for the Indies was allowed to sail from any port but Cadiz. Now other ports of Spain were permitted to trade with South America, and some foreign ships were even allowed to make the voyage by Cape Horn. For thirty years after the departure of the Marquis of Villagarcia, Peru was governed by two military officers, who were instructed to inaugurate a policy of conciliation; namely, Don José Antonio Manso, Count of Superanda, and Don Manuel de Amat.

One form of this conciliatory policy was the conferring of titles of nobility on the colonists. Such titles had occasionally, but very rarely, been granted during the last half of the previous century. The viceroys Manso and Amat had authority to create noblemen on a larger scale, but no other viceroys appear to have been empowered to grant titles. Altogether, one dukedom, fifty-eight marquisates, forty-four counties, and one viscounty were conferred on Peruvian families. Titles were only bestowed on distinguished families; and, though proofs and documents were required, the payment of a round sum of money was the most efficacious title-deed. But it may be doubted whether this measure had any material influence in cementing the loyal feelings of the South Americans for the king of Spain.

General Don José Antonio Manso, a native of Biscay, was a soldier of distinction who had seen active service in the War of Succession. In 1735 he became captain-general of Chile, and, during an energetic administration of ten years, he founded several towns, fortified posts, and constructed

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don, 1747; but the *Abridged Narrative* in Pinkerton's *Voyages* (London, 1813), vol. xiv., is usually the version seen. Cf. *Carter-Brown Catal.* iii. nos. 797, 848, 896, 946, 2456, 3448; the record by the Ulloas appended in their *Relacion histórica del Viage* (Madrid, 1748), in four folio volumes. Mauvillon's French version, *Voyage historique*, appeared at Amsterdam and Leipzig in 1752; an English translation, *A Voyage to South America*, at London, 1758, and was later issued in 1760, 1772, 1806, somewhat abridged. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii., nos. 879, 910, 974, 1183, 1262, 1826, 4172. — ED.]

roads. In July, 1745, he entered Lima as Viceroy of Peru, and was created Count of Superunda. A year after his arrival a terrible earthquake destroyed the capital. The west coast of South America is subject to such frequent shocks that it has been thought that their incessant recurrence has had some influence in moulding the character of the people. Since the foundation of Lima, that city had been nearly destroyed in 1586, in 1630, and in 1687; but on none of these occasions was the desolation to be compared with that of the 28th of October, 1746. At Lima the whole city became a heap of ruins, and more than a thousand persons perished. At Callao a great wave destroyed the town, the frigate "San Fermin" was carried far inland, nineteen vessels were stranded out of twenty-three that were at anchor, and 4,600 people were killed.

a. De Fortres genaamd Caſtello-blanco
b. Een Battery.

Gezigt van de Stad. VALPARAYSO in CHILI.

c. Het Vlek of de hooge ſtad.
d. De laage ſtad.

VALPARAISO.*

The Count of Superunda exerted himself to rescue the buried people, showing indifference to his personal safety. He took energetic and judicious steps to relieve the wants of the homeless citizens, and devoted the remaining years of his viceroyalty to the work of rebuilding the capital and the port. In this he received valuable assistance from M. Godin. The French mathematician planned and nearly completed Callao Castle, and restored the Cathedral of Lima and other churches. Manso was the viceroy who held office for the longest period, his term extending to over sixteen years.

His successor, Don Manuel de Amat, who belonged to an ancient Catalonian family, had adopted a military career, and had seen much service. During six years he had been captain-general of Chile, and in October,

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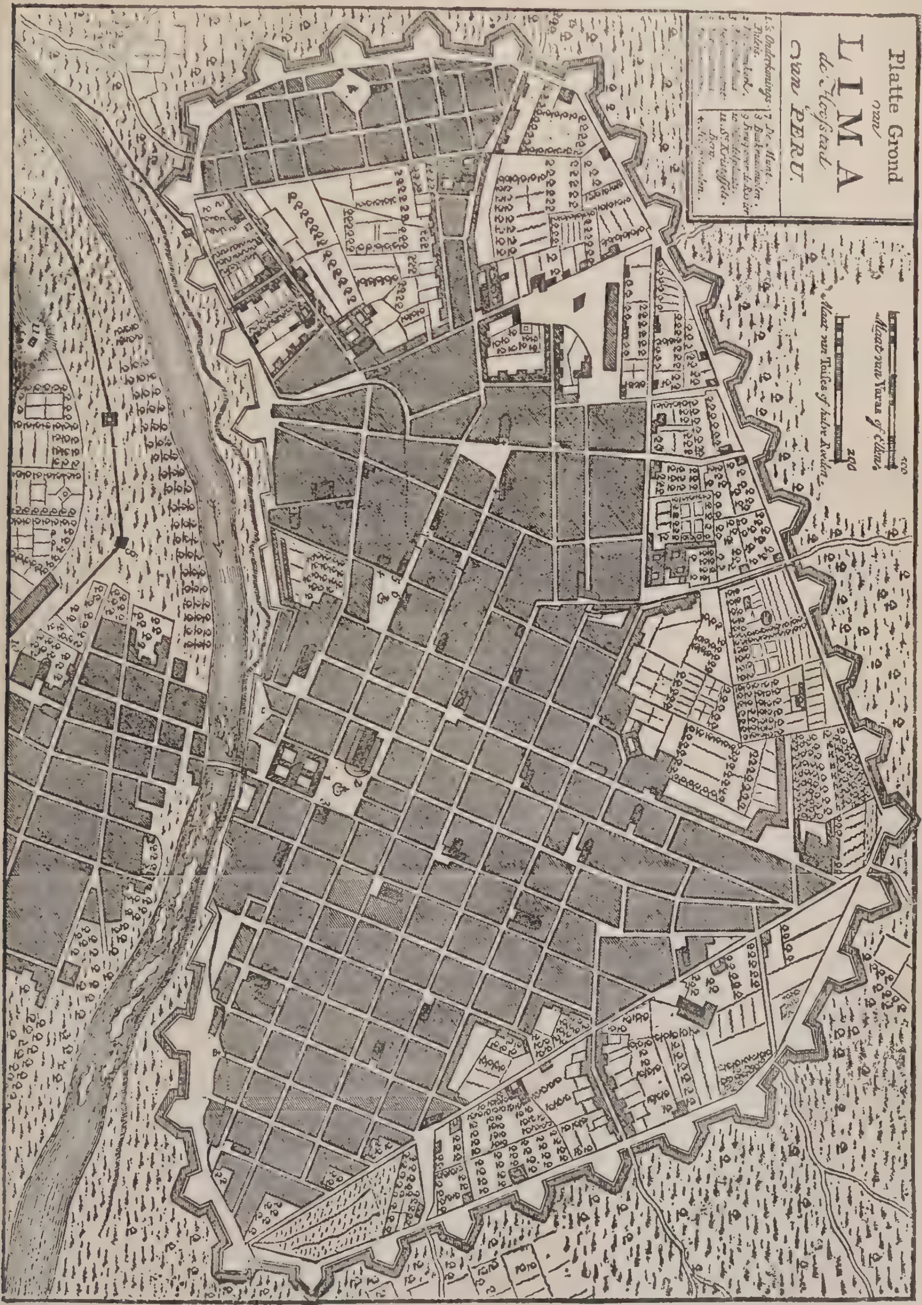
* From the *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), ii. 204. Plans and views are also in Frezier's *Voyage* (1713); in *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, ix. 558; and a later one in Miers' *Travels* (London, 1826). Cf. Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna's *Historia de Valparaiso* (Valparaiso, 1869, 1872), in two volumes.

1761, he entered Lima as viceroy of Peru. Amat had a passion for everything connected with military affairs. He organized militia regiments and



The above plan is from the *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), ii. 12. Cf. plans in Francisco Echave y Assu's *La Estrelia de Lima* (Amberies, 1688); Durret's *Voyage de Marseille à Lima* (Paris, 1720); *Relation of the dreadful Earthquake* (London, 1748); *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, ix. 376; Coreal's *Voyage*, Frezier's *Voyage*, etc.

made plans for the defence of the coast. But notwithstanding his arbitrary tendencies and soldierly manner, he acquired great social influence and made many friends at Lima. The work of his viceroyalty was the rebuilding of the city of Lima and the completion of Callao Castle. He also put his small fleet into a state of efficiency, and sent an important expedition of discovery to the Pacific islands in 1772, under the command of Captain Don Domingo Boenechea. Tahiti was reached, and named Amat in honor of the viceroy; upwards of seventeen other inhabited islands were visited and described; plans and charts were constructed, and the narrative was published in the *Diario de Lima* of June 1, 1792. But the most important event during this viceroyalty was the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. At and around Lima alone they owned 5,200 slaves, $180,000 in gold and silver, 52,300 *marcs* of silver, 7,000 *castellanos* of gold plate, $818,000 of credit, and $650,000 in value of farms. It was necessary to create an office for the management of this confiscated property. The great Jesuit church at Lima was given to the Fathers of San Felipe Neri, and the Jesuit library was acquired by the University of San Marcos.

It was said that Amat intended to reside at Lima after resigning the viceroyalty, but he remained only until the end of 1776, the year in which he was relieved by Don Manuel de Guirion. He returned to Spain very rich, and afterwards lived a retired life in a country house near Barcelona. His successor was a Navarrese of good family, who had served a long and honorable career in the navy. He arrived at the beginning of trouble. The continued oppression by local officials was exhausting the endurance of the people. Insurrections broke out in several parts of the country, which were quelled with more or less difficulty, the good viceroy discountenancing any extreme severity, and remitting capital sentences. The Bishop of Cuzco, Dr. Agustin Gorrichategui, a native of Panama, was an ardent friend of the Indians, and constantly protested against oppression and forced labor. He held the see from 1771 to 1776, and when the news of an outbreak at Urubamba reached him on his death-bed, he urged a policy of mercy and forgiveness with his last breath. But still the cry from home was for more treasure, and in 1776 one of the Council of the Indies, named José Antonio Areche, came out to Peru with powers which virtually superseded the most important functions of the viceroy. His title was Inspector-General of Tribunals and Finance. Don Manuel Guirion returned to Spain in 1780, and was succeeded by Don Agustin Jaurequi, a Navarrese officer who had commanded a regiment of dragoons at the battle of Almanza, and had been captain-general of Chile since 1773. He arrived at Lima, as viceroy of Peru, in November, 1780.

The unwieldy extent of the Peruvian viceroyalty at last necessitated a division. Although the avenging arm of a stern and inflexible viceroy like the Marquis of Castelfuerte could reach to Buenos Ayres, and drag culprits from the shores of the Paraguay to receive punishment at Lima, it became more and more apparent that efficient rule over so vast a territory was impracticable. In 1740 Nueva Granada had been raised to the rank of a viceroyalty,[1] with its capital at Bogota; and, following the example of the viceroys of Peru, those of Nueva Granada wrote memoirs at the conclusion of their terms of office, for the guidance of their successors, which cover the period from 1755 to 1813.[2]

In 1776 Buenos Ayres was also elevated to the rank of a viceroyalty, the territory of which included the presidency of Charcas (the modern Bolivia) up to the Lake of Titicaca, and the province of Cuyo, which had hitherto been a part of Chile. The first viceroy of Buenos Ayres, from 1776 to 1778, was Don Pedro de Cevallos. The advisability of this change was clear, owing to the immense distance from Lima and the rising importance of Buenos Ayres. The exportation of Peru and Chile by this route had risen to $35,000,000: the people had become warlike and self-confident, owing to their victories over the Brazilians, and they were no longer disposed to submit to the decrees of a distant authority, ignorant of their wants. Montevideo had been founded in 1726, and the estuary of the Rio de la Plata was frequented by merchant ships from the ports of Spain. The second viceroy of Buenos Ayres, Don Juan José de Vertiz, was an energetic ruler and an active reformer of abuses. His encouragement of commerce and progressive measures in all branches of the administration during the period of his rule, from 1778 to 1784, had a lasting effect on the early prosperity of the country.

Meanwhile the clouds were lowering over Peru. In spite of the efforts of successive viceroys, the treatment of the Indians of Peru had not improved, and their condition had long been intolerable. Isolated resistance had become frequent in various parts of the country, and nothing prevented a most formidable insurrection but the absence of combination. A leader was alone needed, and at about this time there was one forthcoming. The Prince of Squillace in 1618 wrote a despatch on the claims to jurisdiction of the members of the Inca family, who were heirs to the marquisate of Oropesa, and recommended that they should be obliged to live in Spain. This advice was neglected by the Council of the Indies, and in 1770 a descendant, named José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was recognized by the Royal Audience at Lima as heir to the marquisate, and as fifth in lineal descent from the Inca Tupac Amaru, who was put to death by the Viceroy Toledo in 1571.[3]

After the judicial decision, the young Inca adopted the name of Tupac Amaru. He was educated at the college of San Borja at Cuzco, which had been founded for the training of Indian chiefs, and his scholastic acquirements were not inconsiderable. He spoke Spanish with fluent accuracy, and his vernacular Quichua with peculiar grace. At the age of twenty he succeeded his father as cacique of Tungasuca and two other villages situated in a cold and lofty region of the Andes, near Cuzco. His address was dignified and courteous towards superiors and equals, but in his intercourse with the aborigines, by whom he was profoundly venerated, there was a sedateness not inconsistent with his legally admitted claims to the diadem of the Incas. In mind he was enterprising, cool, and persevering. He lived in a style becoming his rank, and derived a sufficient income from the hire of large troops of mules. He habitually cultivated the acquaintance of Spanish priests and officials, never neglecting an opportunity of representing to them the deplorable treatment of the Indians. He assisted the distressed, paid tribute for the poor, and sustained whole families which had been reduced to ruin. He cherished the traditions of his family, and profoundly felt the responsibility of his position.

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[1] [Up to this time, the history of the Jesuit missions in Nueva Granada forms no small part of the story of that province. It is told in Joseph Cassani's *Hist. de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus del Nuevo Regno de Granada en la America* (Madrid, 1741). It has a map, sometimes found in other books of this time, "Mapa de la Provincia y missiones de la Compañia de I. H. S. del Nuevo Regno de Grenada." — ED.]

[2] These *Memoirs* were edited and published at New York, in 1869, by Dr. Don José Antonio Garcia y Garcia, an accomplished Peruvian.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. II. p. 553.

Tupac Amaru exerted himself for years, and exhausted every means of obtaining redress, before he was driven to take up arms in defence of his race. His original object was to obtain guaranties for the observance of the laws and their just administration. His views were confined to these ends when he first drew his sword, although afterwards, when his moderate demands were only answered by cruel taunts and brutal menaces, he saw that independence or death were his only alternatives. The most merciless oppressor of the Indians was Don Antonio Aliaga, the corregidor of Tinta, near Lima. The Inca determined to commence his revolt by punishing this great culprit. Recruits were embodied, the corregidor was arrested, and on November 10, 1780, he was publicly executed at Tungasuca, in presence of a vast assemblage of Indians. Tupac Amaru then advanced towards Cuzco at the head of a large force, destroying the factories and liberating the imprisoned workmen. At this moment he might probably have entered Cuzco without opposition, but, unfortunately relying on the justice of his cause, he opened negotiations. Forming an intrenched camp round Tinta, he issued a proclamation setting forth the causes of his revolt, recapitulating the grievances of the people, and calling upon them to rally to his standard. They rose as one man, and nothing was heard but acclamations for their Inca and redeemer. On the 28th of January, 1781, the heights round Cuzco were covered with his army, and he addressed letters to the bishop and the municipality. But the garrison had been reinforced, there was an indecisive battle, and the Inca retreated to his camp at Tinta.

The whole of the interior of central and upper Peru was in revolt, and the viceroys at Lima and Buenos Ayres were thoroughly alarmed. Don Agustin Jaurequi seems to have thrown the responsibility on his unwelcome visitor, Don José Antonio Areche, who proceeded to Cuzco with extraordinary judicial powers, accompanied by Don Benito de la Matta Linares, one of the judges of the *Audiencia*, and reinforcements under General del Valle. By the end of February, 1781, a force was assembled at Cuzco, consisting of the tribes of a few Hispanicized caciques, negroes and mulattoes from the coast, and a nucleus of Spanish troops, — in all 15,000 men. Areche received a letter from Tupac Amaru, in which he represented the earnest efforts he had made to obtain justice for his people, the habitual violation of the law by the Spanish officials, the cruel and intolerable oppression of the *mitta*, and proposing a negotiation by which reforms might be secured without bloodshed. The despatch was very ably written, and is a monument of the noble and enlightened views of this great but most unfortunate patriot. The answer of Areche was that he refused all negotiation, vowed the most horrible vengeance, and he concluded by saying that if the Inca surrendered at once the cruelty of the mode of his execution would be lessened. The Spanish general protested against the brutality of this reply.

Tupac Amaru now proposed to resist to the utmost. On March 12, 1781, General del Valle left Cuzco and advanced up the valley to Checacape. Near this village the Inca had taken up a position defended by a ditch and parapet, and manned by 20,000 men; but he had neglected to provide for the protection of his flanks. This omission was fatal. Attacked in front and rear, the Indians, after an heroic struggle, fell back to another intrenched position near Tinta. The Spaniards, following up their success, made an assault, and carried the position at the point of the bayonet. All was lost. Tupac Amaru, with his wife and three sons, fled to Lanqui, where he intended to rally his disordered forces. But he was treacherously betrayed and brought a prisoner to Cuzco, with many of his relations. His brother, Diego Tupac Amaru, and two nephews escaped. On the same day General del Valle hanged sixty-seven Indian prisoners.

The diabolical cruelties of Areche and his colleague, Matta Linares, are almost too horrible for record. On the 15th of May, 1781, Areche published a long and most atrocious sentence. In the annals of barbarism there is probably not to be found a document equalling this sentence in savage wickedness and imbecile absurdity. The hideous cruelty was literally carried into effect in all its revolting details. On the 18th there were ten executions in the great square of Cuzco, which was lined with Spanish and negro troops. Not an Indian was to be seen. An uncle of the Inca, verging on fourscore, and the Inca's eldest son, a youth of twenty, had their tongues cut out and were garroted with an iron screw. The same was done to the Inca's wife and several others. The tongue of the Inca was then cut out, and lassos, secured to the girths of four horses, were fastened to his wrists and ankles. The horses were made to drag different ways, and as his body was thus raised into the air his youngest child, a boy of ten, who was forced to witness the slaughter of his family, uttered a heart-rending shriek. The knell continued to ring in the ears of those who heard it to their dying day. It was the death-knell of Spanish colonial dominion, — the first stroke of that bell which was to toll for forty years. The Inca's body remained in agony for many minutes, while Areche and Matta Linares gloated over the sight. At length his head was cut off, and at that moment a great wind arose, with torrents of rain. The Indians declared that even the elements mourned the death of the Inca, whom the impious and inhuman Spaniards were torturing with such cruelty. After the perpetration of these atrocities at Cuzco the war became one of extermination, and not less than 80,000 people fell victims to the vengeance of the Indians and of the Spanish troops.

Diego Tupac Amaru, the brother of the Inca, took command of the insurgent forces in the Collao, and besieged Puno, which fell into his hands, while the Spanish army under General del Valle retreated to Cuzco. The commissariat had been so shamefully neglected that he could not keep the field. This was due to the incapacity and neglect of Areche, who was recalled by the viceroy in August, and returned to Spain. The Inca's brother established his headquarters at Azangaro, whence he promulgated a manifesto setting forth the grievances of the Indians. This is a very able and telling document, and, together with the more detailed writings of the Inca himself, forms a complete vindication of this memorable insurrection.

The suppression of the revolt in upper Peru by troops from Buenos Ayres induced Diego Tupac Amaru to listen to overtures for a pacification that were made to him by the Spaniards. On a promise of pardon and redress of grievances, he and his nephews were induced to disband their forces and return to their homes. But no sooner were they in the power of their perfidious enemies than all the promises were broken. Diego and his relations were put to death in July, 1783, and efforts were made to extirpate every member of the Inca lineage. But the Inca did not die in vain. It must be recorded of them, that, unlike other dispossessed families, they sacrificed themselves in the hope of serving their people, and not for their own selfish ends. They did not die in vain, for in their fall they shook the colonial power of Spain to its foundation. From the cruel death of the last of the Incas may be dated the rise of that feeling which ended in the expulsion of the Spaniards from South America.

The viceroy Don Agustin Jaurequi was called upon for a report on the causes which led to the discontent of the people. He replied that the injustice of the *mitta*, the misery caused by it, and the exactions of the priests were the reasons which led to the feelings which culminated in the rebellion. His proposed remedies were the extinction of the Quichua language, solid instruction in the Catholic faith, fair treatment, and a just and equal distribution of the *mitta*. This viceroy gave up charge in April, 1784, and died from the effects of an accident a few days afterwards. His successor was Don Teodoro de Croix, a tall, handsome soldier, and native of Lille, in Flanders. He had served in the frontier province of Sonora when his brother, the Marquis of Croix, was viceroy of Mexico, and he arrived at Lima on April 4, 1784. His term of office was a period of peace, during which two of the reforms demanded by Tupac Amaru were adopted, namely, the abolition of the corregidors and the creation of a court of justice for hearing native causes at Cuzco. In 1784 it was resolved, in accordance with the plan of Tupac Amaru, to abolish the office of corregidors, and to divide Peru into seven large provinces called *intendencias*, composed of *partidos*. The *intendencias* were governed by *intendentes*, directly responsible to the viceroys, and the fifty-four *partidos* were under *sub-delegados*, subordinate to the *intendentes*. These divisions correspond to the departments and provinces of the modern republic. The *Audiencia* of Cuzco was installed in November, 1788. A financial committee was also established at Lima, chiefly with the object of enforcing a uniform system of accounts throughout the colonies. Don Teodoro de Croix retired in 1790, returning to Spain by way of Cape Horn, and leaving behind him a good reputation as an upright, kind-hearted, and religious man.

The new viceroy, Don Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, a native of Galicia, was a sailor, and had been admiral of the royal fleet. He was a great reformer and an able administrator, a lover of letters and an active promoter of literature. He encouraged the assemblage of literary men, and under his friendly auspices thought was set free and liberal ideas began to prevail. The admiral gave access to all official records for those who planned the *Mercurio Peruano*. The projectors of this periodical were the admiral himself, Drs. Gabriel Moreno and Hipólito Unanue, — two men of high scientific attainments, — the rector of the College of San Carlos, the famous explorer Sobreviela, and several ecclesiastics and military officers. The first number appeared on January 1, 1791, and the contributors formed a society or club entitled "Amantès del Pais." A room at the university was set apart for their meetings by order of the viceroy. The *Mercurio Peruano*[1] completed twelve volumes, from 1791 to 1794, and from 1793 to 1798 an annual Official Guide was published, under the editorship of Dr. Unanue. The viceroy also began to publish a *Gazette* at Lima. His interest in the navy led him to found a nautical school, and open a hydrographic office for the sale of charts. Great encouragement was also given to the exploration of the courses of great tributaries of the Amazon by missionaries under the lead of Fray Narciso Gerbal, while Don Alejondro Malespina surveyed the coasts. The admiral also superintended the preparation of a map of Peru by the hydrographer Andres Baleato, which was used to illustrate the memoir on his administration. Admiral Taboada, the best and most enlightened of the viceroys of Peru, returned to Spain in 1796, when he was made director-general of marine. He died in 1810.

It appears from the statistics published by the retiring viceroy in 1794, that the population of Peru was then 1,076,997, — that is, the seven intendencias of Lima, Cuzco, Guamanga, Arequipa, Huancavelica, Tarma, and

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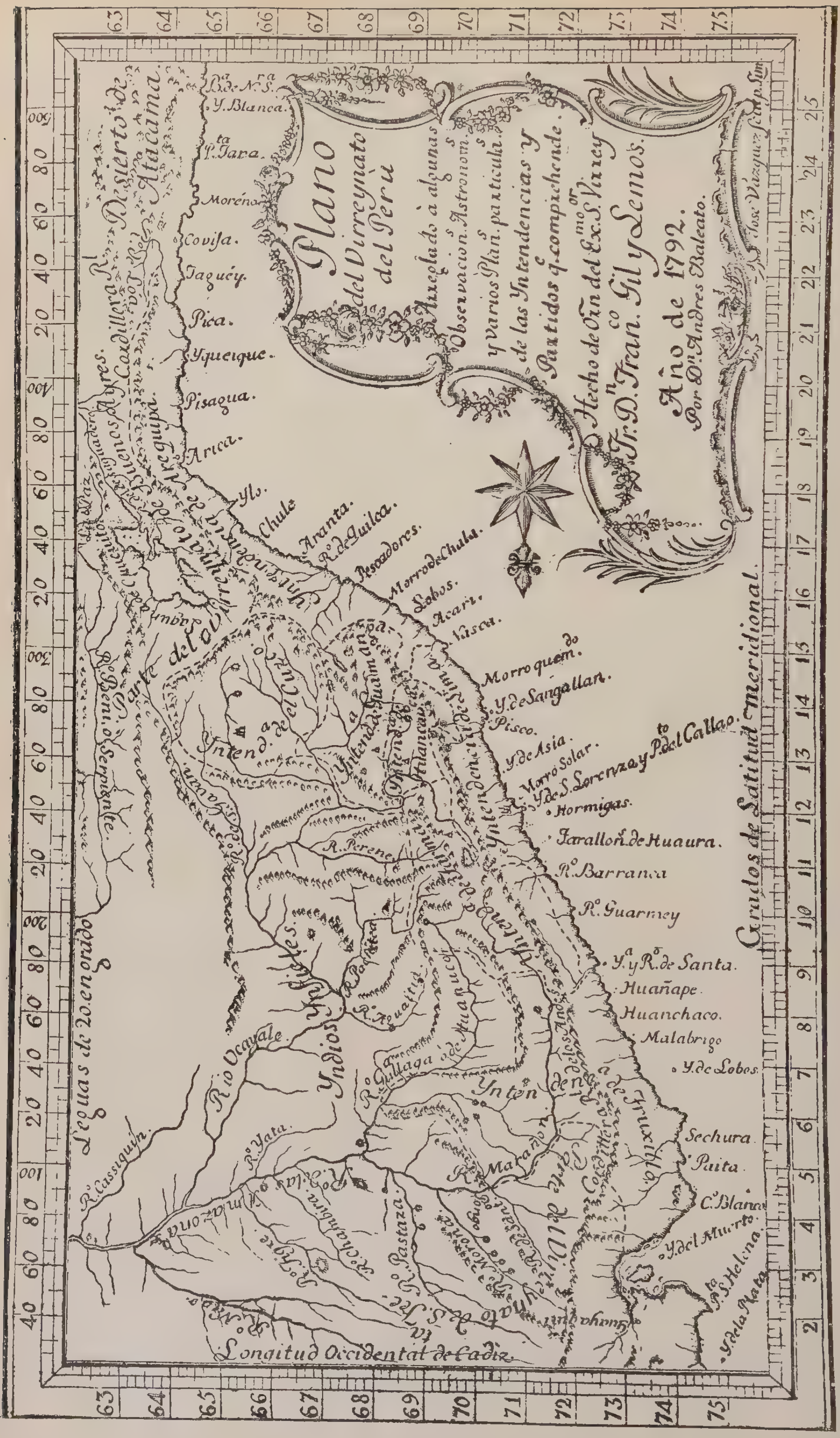
[1] [Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. p. 276. Extracts from this periodical are the essential parts of Joseph Skinner's *Present State of Peru* (London, 1805), and of *Peru aus dem Mercurio Peruano* (Weimar, 1808). — Ed.]

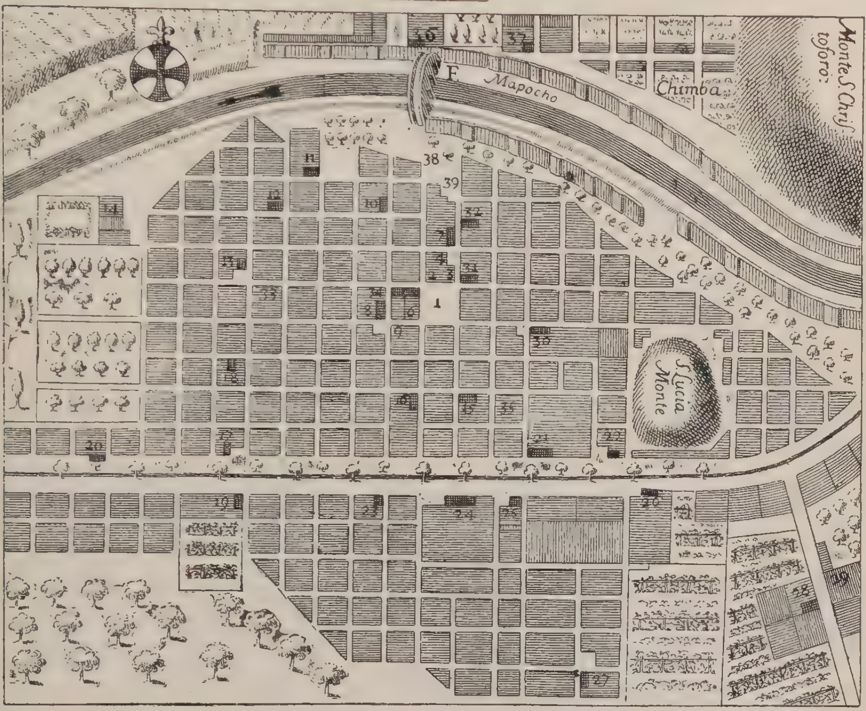

Plano
del Virreynato
del Perú
Arreglado á algunas
Observaciones Astronom.s
y varios Planes particulares
de las Yntendencias y
Partidos q.e comprehende.
Hecho de Orn del Ex.mo S.or Virrey
Fr. D.n Fran.co Gil y Lemos.
Año de 1792.
Por D.n Andres Baleato.
José Vázquez sculp. Lima.
Grados de Latitud meridional.
Longitud Occidental de Cadiz.
Leguas de 20 en grado
Desierto de Atacama.
Cordillera R.l
Parte del Virreynato de Buenos Ayres.
Yntend.a de Arequipa.
Yntend.a del Cuzco
Yntend.a de Guamanga
Yntend.a de Guancavelica
Yntendencia de Lima
Yntend.a de Tarma
Yntendencia de Truxillo
Cordillera de los Andes
Yndios Ynfieles.
Rio Ocayale.
R.o Beni ó Serpiente.
R.o Perene.
R.o Pachitea
R.o Aguaitia
R.o Guallaga ó de Huanuco
R. Marañon
R.o Yata.
R.o Cassiquiyn.
R.o Tigre
R.o Pastaza
R.o Morona
R.o Napo
Amazonas
B.a de N.a S.ra
Y. Blanca.
P.ta Jara.
Moreno.
Covija.
Jaguey.
Pica.
Yquique.
Pisagua.
Arica.
Ylo.
Chule.
Aranta.
R.o de Quilca.
Pescadores.
Morro de Chala.
Lobos.
Acari.
Nasca.
Morro quem.do
Y. de Sangallan.
Pisco.
Y. de Asia.
Morro Solar.
Y. de S. Lorenzo y P.to del Callao.
Hormigas.
Farallon.s de Huaura.
R.o Barranca
R.o Guarmey
Y.a y R.o de Santa.
Huañape.
Huanchaco.
Malabrigo
Y. de Lobos.
Sechura.
Paita.
C.o Blanco
Y. del Muerto.
P.ta S. Helena.
Y. de la Plata
La Paz
Guayaquil

Truxillo. Of these, 608,912 were Indians, 244,437 half-castes, 136,311 of Spanish descent, and 80,000 negroes. When Toledo numbered the Peruvian Indians in 1575, there were 8,000,000! The salary of the viceroy was

Tavola 10.

S. GIACOPO CAPITALE DEL REGNO DEL CHILE

Scala di piedi geometrici 1350



1. Piazza
2. Palazzo del Preſidente
3. Palazzo del Sen.º Reale e pubbl.º
4. Quartiere de Dragoni
5. il Duomo
6. il Veſcovado
7. Domenicani
8. Collegio che fù de' Geſuiti
9. Convitto de Nobili
10. Suore Cappucine
11. S. Paulo che fù de' Geſuiti
12. Suore di S. Rosa
13. S. Anna Parrocchia
14. Caſino del M. de la Pica
15. Agoſtiniani
16. Suore di S. Agoſtino
17. S. Lazaro
18. Orfanelli
19. Noviziato che fù de Geſuiti
20. S. Michele
21. Suore di S. Chiara
22. S. Saturnina
23. S. Diego
24. S. Franceſco
25. Oſpit.e di S. Gio. di Dio
26. Suore Carmelitane
27. S. Isidoro Parrocchia
28. S. Ignazio che fù de' Geſuiti
29. Caſa di eserciz.j che fù de' Geſuiti
30. Mercedarj
31. Suore della Vittoria
32. la Carita
33. Collegio Tridentino
34. la Zecca
35. l' Univerſita
36. Suore Tereſiane
37. Zoccolanti
38. Paſſeggio pubblico
39. Piazza de Tori

NOTE. — The above plan of Santiago is reduced from one in the *Compendio della Storia del Regno del Chile* Bologna, 1776). There is a "Prospectus y planta de la Ciudad de Santiago" in Ovale's *Regno de Chile* Rome, 1648), p. 170. There are later ones in Frezier's *Voyage* (1713), and in the *Allg. Historie der Reisen* vol. xv.); and a later one in Miers' *Travels* (London, 1826). Cf. B. V. Mackenna's *Historia de la Ciudad le Santiago, 1541 a 1868* (Valparaiso, 1869).

NOTE. — The opposite map is from the *Guia del Perú para el año de 1796* (Lima).

$60,500. The receipts were $6,393,206, and the expenditures $4,082,313, leaving a surplus of $2,935,106 for transmission to Spain. There were 5,596 clergy, and the tithes averaged $291,867 a year, besides fees. The trade between Peru and Cadiz in 1791 was represented by $4,183,856 worth of imports, and $5,699,590 of exports, leaving a balance for Peru of $1,515,734. The tribute exacted from the Indians amounted to $885,586.

DON AMBROSIO O'HIGGINS.*

The next viceroy of Peru was a very remarkable man. In the middle of the last century a little Irish boy, named Ambrose Higgins, was employed to carry the letters to the post for Lady Bective. He had an uncle who was a priest at Cadiz, and eventually he was sent to this uncle to be educated. Thence he found his way to Peru, and was employed in a little shop under the terrace of the cathedral at Lima. Proceeding to Chile as a young man, he showed so much engineering talent that he obtained a commission in the army. His conduct on the Araucanian frontier displayed such tact and judgment in dealing with the Indians that he was promoted to the command at Concepcion. There he received the expedition of La Perouse, and rendered the French explorer so much assistance that his services were strongly recommended to the notice of the Spanish government. From 1788 to 1796 he was captain-general of Chile, and adopted the prefix O' as being more aristocratic. He visited every part of his government, corrected abuses, made peace with the Araucanians, and constructed the carriage road from Santiago to Valparaiso. From 1796 to 1800 he was viceroy of Peru, and was created Marquis of Osorno. He died rather suddenly at Lima in March, 1801, and was succeeded by a man of very different character. Gabriel Aviles, Marquis of Aviles, had been upwards of twenty years in South America as a military officer, and had been guilty of atrocious cruelties during the insurrection of Tupac Amaru. He was in command of the troops during the execution of the Inca at Cuzco. He succeeded O'Higgins as captain-general of Chile, and was viceroy of Buenos Ayres when he was summoned to Lima in 1801. A penurious financier, Aviles undertook no public work and promoted no useful measure. He died at Valparaiso in 1806, when about to embark for Spain.

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* After an engraving in Arano's *Historia de Chile*, vol. vii.

Don José Fernando Abascal, a native of Oviedo, had entered the army as a cadet in 1762, and had seen much service in various parts of the world, including Buenos Ayres, where he was employed under Cevallos, the first viceroy. Taken prisoner by the English on his way out to Peru, he was landed at Lisbon, and went thence to Rio Janeiro. He then made a very remarkable journey by land from Brazil to Peru, and entered Lima in July, 1806. The Viceroy Abascal felt that the revolutionary ideas of France, which were rapidly spreading, would surround him with perils, and he determined to strive to avert them by a policy of active usefulness. He introduced vaccination, founded a medical hospital, prohibited burials in churches, and established a Pantheon outside the city. He also organized a formidable army, built the artillery barrack of Santa Catalina at Lima, made a large cistern in Callao Castle, and cast upwards of fifty 4-pounder fieldpieces. General Pezuela, who had arrived from Europe in 1805, was inspector of artillery. But Abascal was a protectionist of the old school. He supported the exclusive monopoly of the Cadiz merchants, raised the *alcabala* or excise dues, and increased the customs tariff. In 1811 a Spanish man-of-war left Callao with $2,000,000 for the mother country.

All revolutions, like armies on the march, advance with pioneers in front. Such men are sometimes a century, sometimes a few years in advance of the general movement. They often point out or shed light on the paths of progress by their sufferings, sometimes by their life's blood. The Inca

Tupac Amaru was the foremost pioneer of the independence of Peru. After his death, many enlightened Spaniards and men of Spanish descent inculcated the doctrines of freedom, and thus leavened the rising generation. Dr. Pedro José Chavez de la Rosa, Bishop of Arequipa from 1789 to 1805, was such a teacher. His pupils became the most ardent advocates of reform. Another inspirer of revolutionary ideas was Rodriguez de Mendoza, the rector of the College of San Carlos at Lima. The College of Medicine, under the teaching of Dr. Unanue, was another centre of liberal ideas. Many of the clergy joined heartily in the movement. The nobility and even the ladies of Lima caught the infection. In the house of the Countess of Gisla a secret club of advanced reformers held their meetings; while the army was full of ardent patriots. The young advocate José de la Riva Aguero became the ringleader of the secret societies. Allied to the nobility, making common cause with educated men by reason of his learning and his profession, young and with popular manners, he was well fitted for the work of organizing opposition. Clubs were formed, and the duty of their members was to make proselytes and to propagate liberal ideas. The Conde de Vista Florida, an ennobled Peruvian, was the coadjutor of Riva Aguero, and the ostensible head of the constitutional party. There were local rebellions at Tacna and Huanuco in 1811 and 1812, and in 1813 the Inquisition was abolished. The people of Lima rose, forced their way into the palace of the Holy Office, liberated the prisoners, and broke in pieces the instruments of torture.[1]

The Viceroy Abascal had concentrated the whole military power of the Spanish colonies at Lima. Organized resistance could be attempted only at a distance from this centre; although liberal ideas and aspirations were seething in the capital. The invasion of the Spanish Peninsula by the French Emperor was the immediate cause of the revolt of the colonies. In 1807 the Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil, and the Brazilian colony was proclaimed a separate kingdom in 1815. In 1808 Napoleon seized and imprisoned the king of Spain at Bayonne. A regency was organized at Cadiz. All parties were unanimous in refusing to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte. But while the viceroys and Spanish officials recognized the Cadiz regency, the colonists as a body withheld their allegiance, declaring that they would organize native governments during the king's imprisonment.

These movements began in Venezuela, where the captain-general nominated by the regency was deposed in April, 1810, and a government was formed, while young Simon Bolivar was sent to London to solicit protection from the English ministry. The mediation of England was offered to and refused by Spain, and Bolivar returned in company with General Miranda, who was placed in command of the Venezuelan troops. But Miranda was unable to maintain his position. In July, 1812, he made a treaty with the Spanish General Monteverde, and the first Republic of Venezuela ceased to exist. Soon afterwards Miranda was arrested, sent to Cadiz in irons, and died in prison. A Spanish army of 10,000 men was sent out, under General Morillo. Venezuela and Nueva Granada were entirely subdued,[1] and great numbers of leading patriots were shot at Bogota in cold blood. Bolivar took refuge in Jamaica, and bided his time.

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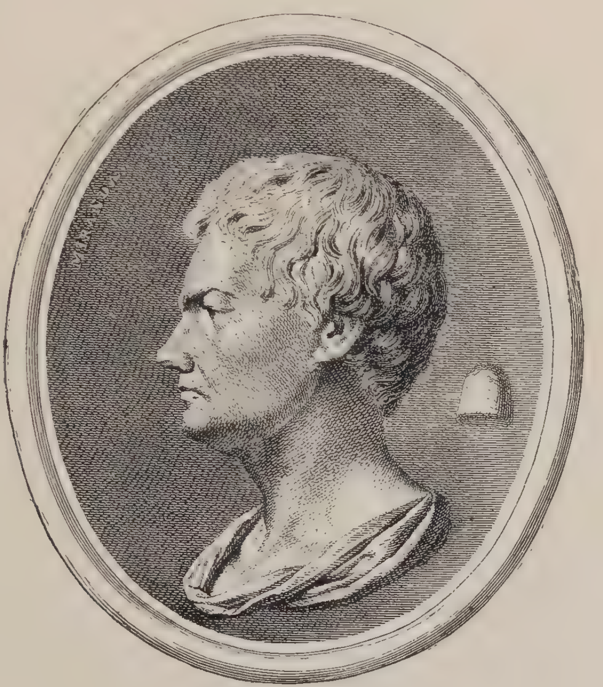
[1] Cf. B. V. Mackenna's *Francisco Moyen o lo que fué la inquisicion en América* (Valparaiso, 1868), and an English translation (London, 1869).

In Chile the first attempt at revolution was equally unfortunate. The original pretext was the same as in Venezuela: the formation of a government during the king's captivity. A *Junta de Gobierno* was proclaimed at Santiago on the 18th of September, 1810. The *Audiencia* was dissolved, Dr. Rosas was placed at the head of affairs, and the first Congress met in 1811. But dissensions broke out among the patriots. Don José Miguel Carrera, with his two brothers, Juan José and Luis, headed a military mutiny at Santiago, while Rosas was in power at Concepcion. Valdivia and Chiloe remained faithful to Spain. The Carreras corrupted the troops at



MIRANDA.*

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[1] [There was published in Paris in 1826, as translated from the Spanish, *Mémoires relatifs aux principaux événements de Campagnes en Amérique de 1815 à 1821*, as chronicling Morillo's progress; but he denied all connection with the work. *Biblioteca Beéche*, p. 199; Arana's *Notas*, no. 321. — ED.]

* This plate, originally engraved in Paris, in 1793, by Gaucher, was reëngraved in London by Bragg, and appeared in J. M. Antepara's *South American Emancipation Documents historical and explanatory, shewing the designs which have been in progress, and the exertions made by General Miranda for the South American Emancipation* (London, 1810). Cf. portrait in Rafter's *Gregor M'Gregor* (London, 1820).

Concepcion. Rosas was banished to Mendoza, and died in obscurity. Carrera promulgated a fundamental law or constitution in 1812, and welcomed a friar named Camilo Henriquez, who had fled from Lima, owing to the persecution of the Inquisition. He embraced the cause of the revolution with enthusiasm, and edited the first Chilian periodical, called *La Aurora.* The Viceroy Abascal dispatched a force under Brigadier Pareja to restore order in Chile, and he landed at Talcahuano in 1813. His presence gave rise to despondency and discontent. Carrera was deposed, and Don Demetrio O'Higgins, a son of the viceroy, Marquis of Osorno, was placed at the head of the revolutionary forces. In the following year the viceroy of Peru sent fresh reinforcements to Chile, under General Osorio, who marched on Santiago. Carrera and O'Higgins combined against the common enemy; and the hostile forces met at Rancagua on October 12, 1814.

JOSÉ MIGUEL DE CARRERA.*

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* After a likeness in Arana's *Hist. de Chile*, viii. There is a portrait of Luis Carrera in Mackenna's *Ostracismo de los Carreras.*

The rebels were totally defeated, O'Higgins fled across the Andes to Mendoza, and Spanish rule was restored in Chile.

At Buenos Ayres the revolution was more successful. In September, 1810, a national government was formed, the first congress met in 1813, and General Belgrano was sent to stir up a revolution in Upper Peru, and oppose the forces of the viceroy.

An insurrection had broken out at La Paz and Chuquisaca in Upper Peru, a year before the establishment of a national government at Buenos Ayres. But General Goyeneche, sent from Lima by the Viceroy Abascal, carried all before him, and inflicted remorseless vengeance on all who had favored the attempt. Nevertheless, the government of Buenos Ayres sent an expedition to Upper Peru in 1810, under Dr. Castelli, to establish a national régime. Once more the terrible Goyeneche marched into Upper Peru, and Castelli was utterly defeated at the battle of Huaqui. But the whole country had risen, and a desultory war continued. On the retirement of Goyeneche, the Spaniards were commanded by General Ramirez; while the Buenos Ayres government sent General Belgrano to assist the insurgents in February, 1813.

BELGRANO.*

Meanwhile, an aged Peruvian cacique named Mateo Garcia Pumacagua, who had sided with the Spaniards against Tupac Amaru, but who embraced the cause of the patriots in his old age, had risen at Cuzco. He was joined by several Spaniards of position, all the Indians flew to arms, and he advanced to Arequipa in triumph. Ramirez found himself threatened both in front and rear. He countermarched on Arequipa, and Pumacagua retreated at his approach. General Pezuela was hard pressed by Belgrano in the south, so Ramirez resolved to follow up and dispose of the Indian cacique. Reaching Lampa on March 1, 1815, he received a proposal for a convention. But he refused any terms except unconditional surrender. On the 12th he came up with Pumacagua at Umachiri, and dispersed his large but half-armed force. Pumacagua was taken and hanged. All the officers of Spanish descent were shot, including the poet Melgar of Arequipa, and many of the Indians were mutilated. The united forces of Ramirez and Pezuela then recovered Upper Peru, and numerous local insurrections were suppressed with ruthless cruelty.

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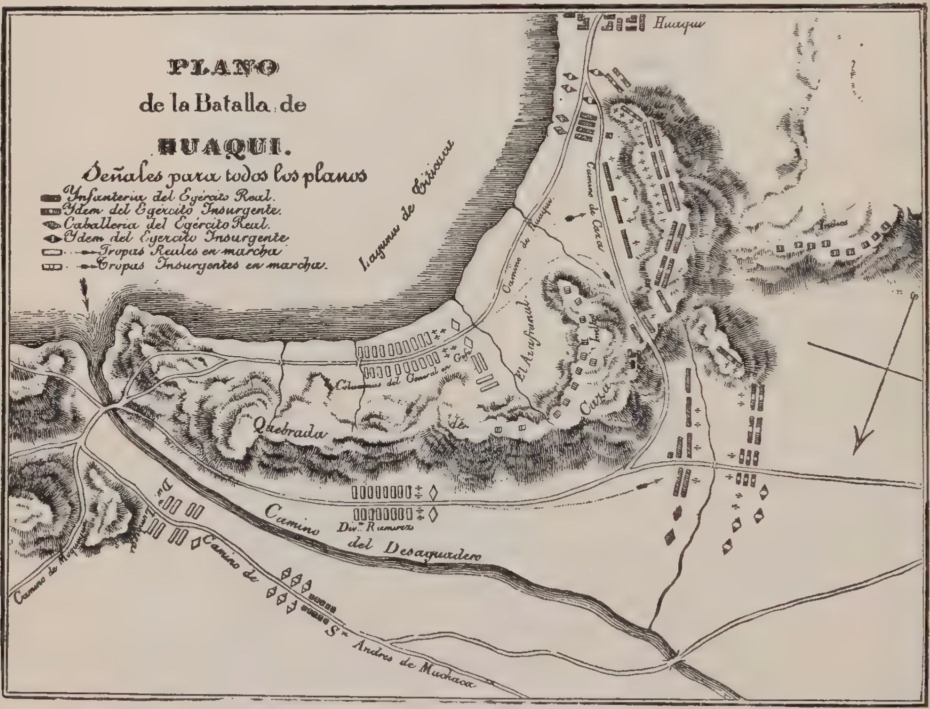
* After a likeness in Mitré's *Historia de Belgrano* (Buenos Ayres, 1887), vol. ii. The third volume shows the equestrian statue at Buenos Ayres.



From Torrente's *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, vol. i.

The Viceroy Abascal saw his policy succeeding in all directions. Chile and Upper Peru were reconquered. Resistance was stamped out in Venezuela and Nueva Granada. Buenos Ayres alone remained free. He thought that Spanish power was restored. It was only a lull before the final storm. Abascal was created Marques de la Concordia. He was relieved by General Pezuela in July, 1816, and returned to Spain, where he had the rank of captain-general. He died at Madrid in 1821, aged seventy-eight.

The new viceroy was a mere soldier, and one in whom the officers had no confidence. General La Serna had succeeded him in Upper Peru, but had not been able to make head against the Argentines at Salta and Jujuy. In 1819 he came to Lima with the intention of returning to Spain. But he was prevailed upon to remain. Pezuela was believed to be incapable, and on January 29, 1821, he was deposed by a military cabal at the camp of Annapuquio. General Don José de La Serna then took office, and was the last viceroy of Peru.

STATUE OF SAN MARTIN AT BUENOS AYRES.*

Help was to come from Buenos Ayres, and of the most effectual kind. José de San Martin was the true hero of South American independence. Born in Paraguay, where his father was governor of the "Misiones," San Martin went to Spain when a boy, and, after studying at the military college of Madrid, became a cadet in the Spanish army. His gallantry at the battle of Baylen gained for him the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but, hearing of the struggle for liberty in his native land, he resolved to resign his commission and return to South America. He at once received a high command, succeeding General Belgrano, and he established a regular system of discipline among the insurgent troops. In September, 1814, San

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* After a photograph in a folio volume, *El General San Martin*, which was given to Harvard College library by D. F. Sarmiento, and contains, beside, an account of the inauguration of the statue in 1862, sundry documents relating to San Martin, a colored view of Pizarro's standard, used in the Conquest, and given to San Martin by the municipality of Lima, a "bibliografia del General San Martin," which largely serves for a bibliography of the period of independence, and an account of the portraits of San Martin. There is a bust portrait in Miller's *General Miller* (London, 1829), and another view of this statue in Mackenna's *Ostracismo de los Carreras.*

Martin began the labor of creating an army of the Andes at Mendoza, the nucleus of which was 180 recruits from Buenos Ayres. It took the general two years to increase this force to an army fit for the invasion of Chile. All that time San Martin devoted himself to the task with sound judgment, ability, and industry. He enjoyed the full confidence of officers and men. By 1816 he had 4,000 regular troops at Mendoza, well clothed and armed.

At length, on January 17, 1817, San Martin began his wonderful march across the Andes with 3,000 infantry, 960 cavalry, 1,200 muleteer militia-men, 120 laborers, and 70 staff officers. Provisions for 5,200 men for fifteen days, ammunition, spare arms, and a train of field artillery were carried by 9,000 mules. The provisions were jerked beef seasoned with capsicums, toasted maize, biscuit, cheese, and onions as a cure for *soroche*, the illness caused by rarefied atmosphere at great heights. The divisions were commanded by Las Heras, Alvarado, and the fugitive Chilian O'Higgins. Many of the soldiers died of *soroche*, nearly all suffered from it, and only 4,300 mules ever arrived in Chile. Mendoza is 4,486 feet above the sea, and the summit of the pass attains a height of 12,700 feet. Thence there is a descent of upwards of 10,000 feet to the plains of Chile. The passage of the Andes occupied three weeks. In the passage of the Great St. Bernard, Napoleon had only to lead his troops to a height of 7,963 feet.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.*

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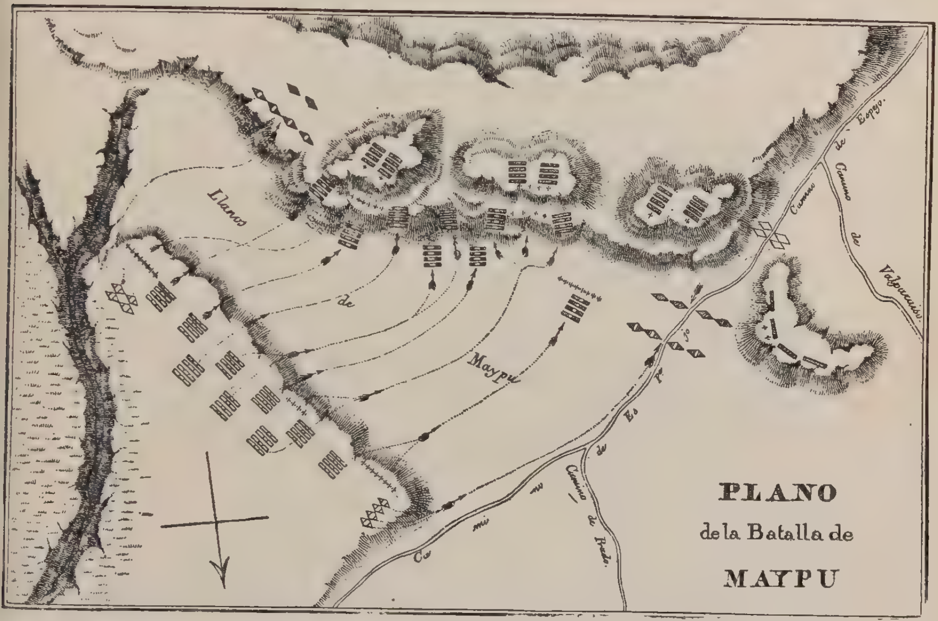
* After a mezzotint in J. Miller's *Life of General Miller* (London, 1829), vol. ii.

San Martin's army had to ascend nearly 5,000 feet higher, and in other respects their achievement was still more remarkable.

In February, 1817, the patriot army debouched from the mountains, and found the royalists under Brigadier Maroto occupying the pass of Chacabuco, 4,000 strong. On the 12th, O'Higgins led his Chilians up the ascent, and carried the position at the point of the bayonet. San Martin then advanced to Santiago, and was nominated Supreme Director of Chile. But he declined the honor. His great object was the liberation of Peru, without which no other part of South America would be safe. Don Bernardo O'Higgins was chosen in his place, while San Martin went back to Buenos Ayres to solicit reinforcements. Returning to Chile in April, he prepared to encounter General Osorio, the victor of Rancagua, who had arrived from Lima with 3,400 veteran soldiers. The patriots had advanced in their views. They no longer claimed the right of government during the king's captivity. Ferdinand VII was now free, and they refused to acknowledge him. On February 12, 1818, the absolute independence of Chile was proclaimed; and in March the two generals, San Martin and O'Higgins, advanced southwards with 7,000 men, to encounter the royalists under Osorio, who had occupied Talca. The patriots were drawn up on the adjacent plain of Cancha-Rayada. On the 19th they were surprised by a night attack, thrown into confusion, and fled in all directions. The Argentine division of Las Heras alone retired in good order. The generals succeeded in rallying the fugitives, and a fortnight after the defeat an army



From Torrente's *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, vol. ii. There are other plans in Miller's *General Miller*, and in the atlas of Gay's *Chile*.

of 5,000 patriots was encamped on the Maypu, at a distance of nine miles from Santiago. Osorio advanced to a position in front of his enemies, the two armies being nearly equal in number. On the morning of the 5th of April the battle commenced which finally decided the fate of Chile. At first the patriots fell back in some disorder. But San Martin promptly brought up the reserves, and gained a complete victory.

Five days after the victory of Maypu, the indefatigable San Martin once more set out for Buenos Ayres, to lay before the government his plan for the liberation of Lima by a naval expedition from Valparaiso. The independence of the Argentine Republic had been proclaimed on the 9th of July, 1816, and Don Juan Martin de Puyrredon, the Supreme Director, heartily supported the views of San Martin. That general returned to Chile in January, 1820, and assembled an army of 4,500 men for embarkation at Valparaiso. The officers were nearly all either Argentine or European volunteers, and two thirds of the soldiers were from Buenos Ayres, the rest being Chilians. As many as 62 officers had come from Europe to strike a blow for freedom, and 3 from the United States.[1] Of the Europeans, 37 were British or Irish, exclusive of 30 English naval officers. Of this number of 65 volunteers, no less than 21 were killed in battle, and 18 were wounded.

LORD COCHRANE'S HOUSE AT QUINTERO.*

Everything depended on the organization of a fleet. The Spanish viceroy had concentrated an army of more than 20,000 men in Peru ; but the command of the sea is the one thing needful to secure success in the military invasion of the land of the Incas. This command the Spaniards were about to lose.

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[1] The Americans were Lieutenant Charles Eldredge, who was killed at the assault of Talcahuano on Dec. 6, 1817 ; Captain Henry Ross, who was wounded at the battle of Yerbas Buenas on March 31, 1818, and died in Chile ; and Captain Daniel L. V. Carson, wounded before Talcahuano in 1817.

* After a cut in Lady Maria Graham's *Journal* (London, 1824).

In 1818 the Chilian government had bought two old East Indiamen, an old British corvette, and two brigs, and had mounted them with guns; the whole cost of this little squadron being £120,000. They were all commanded and officered by Englishmen. The Spanish frigate "Maria Isabel" was the first capture, and she was re-named the "O'Higgins." The British admiral, Lord Cochrane, arrived at Valparaiso on November 28, 1818, hoisted his flag on board the "O'Higgins," and received command of the patriot fleet: "O'Higgins" (50 guns), Lord Cochrane, Captain Forster, Major Miller; "San Martin" (56 guns), Captain Wilkinson; "Lautaro" (44 guns), Captain Guise; "Chacabuco" (20 guns), Captain Carter; "Galvarino" (18 guns), Captain Spry; "Araucano" (brig), Captain Ramsay; "Puyrredon" (brig), Captain Prunnier. The fleet sailed on January 16, 1819, and was off Callao in February, where the Spaniards had assembled their fleet: "Esmeralda" (44 guns), Captain Luis Coiz; "Venganza" (42 guns), Captain Blanco Cabrera; "Sebastiana" (28 guns); "Pezuela" (22 guns); "Maypu" (brig); "Potrilla" (brig); besides six armed merchantmen. The frigate "Prueba" (50 guns) was at Guayaquil. The patriot fleet engaged the forts at Callao, and returned to Valparaiso. In September,

LORD COCHRANE.*

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* After an engraving in *The European Magazine*, May, 1809.

1819, Lord Cochrane again sailed to Callao, with the intention of making a more sustained attack with fire-ships; but they exploded prematurely. In February, 1820, Lord Cochrane, with the efficient aid of Major Miller, captured the important port of Valdivia, in the south of Chile, and also drove the Spaniards out of the island of Chiloe.

General San Martin's army was now ready at Valparaiso, and, having been embarked, the fleet sailed once more on the 21st of August, 1820. The troops were landed at Pisco, where they remained until October, when they were reëmbarked, and eventually put on shore at Ancon, to the north of Lima. Meanwhile Lord Cochrane had formed the design of cutting out the Spanish frigate "Esmeralda" from under the guns of Callao Castle. At midnight on the 5th of November he led the boats of the fleet in two divisions, respectively under Captains Crosbie and Guise, with 180 seamen and 100 marines. They ran alongside the "Esmeralda" unperceived, boarding on both sides simultaneously. The Spaniards made a spirited resistance with small arms, but were overpowered. The ship's cables were cut, her sails were set, and she was transferred to another anchorage. She was re-named the "Valdivia," and Captain Guise received the command.

In 1821 General San Martin opened negotiations with the Spanish authorities, on the basis of the recognition of the independence of Peru, a provisional constitution being framed until the meeting of a congress, and a Bourbon prince being received as king. But the royalist generals insisted upon these proposals being rejected, and the Viceroy La Serna retired into the interior with all his forces, making his headquarters at Cuzco. San Martin then entered Lima, and the independence of Peru was proclaimed on the 28th of July, 1821. The liberating general was declared Protector, and he organized a civil government. In August a decree abolished the *mitta*, or forced labor; and in October an "Order of the Sun" was created, the titles of nobility being also recognized. Callao Castle surrendered in September, and its commandant, Lamar, came over to the patriot side. The frigates "Venganza" and "Prueba" surrendered to the Peruvian government. Lord Cochrane resigned in January, 1823, and fifteen of his officers took service under Captain Guise, the founder of the Peruvian navy.

While San Martin was liberating Chile and occupying the ancient capital of the viceroys of Peru, the patriots of Colombia had not been idle. The Spanish General Morillo had carried all before him in Venezuela and at Bogota, and he had celebrated his success with ruthless cruelty.[1] But in 1817 Simon Bolivar made a descent upon Venezuela, and established himself at Angostura. In 1818 he fought several indecisive actions with the troops of Morillo, and in 1819 an English legion arrived, consisting of 2,000 well-equipped men.[2] A congress was assembled at Angostura, and Bolivar was elected president of Venezuela. The Spanish forces at Bogota marched to form a junction with those at Caraccas; but Bolivar interposed between them, and won the battle of Boyaca on August 7, 1819. Three days afterwards he entered Bogota in triumph. A congress met in December, and decided that Venezuela and Nueva Granada should form one republic, to be called Colombia. Morillo departed for Europe in 1820, and the victory gained by Bolivar at Carabobo on June 24, 1821, decided the fate of Colombia. In the following January General Bolivar assembled an army at Popayan to drive the Spaniards out of the province of Quito. His second in command, General Sucre, led an advanced guard, which was reinforced by a contingent of volunteers from Peru, under Santa Cruz. The Spanish General Ramirez was entirely defeated in the battle of Pichincha, and Quito was incorporated with the new republic of Colombia. Bolivar entered Quito on June 16, 1822, and obtained permission from the Colombian Congress to proceed to Peru.

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[1] [Cf. Col. Maceroni's *Appeal to the British Nation on the Affairs of So. America.* — ED.]

[2] [Cf. James Hackett's *Narrative of an Expedition which sailed from England in 1817 to join the So. Amer. patriots* (Lond., 1818); C. Brown's *Nar. of the Exped. to So. America* (Lond., 1819). — ED.]

BOLIVAR.*

Bolivar was forty years of age at this period of his career. Born at Caraccas, of good family, in 1783, he was a true child of that sunny land. Of short stature, his body was thin and meagre. His face was long, with hollow cheeks and livid brown complexion. He was passionately fond of dancing and of lolling in a Spanish hammock, but he never smoked. His character was made up of vanity, profound dissimulation, ambition, and a thirst for power. His temper was fiery and capricious, but he was brave and far-sighted, and capable of long-sustained effort.

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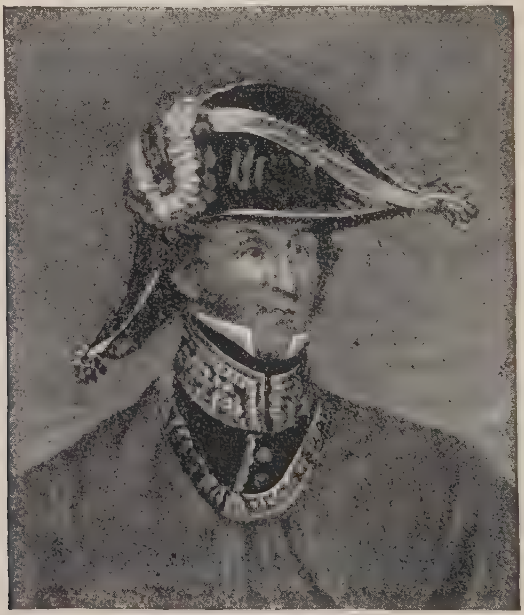
* After a likeness in Miller's *Life of Gen. Miller*, vol. ii. Cf. Rafter's *Gregor M'Gregor* (London, 1820).

In July, 1822, the Protector San Martin and the Liberator Bolivar passed three days in secret conference at Guayaquil. On his return to Lima the Protector convoked a national Congress, resigned his office on September 20, 1822, and issued a farewell address to the Peruvian people. "The presence of a fortunate soldier," he said, "however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to a newly founded state. I have proclaimed the independence of Peru. I have ceased to be a public man." Next day San Martin embarked for Chile, and, crossing the Andes once more, he returned to Europe with his only child, a girl named Mercedes. He lived at Brussels, devoting himself to the education of his daughter, and died at Boulogne, aged seventy-two, in 1850. In 1880 his remains were deposited in the Cathedral at Buenos Ayres, with magnificent funeral rites.



GENERAL MILLER.*

After the departure of San Martin, a Committee of Government was formed, and an expedition was sent, under General Santa Cruz, to attack the Spaniards in Upper Peru; but in August, 1823, the patriots were defeated by the Spanish General Valdez, at the battle of Zepita, and the attempt ended in failure. Another disaster quickly followed. The garrison in Callao Castle mutinied, and delivered it up to the Spaniards on March 2, 1824. General Rodil took command there as governor.

On September 1, 1823, General Bolivar landed at Callao, and made his public entry into Lima. The Congress named him Dictator, and dissolved itself. In July he commenced his march towards Cerro Pasco with an army

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* After a mezzotint (full length) in Miller's *Life of Miller* (London, 1829), vol. i.

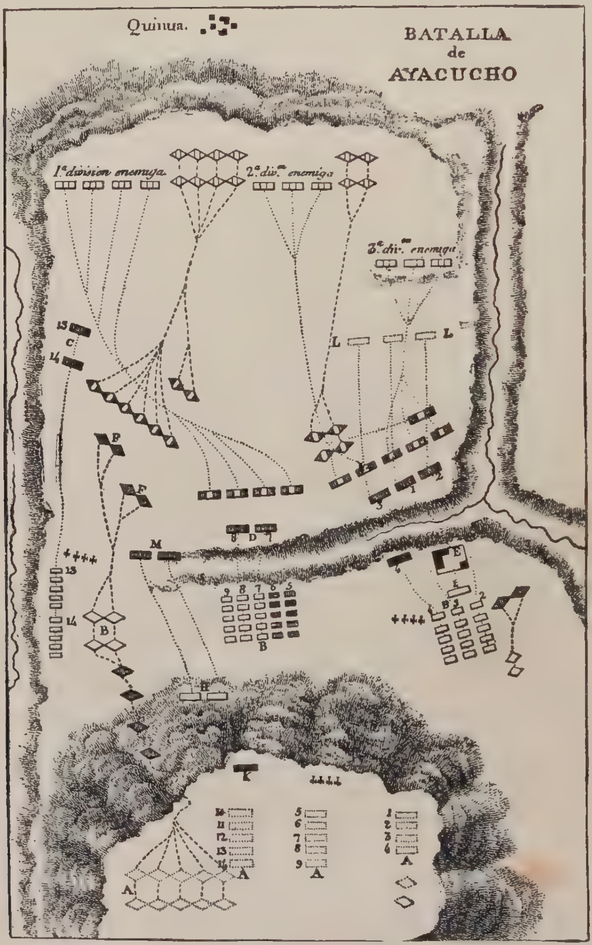
9,000 strong. The Colombian infantry was led by Lara and Cordova, the Argentine by Necochea, and the Peruvians were under Lamar. The Peruvian cavalry was commanded by General Miller, an English officer who had served in the Peninsular War and in the fleet with Lord Cochrane. General Sucre, the hero of Pichincha, was chief of the staff. Great attention had been paid to the transport and commissariat departments, and care was taken that the men received their pay. The royalists in the neighborhood of Cerro Pasco were commanded by General Canterac.

In the afternoon of the 6th of August, 1824, the hostile forces came in sight of each other on the plain of Junin, 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. Ordering his infantry and artillery to retreat, Canterac placed himself at the head of his cavalry and charged. The patriot cavalry was about 900 strong, but Miller had been ordered to flank the enemy's right with two of his Peruvian squadrons. Wheeling to the left, he separated from the rest of his cavalry. But the enemy's right performed a similar evolution; and Miller, being overpowered, fled for a short distance along the margin of a morass. At this critical moment the first Peruvian squadron, under Colonel Suarez, charged the enemy in his rear, checked the pursuit, and gave Miller time to face about and form again. The Spaniards were then attacked with fresh ardor, and ultimately completely routed, retreating in the utmost confusion. Such was the brilliant cavalry action of Junin; and next day the whole command of the cavalry was entrusted to General Miller.

The army advanced to Guamanga, and General Bolivar returned to the coast, leaving Sucre in command. General La Serna, the last viceroy of Peru, was at the head of 12,000 men, with 24 field-guns, and a well-appointed arsenal at Cuzco. Canterac and Valdez, who commanded divisions, were among the best officers in the Spanish army. La Serna advanced from Cuzco, and spent some months in efforts to out-manœuvre General Sucre. This entailed harassing marches and counter-marches among the mountains, and his troops were nearly worn out when the viceroy occupied the steep heights of Condor-Runka, in sight of the village of Quinua, where the patriots were encamped, at a distance of about ten miles from the city of Guamanga.

The little plain of Ayacucho, 11,600 feet above the sea, stretches out at the foot of the Condor-Runka heights, and is flanked by ravines. On December 7, 1824, Sucre established his headquarters at a ruined chapel on the Ayacucho plain. Both armies were in want of provisions, and it was a necessity that they should fight on the following day. The patriots numbered 5,780 men; the Spaniards, 9,310. The morning of December 9th dawned particularly fine. At 9 A. M. the Spanish divisions began to descend from the heights, forming into column as they reached the plain. At this moment Cordova charged with his Colombian infantry, in four parallel columns. After a sharp struggle the Spaniards lost ground, retreating back up the steep ascent, and the viceroy was taken prisoner.

Meanwhile Valdez had made a long detour, and threatened the left rear of the patriots. He opened a heavy fire on the Peruvian division of Lamar, which began to give ground. At this decisive moment General Miller led his cavalry against the advancing enemy; by a timely charge he enabled the Peruvians to rally, and the division of Valdez was routed. The victory was complete. The battle of Ayacucho lasted about an hour. Before sunset General Canterac sued for terms, and a capitulation was signed. The viceroy, 12 Spanish generals, 76 colonels, 68 lieutenant-colonels, 484 other officers, and 3,200 privates became prisoners of war. The rest had dispersed. The viceroy and most of the officers received their passports, and returned to Spain. But General Rodil did not surrender Callao Castle until January 19, 1826.



After a plan in Torrente's *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, vol. iii. Cf. plan in Miller's *General Miller*, ii.

In April, 1825, the Dictator Bolivar made a triumphal progress through the principal cities of Peru, as far as Potosi and Chuquisaca. In August a general assembly met, and decreed that Upper Peru, which had been a part of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres since 1777, should be a separate republic, with the name of Bolivia. General Sucre was elected the first president, from 1826 to 1828.

Returning to Lima in 1826, Bolivar had himself proclaimed president for life; but this step made him so unpopular that in September he suddenly set out for Guayaquil, never to return. All the Colombian troops followed him early in the next year. The new Republic of Peru was thus left to hape her own destinies. The aristocratic notions of San Martin were not ntertained. The "Order of the Sun" and titles of nobility were declared y the Congress to be incompatible with republican institutions, and were bolished, and the law of entail was repealed in 1828. General Lamar was hosen president. He was a native of the province of Quito, and was nxious to annex his native land to Peru. He thus led his adopted country nto a disastrous conflict with Colombia, and was rightly banished. On ugust 31, 1829, General Agustin Gamarra, a Peruvian born at Cuzco, and

BOLIVAR.*

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* This portrait has been frequently engraved. Cf. Ducoudray Holstein's *Simon Bolivar* (Boston, 1829); lex. Walker's *Colombia* (Londres, 1822), vol. ii.

a hero of Ayacucho, was elected president, and a democratic constitution was adopted.

General Bolivar, after a troubled rule of four years as president of Colombia, died in a small house near Santa Martha on December 17, 1830. His remains found a final resting-place in the Cathedral of Caraccas. It was then found that the republic he had formed was of too vast an extent, and contained too many conflicting interests for efficient government. The three republics of Nueva Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador were formed out of the Colombia of Bolivar, in 1830. In 1857 Nueva Granada was changed into the present democratic federation of the United States of Colombia. Venezuela chose Don José Antonio Paez as its first president in 1830. Ecuador, the old Spanish province of Quito, became a separate republic, and framed a constitution in May, 1830; General Flores being the first president. In the following month General Sucre, who had been expelled from Bolivia in 1828, was assassinated near Pasto. After his famous victory, Sucre had received the title of Grand Marshal of Ayacucho.

VALPARAISO FORT.*

The Republic of Bolivia received an independent existence from Bolivar, owing to the unanimous wish of the people. In Spanish times, as Upper Peru or Charcas, it had always been ruled by its own *Audiencia*, but without a separate captain-general. Very jealous of foreigners, the people expelled General Sucre after two years, and were afterwards ruled for a long time by General Andres Santa Cruz, descendant of a long line of native chiefs.

In Chile General O'Higgins honorably filled the [illegible] of Supreme Director for six years. But the people whose battles [illegible] fought, and whose freedom he had secured, obliged him to abdicate in 1823. He retired to Peru, where his father had been viceroy, and the Peruvian government presented him with the estate of Montalban, in the valley of Cañete. Here he lived in retirement for twenty years, dying at Lima in 1842. The Chilian Constitution was adopted in 1833, and the natural resources of the country have insured a rapid advance in material prosperity for a republic which was formerly the poorest and least valuable of the Spanish colonies.

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* After a cut in Lady Maria Graham's *Journal* (London, 1824).

It was to Buenos Ayres and the gallant Argentine followers of San Martin that both Chile and Peru owed their independence. The Argentine Republic had been free since 1810, and it had generously made great sacrifices for the general good of South America. After many years of trouble it has at length reaped its just reward, and has entered upon a career of progress and great prosperity. The Banda Oriental del Uruguay, with Montevideo for its capital, after having caused a war between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, became an independent republic on August 27, 1828. Paraguay, the seat of the Jesuit Misiones until 1767, was declared independent in 1811; but the little state fell under the despotism of Francia and Lopez for half a century, and suffered from a desultory war with Brazil until 1870; so that its free life has existed for barely twenty years.

Brazil became independent almost contemporaneously with the Spanish colonies. When the Portuguese court returned to Lisbon in 1821, a congress at Rio chose Dom Pedro, the eldest son of King Joam VI, as their "Perpetual Protector" on May 1, 1822, and the independence of Brazil was proclaimed on the 7th of the following September. Pedro I was chosen Constitutional Emperor in October of the same year, and the Constitution was adopted on the 25th of March, 1824. The first emperor, in April, 1831, abdicated in favor of his son, Pedro II, who still reigns.

The Spanish colonies commenced their independent careers under every possible disadvantage. All important posts, both in church and state, had almost invariably been given to Spaniards. Out of 672 viceroys, captains-general, and governors who had ruled in America since its discovery, only 18 had been Americans; and there had been 105 native bishops out of a total of 706. The same system of exclusion existed in the appointments of the presidents and judges of the *Audiencias*. This injustice not only gave rise to bitter complaints, but it was permanently injurious to the colonists, because it deprived them of a trained governing class when the need arose. Their exclusion from intercourse with the rest of the world had been still more injurious, and had thrown them back both as regards material prosperity and educational facilities. Without these drawbacks, the natural obstacles caused by vast deserts, stupendous mountain chains, areas of dense forest, and earthquakes were exceptional impediments in the way of good government and of advances in civilization. Thus the South Americans began under extraordinary disadvantages, and had a task before them of unusual difficulty. It is, therefore, fair that these circumstances should receive their due weight in considering the shortcomings of the infant republics. In spite of much that must be deplored, they have all made advances in civilization, and can all, in different degrees, lay claim to having achieved a share of success. Every nation has, in its beginning, a rough ordeal to undergo. The South American republics have now passed through that ordeal. They have much to regret, but they also have not a little of which to be proud. The talent and great natural abilities of the youth of South America cannot be denied. In after life these qualities have borne rich fruit in numerous instances. In politics, in literature, in science, and in arms, the South American republics have given birth to worthies of whom any nation in the world would be justly proud. A critical study of their history cannot fail to produce the conviction that most of what is evil and worthy of condemnation has been the result of causes which are transient and exceptional, while there remains a residuum of solid worth which justifies reasonable hope for the future.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.[1]

THE material for the history of South America, during the colonial period, is very abundant and complete; although a large proportion is still inedited and in manuscript. It was the custom of the viceroys of Peru, at the conclusion of their terms of office, to prepare a detailed memoir reviewing their administration in the different departments, for the information of their successors. Nearly all these important state papers have been preserved. Ten of them [2] have been edited at Lima by Don Manuel Fuentes, and published in six volumes — *Memorias de los Vireyes.*[3] Several others are among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum; and the whole series furnishes a complete official history of the rule of the viceroys of Peru. They are all valuable, although of course some are more useful and complete than others. Details respecting the working of mines, the statistics of agriculture and commerce, financial administration, the condition of the people, the fortifications, and naval and military strength of the colonies, will be found scattered through these memoirs; and in some there are full accounts of exploring expeditions in the eastern forests.[1] Biographical notices of the viceroys, some in considerable detail, are given by General Mendibara, in his *Historico-Biographical Dictionary of Peru.*[2]

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[1] [The bibliography of South American history has not as a whole been sufficiently well done. The works of Beristain de Souza and of Diego Barras Arana are elsewhere referred to (*ante*, I. pp. ii, vi), and there are some later records, like Trübner's *Bibliotheca Hispano-Americana* (London, 1870, 1879); B. Vicuña Mackenna's *Estudios i catálogo de la biblioteca Americana coleccionada por el Sr. Gregorio Beéche* (Valparaiso, 1879), and sections in more general treatises on Americana, like those of Leclerc and the rest. Mr. Paul Leicester Ford has recorded what he could find of such general South American bibliographies, with an enumeration of subordinate lists by geographical divisions of the continent, in *The Library Journal*, August, 1888. The maps of South America in general for the seventeenth century are enumerated in Uricoechea, p. 89, etc.; and those in MS. in the British Museum are noted in Calvo's *Recueil des Traités* (x. 324, etc.). The typical published maps are those in Dampier's *New Voyage round the World* (1703); in Ulloa's *Voyage* with reproductions in Prevost and in the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen;* the popular English one in R. Rolt's *New and Accurate Hist. of South America* (London, 1756); and for Dutch readers that of Isaak Tirion in the *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1767). — ED.]

[2] Namely, those of the Marquis of Montes Claros, 1607–1615, the Prince of Squillace (or Esquilache), 1615–21, the Conde de Castellar, 1674–1678, Archbishop Liñan y Cisneros, 1678, the Duke of La Palata, 1678–1680, the Marquis of Castelfuerte, 1724–1736, the Count of Superunda, 1745–1761, Don Manuel Amat, 1761–1776, Don Teodoro de Croix, 1784–1790, and Don Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, 1790–1796. Of these the memoirs of the Prince of Esquilache, the Duke of La Palata, Don Manuel Amat (copy made by Sir Woodbine Parish at Buenos Ayres), and Don Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, are also among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum.

[3] [The full title of the work is *Memorias de los Vireyes que han gobernado el Perú, durante*

Original documents have also been preserved relating to the treatment of the Indians, the ordinances regulating their obligations to labor, and the rules for their protection; and others denouncing the habitual evasion of these laws. The most important of these documents is the report on the injustice suffered by the Indians, dated July 20, 1657, by Don Juan de Padilla, which was ordered to be published by the viceroy in 1660. There is also a report by Diego de Luna, protector-general of the Indians, dated February, 1630, which proposes the abolition of the *Mitta.* The former is among the *Papeles Varios* at Lima, the latter among the series of acquisitions, called Additional Manuscripts, in the British Museum.

Among the Spanish manuscripts in the British Museum, of which there is an excellent catalogue,[3] will be found numerous documents respecting the Indians, the disputes at the silver mines, the commerce, and the topography of the country. The detailed topographical descriptions of the provinces of Peru, by Dr. Cosme Bueno, appeared in the *Calendario de Lima* (1763, etc.), an annual publication extending over seventeen years. Full reports of the expeditions to explore the courses of rivers in the valley of the Amazon, by Franciscan missionaries from the convent of Ocopa, beginning in 1787, were written by Fathers Sobreviela and Girbal, and others. Some were printed in the *Mercurio Peruano*, others as appendices to the Memoirs of Viceroys.

Dr. Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo, of Lima, was the most prolific Peruvian writer during the last century. His *Lima Fundada* is an epic poem, giving a narrative of the conquest, with notices of successive viceroys and their acts, down to the author's time.[4]

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el tiempo del Coloniaje Español (Lima, 1859), in six folio volumes. There is a supplemental work, *Relaciones de los Vireyes y Audiencias que han gobernado el Perú* (Lima, 1867). — ED.]

[1] Besides the ten published memoirs, the following are among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum: viz., the Memoirs of the Marquis of Guadalcazar, 1622–1629, of the Count of Alba de Liste, 1655–1661, of the "Audiencia" after the death of the Count of Monclova, 1705, correspondence of the Count of Superunda, 1745–61, Memoir of Don Manuel Guirior, correspondence of Don Agustin Jauregui, correspondence of the Marquis of Osorno with Don Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace, 1796–1801, Reports of the Marquis of Aviles, 1801–1806, and of Don José F. Abascal, 1806–1816.

[2] Lima, *Primera Parte* (6 vols.), 1874–1885.

[The most comprehensive of the considerable native histories of Peru, covering the period now under notice, is the consecutive work of Sebastian Lorente, whose successive volumes are as follows: *Historia del Perú, bajo la dinastía Austriaca, 1598–1700* (Poissy, 1863; Paris, 1870); *Historia del Perú bajo los Borbones, 1700–1821* (Lima, 1871); and *Historia del Perú desde la Proclamation de la independencia, 1821–27* (Lima, 1876), vol. i. The bibliography of Peru is best covered in M. P. and M. F. Soldari's *Geografia del Perú* (Paris, 1862), vol. i. p. 715, and the *Bibliotheca Peruviana* (London, 1873). The earlier history of the northwestern parts of South America is covered in Alcedo y Herrera's *Aviso histórico, politico, geographico, con las noticias del Perú, Tierra-Firme, Chile y Nuevo Regno de Grenada, desde el año 1535 hasta el de 1740* (Madrid, 1740?).

The distinct cartography of Peru and Chile from De Bry and Wytfliet is recorded in Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana*, with such records of the voyagers as Olivier du Nort (Amsterdam, 1602), and for the last century we find the general collections, like Prévost (vol. xiii., or *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xv.), giving the ordinary views. — ED.]

[3] By Guyangos, *Spanish MSS. in the British Museum.* Calvo (*Recueil des Traités*, x. 317) gives a list of those relating to South America, and also (x. 296, etc.) a similar list of those in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid.

[4] [*Lima fundada, o conquista del Perú. Poema heroico en que se decanta toda la historia del descubrimiento y sugecion de sus provincias por*

The scientific mission of the brothers Ulloa, in addition to their well-known book of travels, resulted in the preparation of an elaborate report on the government of the Spanish colonies, their naval and military strength, and on the cruel oppression and extortion suffered by the aborigines at the hands of the corregidores and priests. It was published at London in 1826, in a folio volume entitled *Noticias Secretas de América* [1] — an important collection.

The great earthquake of 1746, which destroyed Lima and Callao, was described in a brief narrative published at Lima in the same year.[2] The English version of this narrative is badly translated and of no value.[3]

The materials for a history of the revolt of Tupac Amaru are very complete. An interesting account of the insurrection of the Inca, and of that of Catari in Upper Peru, will be found in the *Ensayo de la historia civil del Paraguay, Buenos Ayres y Tucuman* (Buenos Ayres, 1816–17, in three volumes; second ed., 1856, in two volumes), by Dr. Don Gregorio Fuñes, the dean of Cordova. A large collection of original documents, including edicts, proclamations, despatches, narratives, and news-letters, was printed by Don Pedro de Angelis at Buenos Ayres in 1836. These materials enable the student to follow the course of events, and to form a judgment of the principal actors and of their motives.[4] The result of such an investigation will be a feeling of warm sympathy for the Inca and his people, and of indignation at the injustice and cruelty of the Spanish officials. The work of Angelis is the main source of information respecting this critical period of Peruvian history.[5] But it is by no means exhaustive. There are several other documents, including narratives and the edicts of the Inca, among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum. The letter from Tupac Amaru to the Judge Areche, and the sentence of death pronounced by the judge, are printed in an appendix to the Spanish edition of the *Memoirs* of General Miller. The diary of a Spanish governor of La Paz during the siege of that city by the Indians was published in Temple's *Travels in Peru*.[6] The late General Miller received a large collection of original manuscripts from a Father of the Franciscan Convent of Santiago de Chile, and he collected numerous personal reminiscences of the insurrection when he was at Cuzco in 1833.[7]

The history of the later rebellion of Pumacagua at Cuzco is also contained in a series of official documents preserved in a volume in the public library at Lima. These include

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Don Francisco Pizarro. Y se contine [sic] *la reine de los Reyes, la historia de los Virreyes y Arzobispos, que ha tenido; y la memoria de los Santos, y varones ilustres, que la ciudad y regno han producido* (Lima, 1732), in two quarto volumes. It was reprinted at Lima in 1863, as the first volume of a *Coleccion de documentos literarios del Perú*, edited by Manuel de Odriozola, the director of the library at Lima. — Ed.]

[1] [*Noticias secretas de América sobre el estado naval, militar i politico de los Reinos del Perú, i provincias de Quito, costa de Nueva Grenada i Chile, sacadas a luz por Don David Barry* (London, 1826). An abridged English version "by an American" was published at Boston in 1851. — Ed.]

[2] *Individual y verdadera relacion de la extrema ruina que padecio la ciudad de los Reyes de Lima con el horrible temblor de tierra acaecido en ella, la noche de 28 de Oct., 1746, y la total asolacion del presidio y puerto del Callao* (Lima, 1746; Mexico, 1747, 4to, pp. 20). Arana (*Notas*, No. 276) says it was written by Pedro Lozano.

[3] *True and particular relation of the dreadful earthquake which happen'd at Lima, the capital of Peru, and the neighboring port of Callao, on the 28th of October, 1746* (London, 1748). [This is accredited to Stephen Hales, but Rich assigns it to Henry Johnson. A French translation from it, with additions, was published at La Haye, 1752. A Portuguese version of the original Spanish appeared at Lisbon in 1748. A compiled account appeared in *True and particular Hist. of Earthquakes* (London, 1748). — Ed.]

[4] Cf. also the *Documentos históricos del Perú*, mentioned *ante*, Vol. II. p. 576. The first volume of this collection covers the Tupac Amaru rebellion (Lima, 1863).

[5] *Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antiqua y moderna de las provincias de Rio de la Plata, ilustrados con notas y disertaciones, por Pedro de Angelis* (Buenos Ayres, 1836–37, tom. v. pp. 109–286). This work embraces six volumes. The contents are given in Leclerc, *Bibl. Amer.*, no. 2646.

[6] Temple's *Travels in Peru*, ii. pp. 103–178.

[7] [Leclerc, *Bibl. Amer.*, no. 1789, notes an incomplete MS. history of this insurrection by José Martinez de Oz (1783). — Ed.]

a diary of the movements of the army under the Spanish General Ramirez (which was also printed), the proclamation of Angulo at Cuzco, a letter of Pumacagua to General Ramirez, the reply of Ramirez, and the statement of Pumacagua before his execution. Another report on the history and causes of the insurrection of Pumacagua, by Manuel Pardo, is printed in the appendix to the 6th volume of the *Biographical Dictionary* of Mendibara, who also gives a life of Pumacagua.

D. JUAN IGNACIO MOLINA.
Paret del.
Moreno sc.

From the Spanish translation of his *Historia del Regno de Chile* (Madrid, 1795), vol. ii.

The early movements towards independence in Peru, including the teachings of advanced liberals, the social gatherings of patriots, and other efforts to secure freedom of speech and of the press, especially in Lima, were long without a historian. But that accomplished Chilian writer, the late Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, collected a mass of materials, and wrote a very interesting history of events preceding the independence of Peru, including the campaigns of Goyeneche and Pezuela in Upper Peru;[1] and the abortive attempts at insurrection in Lima itself, and in several provinces.[2] His work is supplemented by Mitre's *Life of General Belgrano*, which was published at Buenos Ayres.[3]

But the first cries for independence were raised at a distance from Lima, where the power of Spain was not so great.[4] The author of the *Lettre aux Espagnols Americains*, which embodied the feelings of his compatriots, had to become a fugitive from South America, and died in London in 1798.[5] He wrote at the suggestion of General Miranda, who was himself one of the earliest and one of the most unfortunate of the soldiers of freedom. His life was written by an Englishman.[6] There are several memoirs of Simon Bolivar, the Liberator of Colombia, the best known being by his aide-de-camp, Colonel Holstein.[7]

Materials for the colonial history of Colombia will be found in the history of the discovery and conquest of Nueva Granada by Colonel Acosta,[8] and in the volume containing the Memoirs of its Viceroys, edited by Garcia y Garcia.[9]

The volumes of Fuñes and Angelis contain the colonial history of Buenos Ayres, which is philosophically treated in the admirable works of Dr. Vicente F. Lopez[10] and Don Luis Dominguez.[11] The former president, Mitre, has written a life of General Belgrano,[12] and there are biographical sketches of San Martin by Gutierrez[13] and others.

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[1] [Cf. Manuel Maria Urcullu's *Apuntes para la historia de la revolucion del Alto Perú, hoi Bolivia, por un patriota* (Sucre, 1855). — ED.]

[2] *La Historia de la Independencia del Perú, 1809–1819, por Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna* (Lima, 1860). [An excellent collection of documents on the Peruvian struggle for independence was made by Hipólito Herrera, and published at Lima in 1862, as *El Album de Ayacucho. Coleccion de los principales documentos de la guerra de la independencia del Perú.* Cf. Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan's *Historia del Perú independiente* (Lima, 1868, 1870, etc.); and the *Memoria histórica sobre las operacionas e incidencias de la division libertadora a las órdenes del jeneral Don Juan Antonio Alvarez de Arenales en su segunda compaña a la sierra del Perú en 1821* (Buenos Aires, 1832). — ED.]

[3] [Bartolomé Mitre's *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia Argentina* (Buenos Ayres, 1859; cuarta y definitiva edición corregida y aumentada, 1887). Cf. also Mitre's *Estudios históricos sobre la revolucion arjentina: Belgrano y Güemes* (Buenos Ayres, 1864).— ED.]

[4] [One of the latest accounts of Spanish power before its fall is in François Depon's *Voyage à la partie orientale de la tierre firme* (Paris, 1806). Washington Irving is said to have assisted in the English translation (N. Y., 1806; London, 1807). — ED.]

[5] *Lettre aux Espagnols Americains par un de leur Compatriotes* (Philadelphia, 1808), 8vo, pp. 42. There is a translation in Burke's *Additional Reasons* (ed. 1807).

[6] *History of Don F. Miranda's attempt to effect a revolution in So. America, with a life of Miranda by James Briggs* (London, 1809; Boston, 1808, 1810, 1811). [Cf. J. M. Antepara's *South American Emancipation* (London, 1810), John H. Sherman's *General Acc. of Miranda's Expedition* (N. Y., 1808), and Moses Smith's *Adventures and Sufferings during the Miranda Expedition* (Albany, 1814).— ED.]

[7] [*Mémoires de S. Bolivar, par Ducoudray Holstein* (1829; Eng. tr., Boston, 1829; London, 1830). Cf. notice by Caleb Cushing in *North Amer. Review*, Jan., 1829; and other references in *Poole's Index*, i. 147. The work of another member of Bolivar's military family, Tomas C. de Mosquera, *Memorias sobre la vida del libertador Simon Bolivar* (N. Y., 1853), is of less consequence. There is an incomplete *Life of Bolivar*, by Felipe Larrazabal (N. Y., 1866; vol. i. only). Capt. W. T. Adams's *Journal of Voyages to Marguaritta* (Dublin, 1824) describes several interviews with Bolivar. — ED.]

[8] See *ante*, II. 582.

[9] *Relaciones de los vireyes del nuevo reino de Granada, etc., compiladas i publicadas por el Dr. Don José Antonio Garcia y Garcia* (New York, 1869).

There is a map of the viceroyalty of New Granada of the Revolutionary period (1812) in Kerr's *Voyages* (vol. v. p. i).

[10] *Historia de la Republica Argentina, su origen, su revolucion, y su desarrollo politico; por Vicente F. Lopez* (Buenos Ayres, 1883).

[11] *Historia Argentina por Luis Dominguez* (Buenos Ayres, 4th ed., 1870).

[12] *Historia de Belgrano por Bartolomé Mitre* (Buenos Ayres, 4th ed., 1887).

[13] *Bosquejo Biografico del General Don José de San Martin, por Juan Maria Gutierrez* (Buenos Ayres, 1868). [Juan Garcia del Rio, a secretary of San Martin while in Peru, is the author of a condensed memoir, *Biografia del jeneral San Martin, por Ricardo Gual i Jaen* (London, 1823). Cf. B. V. Mackenna's *El jeneral*

The early history of Chile is contained in the well-known works of Ovalle[1] and Molina,[2] and in the monumental volumes of Claudio Gaye.[3] The war of Chilian independence has found a historian in Don Diego Barros Arana;[4] while several episodes of that stirring period, such as the life of General O'Higgins, the ostracism of the brothers Car-

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Don José de San Martin (Santiago, 1863). There appeared in Paris, in 1858, as by "Pruvonena," a work thought to be the labor of José de la Riva Agüero, which excited the animadversions of the South Americans, because of its attacks on San Martin and Bolivar. It was called *Memorias i documentos para la historia de la independencia del Perú i causas del mal éxito que ha tenido ésta.* (Cf. Arana's *Notas*, no. 341.) — ED.]

[1] [Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. p. 576. The history by Cordova y Figueroa, coming down to 1717, has already been mentioned. Cf. *ante*, II. 573. — ED.]

[2] [Juan Ignacio Molina (b. 1740; d. 1824) was a Chilian Jesuit, who, after his expulsion with his order, went to Bologna, and applied himself to writing his *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili* (Bologna, 1782) and his *Saggio sulla storia civile del Chili* (Bologna, 1787), the last containing a list of writers on Chile (pp. 324–328). An augmented edition of the first book, *Lo Stesso Libro*, appeared at Bologna, 1810. On publishing his second part, *Storia Civile*, Molina says that he had got on very well with printed books and the Abbé Olivares' MSS. down to 1665; but after that period he had to depend on the personal recollections of others and on such works as he could procure. There is a Spanish version, *Compendio de la historia geografica, natural y civil del reyno de Chile, escrito in Italiano. Primera parte traducida en Español por Domingo Joseph de Arquellada Mendoza* [*Segunda parte por Nicolas de la Cruz y Bahamonde*] (Madrid, 1787, 1795); a German, by J. D. Brandis (Leipzig, 1786); a French, by Gruvel (Paris, 1789); and an English one, made in part by Richard Alsop and in part by Wm. Shaler, appropriating notes from the Spanish and French translations (Middletown, Conn., 1808). This English version, somewhat remodelled, was reprinted in London, 1809.

It seems to be uncertain whether an earlier book, *Compendio della storia del regno del Chile* (Bologna, 1776), was the work of Molina or of Père Vidaurre. Cf. *Notas para una bibliografia de obras anonimas y seudonimas, por Diego Barros Arana* (Santiago, 1882), no. 106. — ED.]

[3] [*Historia fisica y politica de Chile, segun documentos adquiridos en esta republica durante doze años de residencia en ella, y publicada bajo los auspicios del supremo Gobierno*, HISTORIA (Paris, 1854) in eight vols.; DOCUMENTOS (Paris, 1852) in two volumes. There is an accompanying atlas of maps and plates in folio. There are later histories of some importance: José Ignacio Victor Eyzaguirre's *Histoire ecclésiastique, politique, et littéraire du Chili*, as translated by L. Poillon (Lille, 1855), in 3 volumes. B. Menendez's *Manual de historia y cronologia de Chile* (Paris, 1860). The studies of José V. Lastarria in his *Miscelanea* (Valparaiso), and parts of his *Historia Constitucional del medio sigio 1800–1825* (Gante, 1866). But the most considerable is the *Historia jeneral de Chili* of Diego Barros Arana (Santiago, 1884, etc.), in eight volumes. Of the *Historiadores de Chile, coleccion de documentos relativos a la historia nacional* (Santiago, 1861, etc.), eleven volumes had been published up to 1879. Cf. *Biblioteca Beéche*, pp. 547–8. A leading record of the last period of Chilian history which comes within the scope of the present chapter is B. V. Mackenna's *Don Diego Portales, con mas de 500 documentos inéditos* (Valparaiso, 1863). For the bibliography of Chile the essential help is got from Ramon Briseño's *Estadística bibliográfica de la literatura Chilena* (Santiago, 1862, 1879), in two volumes. — ED.]

[4] Diego Barros Arana's *Historia jeneral de la independencia de Chile* (Santiago, 1854–58; Paris, 1856), in four volumes, is considered the best narrative for the period 1810–1820. [An augmented second edition of the first volume was published in 1863. The period of Chilian independence can be further studied in the following books: M. L. Amunátegui's *Los precursores de la independencia de Chile* (Santiago, 1870). Melchoir Martinez's *Memoria histórica, sobre la revolucion de Chile, desde el cautiverio de Fernando VII. hasta 1814, escrita de orden del Rei* (Valparaiso, 1848) is a documentary collection of importance for the early stages of the revolution. Miguel Luis Amunátegui's *La reconquista Española, apuntes para la historia de Chile, 1814 i 1817* (Santiago, 1851). José de Ballesteros's *Revista de la guerra de la independencia de Chile, 1813–1826* (Santiago, 1851), has a good reputation. Cf. *Journal of a residence in Chili by a young American* [J. F. Coffin] *during the revolutionary scenes of 1817–19* (Boston, 1823).

Lady Maria Dundas Graham, in her *Journal of a residence in Chile, 1822* (London, 1824), says that the patriots, after Rancagua, burnt all public papers to prevent their falling into the hands of the Spaniards, so that up to 1817 there are no such records in Chile, and nothing was printed till the middle of 1818. She recounts in her introduction what she could learn from O'Higgins and others. Later documents are given in her appendix.

Other documentary sources are noted in B. V.

rera,[1] and *Revelaciones Intimas* of General San Martin, are due to the pen of that most prolific Chilian author, Vicuña Mackenna. A short life of General O'Higgins, approved by his family, was published at Lima. An elaborate life has also appeared.[2]

DIEGO BARROS ARANA.*

The history of the achievements of that fleet, commanded and officered by Englishmen, which conveyed General San Martin and his army to Peru, was written by its commander. Lord Cochrane (then Earl of Dundonald) wrote a narrative of his South American services,[3] and after his death a biography was published by his son, the present Earl, and Mr. H. Fox Bourne.[4] But the most interesting story of the war of independence in Chile and Peru has been told from the letters and papers of General Miller,[5] who participated in all the operations from the passage of the Andes to Ayacucho, both by sea and land. These events, from the Spanish point of view, were narrated by Terragas, and by General Garcia Camba, who criticised the story as told by Miller.[6]

Colonel Vicente de Ballivian has published a series of official documents relating to the history of Bolivia during the colonial period, including some curious annals of the city of Potosi.[7] He added a valuable bibliography.

Clements R Markham

Mackenna's *La Guerra a muerte: Memoria sobre las ultimas campañas de la independencia de Chile, 1819 a 1824, escrita sobre documentos enteramente inéditos* (Santiago, 1868). — Ed.]

[1] [*El ostracismo de los Carreras, los jenerales José Miguel i Juan José i el coronel Luis Carrera; episodio de la independencia de Sud America* (Santiago, 1857). It has a map. — Ed.]

[2] *La corona del Héroe: Recopilacion de datos y documentos para perpetuar la memoria del jeneral Don Bernardo O'Higgins, con una introd. por Don Benj. Vicuña Mackenna* (Santiago, 1872). B. V. Mackenna's *El ostracismo del jeneral Don Bernardo O'Higgins, escrite sobre documentos inéditos i noticias autenticas* (Valparaiso, 1860). Miguel Luis Amunátegui's *La Dictadura de O'Higgins* (Santiago, 1853).

[3] *Narrative of services in the liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brazil, by the Earl of Dundonald* (London, 2 vols., 1859), — translated into Spanish under Cochrane's direction (London, 1859), and annotated by Manuel Bilboa, printed at Lima in 1863. Ignacio Zenteno published in refutation *Documentos justificativos sobre la espedicion libertadora del Perú.* (Santiago, 1861).

[4] *Life of Thomas Lord Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, by Thomas, 11th Earl of Dundonald, and H. Fox Bourne* (8vo, London, 2 vols., 1869).

[5] *Memoirs of General Miller, in the service of the Republic of Peru, by John Miller* (London, 2d ed., enlarged, 1829). [With an appendix of documents. The author used General Miller's papers, which show his participancy for ten years in the conflicts in La Plata, Chile, and Peru. There is a Spanish translation by Gen. J. M. de Torrijos, whose preface is translated in the 2d English edition. J. P. and W. P. Robertson in their *Letters from South America* (London, 1843), go over a good deal of Miller's career. — Ed.]

[6] Camba's *Memorias para la historia de las armas Españolas en el Perú* (Madrid, 1846).

[7] *Archivio Boliviano. Coleccion de documentos relativos a la Historia de Bolivia publicados por Vicente de Ballivian y Róxas* (Paris, 1872). [Add to this: Ramon Sotomayor Valdes's *Estudio histórico de Bolivia bajo la administracion del jeneral don José Maria Achá, con una introduccion que contiene el compendio de la guerra de la independencia i de los gobiernos de dicha República hasta 1861* (Santiago de Chile, 1874). — Ed.]

* After a likeness prefixed to his *Historia Jeneral de Chile* (Santiago, 1884).

EDITORIAL NOTE ON

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRAZIL.

A VERY excellent bibliography of the history and geography of Brazil has been prepared under the supervision of Dr. B. F. Ramiz Galvão, with a supplement by João de Saldanha de Gama, which was published in two handsome volumes at Rio de Janeiro in 1881, as *Catalogo da Exposição de Historia do Brazil realizada pela Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.* It is conveniently arranged by general topics and geographical divisions. A section on the maps is given in vol. i. p. 128; and on the bibliographies in vol. ii. p. 1100. It supersedes all other lists of *Braziliana*, though Trübner's *Bibliotheca Brazilica*, 1500–1879, London, 1879 (1000 entries) deserves notice.

The oldest description of Brazil is that which makes part of the text of Beneventanus in the Roman Ptolemy of 1508. The earliest comprehensive account of the region now known as Brazil, is found in a book which is scarcely familiar to scholars in its original shape, but three or four copies being known. There is a copy, however, in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, i. 307). Rich priced it in his day at £4 4*s*. This is Magalhaẽs de Gandavo's *Historia da Provincia de Sãcta Cruz a qui vulgarmẽte chamamos Brazil*, which appeared at Lisbon in 1576. There was a preliminary issue of its first book in 1570 (?). (*Catalogo de Historia do Brazil: Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, nos. 5–6). A French version was included by Ternaux-Compans in his *Voyages* published in Paris (vol. ii.) 1837. Field (*Indian Bibliography*, no. 998) speaks of the book as giving the earliest account which we have of the Brazilian natives.[1] The Grenville Catalogue, in describing a copy of Magalhaẽs, points out how the Portuguese bibliographies speak of its curious and erudite character, and of its rarity being such that Southey had apparently not heard of it. Ternaux looked upon it as one of the most remarkable treatises upon the New World produced in the sixteenth century. An abridgment of it, called *Tratado da Terra do Brazil*, was published in 1576, and is reprinted in the *Noticias das Nacãos ultramarinhas* (vol. iv. no. 4). The *Tratado descriptivo do Brazil em* 1587, of Gabriel Soares de Souza, was annotated and published by Varnhagen at Rio de Janeiro, in 1851. (*Catalogo de Historia do Brazil*, *Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 10.) Purchas, in 1625, in his *Pilgrimes*, printed in English an account of Brazil which he assigned to Manoel Tristão; but the original Portuguese *Do Principio e origem dos Indios do Brazil*, was printed at Rio de Janeiro in 1881, and its editor, J. C. de Abreu, assigns its authorship, apparently with good reason, to Fernão Cardim, a Jesuit. (Cf. *Catalogo de Historia do Brazil*, *Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 12.)

The oldest general account which Southey quotes is Sebastian da Rocha Pitta's *Historia da America Portugueza*, printed at Lisbon in 1730, which he speaks of as a valuable antecedent work to his own, simply because there was no other. (Carter-Brown, iii. 460.) A second edition appeared at Lisbon in 1880. Southey's own *History of Brazil* appeared in three volumes between 1810 and 1819, — a book which Southey himself thought well of, which interested Scott, but which all have not found readable. Varnhagen says that Southey's work is rather "Mémoires pour écrire l'histoire de Brésil." A Portuguese version of Southey, made by Dr. Luiz Joaquim de Oliviera e Castro, and annotated by Dr. Fernandes Pinheiro, was published at Rio de Janeiro in 1862.

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[1] In 1550, fifty Indians from Brazil exhibited their war dances and combats before Catherine de Médicis at Rouen; and an account of the ceremony, published at Rouen the next year, was reprinted at Paris in 1850: Ferdinand Denis' *Une Fête Brésilienne célébrée a Rouen en* 1550, *suivie d'un fragment du XVIe siècle roulant sur la théogonie des anciens peuples du Brésil et des poésies en langue tupique de Christovam Valente*, Paris, 1850. (Cf. Sabin, v. p. 343; Gaffarel, *Brésil Français*, p. 130.) Gabriel Gravier printed in the *Bulletin de la Société Normande de Géographie*, in 1880–81, some papers which were published separately at Paris in 1881, as *Etude sur le Sauvage du Brésil* (63 pp.). Varnhagen treats of the relations of the first colonists of Brazil with the natives, in his *Historia do Brazil*, 1877, sec. xiii. C. R. Markham, in his compilation on *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons* (Hakluyt Society, 1859), has given an annotated list of the tribes of the great valley, drawn from the sources which he enumerates. Richard F. Burton, in his Introduction on the Indians of Brazil, prefixed to his volume of *Hans Stade*, published by the Hakluyt Society, says that Varnhagen was the earliest to solve the ethnological confusion which pervades the earlier writers, upon whom Southey had depended. Burton (p. lxxvi.) enumerates the principal sources of the sixteenth century. Cf. *Cat. Hist. Brazil*, *Bibl. Nac.*, ii. p. 997.

John Armitage's *Hist. of Brazil, 1808–1831* (London, 1836), is a continuation of Southey, and it was translated into Portuguese (Rio, 1837). There are less important English histories by Andrew Grant (London, 1809), and by James Henderson (London, 1821). A considerable portion of Robert Grant Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the colonial period* (London, 1884) is given to tracing the progress of Brazil down to the early part of this century.

The most considerable study of the early French connection with the country is found in Paul Gaffarel's *Histoire du Brésil Français*, 1878, in regard to which Gravier published an "Examen Critique" in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, November, 1878. Joseph François Lafitau gave a French view of the Portuguese relations in his *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portuguais dans le Nouveau Monde* (Paris, 1733, 1734, 1736), in four volumes. The earliest French specific historical narrative is Alphonse de Beauchamp's *Histoire du Brésil, 1500–1810* (Paris, 1815), of which there are Portuguese translations (Lisbon, 1817, 1834; Rio, 1818, 1819). Later works are Charles Reybaud's *Le Colonisation de Brésil: Documents officiels* (Paris, 1858) and Baron Edouard de Septenville's *Brésil sous la domination portuguaise* (Paris, 1872).

Among the Portuguese writers the earlier periods are examined by Varnhagen, a writer particularly competent, in his *Historia geral do Brazil*, 1854; his conclusions, however, are in some respects questioned by D'Avezac in his *Considérations géographiques sur l'histoire du Brésil*, published originally in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, May and June, 1857. In the same periodical, March and April, 1858, Varnhagen defended his views in a paper, which was also published separately as *Examen de quelques points de l'histoire géographique du Brésil*. Under his title as Visconde de Porto Seguro, he published his *Historia geral do Brazil antes da sua separação e independencia de Portugal* in a second edition (2 vols.) at Rio de Janeiro, 1877. See an enumeration of the modern histories of Brazil in *Catalogo de Historia do Brazil, Bibliotheca Nacional*, p. 455, and *Supplement*, p. 1649. The best known of the Portuguese are those of Francisco Solano Constancio (Paris, 1839), General J. I. de Abreu Lima (Rio, 1848), and José Pedro Xavier Pinheiro (Bahia, 1854). A. J. de Mello Moraes has been a prolific writer on his country's history, and among his writings may be named his *Corographica historica* (Rio, 1858–63), an encyclopedic work in five volumes; his *Brazil historico* (Rio, 1866–67), with its mass of original documents on the discovery and settlement; his *Historia do Brazil* (Rio, 1871–73), in two volumes; and his *Cronica geral e minuciosa do Imperio do Brazil desde a descoberta do Novo Mondo até o anno de 1879* (Rio, 1879).

The most valuable source for the history of Brazil among its periodicals is the *Revista Trimensal de historia e geographia ou Jornal do Instituto Historico Geographico Brazileiro*, begun in 1839.

The *Catalogo de Historia do Brazil*, above referred to, is conveniently subdivided, so that the student readily discerns the extent of the documentary sources (i. 475, and also under minor heads); the material for the history of the separate provinces (i. 463); the maps tracing discoveries (i. 128; *Supplemento*, 1628) or elucidating military campaigns (i. 969); histories of campaigns, battles, sieges, etc. (i. 923); early voyages (i. 79), etc. The best bibliography of the Dutch West India Company and its connection with Brazilian history is to be found in G. M. Asher's *Bibliog. and Hist. Essay on the Dutch books and pamphlets relating to New Netherland and to the Dutch West India Company* (Amsterdam, 1854–67).[1]

So far as the history of Brazil is connected with the explorations that finally defined its coast line, the subject is treated in another section of the present volume, on the "Historical Chorography of South America."[2]

It was not till after 1530 that the settlements took shape and captaincies began to be created along the coast, and Rio de Janeiro, San Vicent, Porto Seguro, Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranham, and other designations of these divisionary regions begin to appear in the accounts of the country; and at last, in 1549, De Sousa, with his seat at Bahia, was made governor-general over all.[3] It was he who introduced Nobrega and his Jesuits, and it is from the letters of this order that we get some of our best historical material, as contained in the *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo* (Roma, 1552), and the *Novi Avisi* (1553).[4] We derive also considerable help from the descriptions of Hans Stade (1547–55), elsewhere referred to; as well from the contributions of Thevet and Lery to the story of Villagagnon's company at Rio de Janeiro, till the Portuguese finally acquired permanent possession of the place in 1567, and named it San Sebastian. In 1570 the Portuguese captaincies were generally flourishing. The French were trading at Paraiba with a view to getting a foothold on that part of the coast, and with their usual skill they got the Indians on their side in the conflict which they had with the Portuguese. The English hovered about in their ships, and Cavendish harried the coast, but with no great success. Hakluyt and Purchas preserve some reports of eye-witnesses during these years, and tell us what they can of Cavendish and his exploits. In 1594 a large British expedition under James Lancaster endeavored to get at Olinda, the capital of Pernambuco, but they failed in that, though they got some booty, and escaped the dangers of the Portuguese fire-ships.

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[1] Cf. *ante*, IV. 498.

[2] See a later page.

[3] Bahia remained the capital till 1763. For plans of San Salvador (Bahia), see one of 1625 in Varnhagen's *Hist. do Brazil* (1877); the "Baya de Todos os Sanctos," with the city, in De Laet's *West Ind. Comp.* (1644), and a view; another view in Frezier's *Relation du Voyage* (1717); and those in Prévost (xiv.) and the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xvi.

[4] Cf. also *Copia de unas Cartas de algunos padres de la Comp. de Jesus que escriuieron de la India Japon, y Brasil* (Lisbon, 1555), — Leclerc, no. 2723.

We find an account of French observations in a *Voyage et Navigation aux Indes Orientales et au Brésil* (Paris, 1611, 1616, and enlarged, 1679). In 1612 the French attempted to colonize Maranham, and tidings of it confronted a Portuguese expedition sent to push their explorations on the Amazon.[1] The two parties measured strength for a while, but then determined to leave the settlement of their respective rights to their home governments. Events, however, drifted to the advantage of the Portuguese, and Maranham was permanently secured for them.

We have an account of these northern regions in the narrative of a Benedictine monk, printed at Paris in 1615; but it is now only accessible in the *Voyage dans le nord du Brésil fait durant les années 1613 et 1614 par le père Yves d'Évereux. Publié d'après l'exemplaire unique conservé à la Bibliothèque impériale de Paris. Avec une introduction et des notes par Ferdinand Denis* (Leipzig, 1864). The original title given in the body of the work is as follows: *Svitte de l'Histoire des choses plus memorables aduenues en Maragnan ès années 1613 & 1614. Second Traité.* Paris, MDCXV.

The Dutch had begun before this to trade north of the Amazon, and when the Portuguese attacked them and occupied the country, the latter made a new captaincy of it, and called it Pará. The Jesuits coming at this time to Maranham, set themselves also in opposition to the Portuguese, in their endeavors to mitigate the severity of the Portuguese treatment of the Indians.[2] So it was that, with the opposition of an order which knew how to retain a strong hold on the native mind, the Portuguese were not as powerful in all internal relations as was desirable, when they found themselves forced upon a long war with the Dutch, who through the agency of the West India Company were determined to establish themselves on the coast at as many points as possible. The first movement of the invaders was to attack (1623) San Salvador or Bahia de Todos los Santos, which they easily occupied. There is a journal of the transaction attached to an anonymous *Reys-Boeck van het rijcke Brasilien* (1624), and contemporary accounts, more or less the same, are known: "Beschreibung von Eroberung der Statt S. Salvator in Brasilia" (1624), in De Bry, xiii.; again in Hulsius, xxvi.; Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, ii. 1858; Ternaux-Compans' *Archives des Voyages*, i. 452.

In March, 1625, a large fleet, sent out by united Spain and Portugal, under the command of Juan Fajaro and Fadrique de Toledo, appeared off the port; and after the Dutch fleet in the harbor had been sunk the town capitulated. On May 22d a Dutch succoring fleet appeared, but found it safer to sail northward, whence after mishaps it returned to Holland. The Spanish fleet, meanwhile, leaving a garrison, also sailed for Europe, experiencing still greater disasters on the way. There are serviceable contemporary accounts of these transactions: —

Restauracion de la ciudad del Salador i Bahia de Todos Sanctos en la provincia del Brasil por las armas de Don Philippe IV. (Madrid, 1628; in Portuguese, with notes, Bahia, 1847).

A *Relacion* of Francisco de Auendaño y Vilela (Seville, 1625).

In 1627 the Dutch Admiral Heyn, with another Dutch fleet, retook the place and made some reprisals on the Portuguese marine. We note in Ternaux-Compans' *Archives* (i. 219), "La prise de pleusieurs vaisseaux de guerre et de marchandise sur les Portugais par la flotte hollandoise près de la ville de Baye au Brésil" (1627). Cf. Engelbert Gerritz's *Leven en Daden der Zeehelden Heemskert en Hein* (1825).

It was on Heyn's return voyage that he made capture of the Spanish bullion fleet, which has been mentioned elsewhere.[3]

The Dutch now changed their place of attack. In 1629 they appeared off Olinda. Their fleet had rendezvoused at the Cape de Verde islands, whence word had come to the Portuguese of their intention to attack them, but the Portuguese failed to be adequately prepared. The Dutch, by a land attack, captured the place, and then laid siege to the forts St. Francisco and St. George, which falling, the Dutch entered and wholly possessed the harbor.[4] The lines of communication between Recife and Olinda, now both within the Dutch control, afforded the Portuguese opportunities for keeping up a bushranging warfare, which went on with little cessation. Fleets to relieve each side appeared, but spent their energies in fighting each other. Finally the Dutch burned Olinda and concentrated at Recife. So the war dragged out, with alternation of success and dismay for either side, until at last the Portuguese gaining a little advantage, the Dutch sent out one of their ablest commanders, the Count of Nassau, giving him full powers to complete the conquest and turn it to account.

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[1] The history of early explorations of the Amazon is traced in Vol. II., *ante.*

[2] Cf., for instance, the Portuguese persecutions of a leading missionary as set forth in A. de Barros' *Vida do Apostolico padre Ant. Vieyra* (Lisbon, 1746).

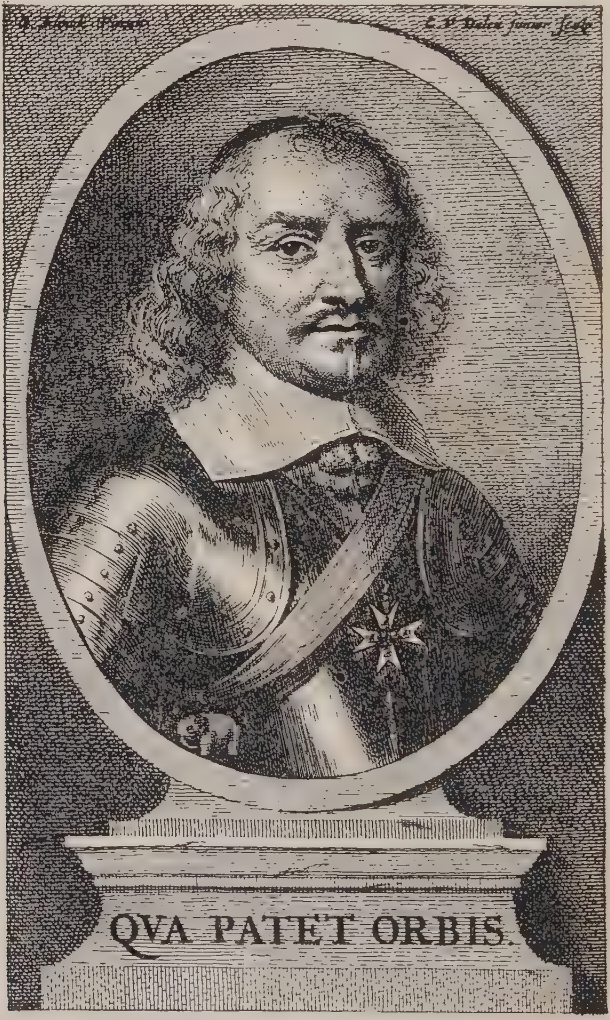
[3] *Ante*, chap. iv.

[4] There is a panoramic view of the attack (1630) in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (1655), p. 626.

The first tidings of the capture of Olinda, as it reached Holland, is in a *Copie van de Missive* sent by General Weerdenburch (Amsterdam, 1630; reprinted Utrecht, 1630).

Johan Baers' *Olinda inghenomen door D. v. Weerdenburg* (Amst., 1638), is an account, by a member of the expedition, of the taking of Olinda.

Pedro Cardena wrote in 1634 an account of Brazil, where he had long lived, which we only know in a German translation with notes by Christian Leister, *Beschreibung des Portugiesischen Amerika* (Braunschweig, 1780).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QVA PATET ORBIS.

JOHANNES MAURITIUS, PRINCEPS NASSAVIÆ.*

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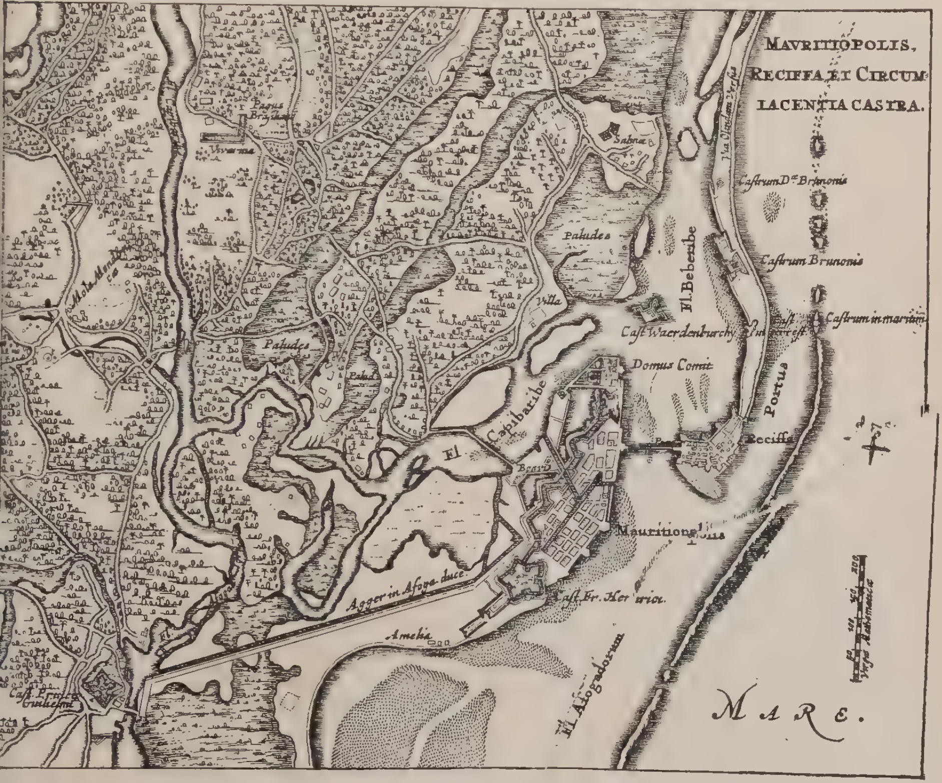
* After an engraving in Caspar van Baerle's *Brasilienische Geschichte* (Cleve, 1659). There is another in Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil* (La Haye, 1853). The exploits of Maurice are also celebrated in Plante's *Rerum ab Maritio comite Nassaviæ gestarum descriptio poetica* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1647). Cf. Ludwig Driesen's *Leben des Fürsten Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen* (Berlin, 1849).

The Count of Nassau reached Recife Jan., 1637. He at once entered upon an active campaign. He retook Porto Calvo;[1] he built Fort Mauritz on the San Francisco River, and rebuilt Olinda. He attacked Bahia unsuccessfully. Cf. a Dutch *Cort Verhael* on the land and naval operations near Bahia (Nov. 19, 1639–Feb. 28, 1640).[2] In order to induce a Dutch immigration, the West India Company threw open the trade of Brazil, and gave attention to the manufacture of sugar in the captured provinces, but they did not equal the energy of the Portuguese in such mercantile enterprises.

Nassau built himself a palace, and laid out a new town near Recife, which he called Mauritius, or Mauritiopolis. But the times were far from as peaceful as such adornments might signify. The Portuguese, under Count Datorne, hung with a fleet on the coast, but they accomplished nothing. On the land the two peoples devastated each other's property as they could get a chance.

A revolution in Portugal restored the Duke of Braganza to the throne. When the news reached Brazil, both sides were encouraged. Those of the Portuguese who were loyal to the Braganzas looked for help. The Dutch thought that the rivalries of the two Portuguese parties must inure somehow to the benefit of the Hollanders. Braganza had his motives for entering



NOTE. — After a plate in Caspar van Baerle's *Brasilienische Geschichte* (Cleve, 1659). It is also in the Latin ed., *Rerum per Octennium in Brasilia* (Clivis, 1660). Varnhagen (*Hist. do Brazil*, 1877) gives a facsimile of an old plan of Recife. Views of Olinda and Recife are given in De Laet's *West Indische Compagnie* (Leyden, 1644). A plan of Olinda and a map of the region is in Baelæus' *Rerum gestarum . . . Historia* (1647). There is also a plan of Mauritsstadt and Recife on the title of the Dutch edition of Pierre Moreau (Amsterdam, 1652). There is a plan and view of Recife in Claude Barthélemy Morisot's *Relations de 'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil* (Paris, 1651), and others of Olinda in Ambros Reichsshoffer's *Brasilianisch-und West Indianische Reise Beschreibung* (Strassburg, 1677). Others of both places are in Nieuhoff's *Zee n Lant Reise* (Amsterdam, 1682). There is a view and plan of Maurizea in Giovanni Giuseppi's *Istoria delle Guerre del Regno del Brasile* (Roma, 1698). A modern plan of the port of Pernambuco, showing the eefs, is in Henry Koster's *Travels in Brazil* (London, 1816).

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[1] There is a plan in Baelæus, no. 19.

[2] Carter-Brown, ii. 472.

into a ten years' truce with the Dutch, French, and English; but Holland purposely protracted the negotiations till Nassau could secure Bahia and Maranham. It was no easy task, however, for Nassau to gain much in the face of Portuguese revolts, and his later rule brought him scant success and no credit. His treachery and deceit failed of its purpose, and in 1644 he returned to Holland.

The principal work on Nassau's government is Caspar Baelæus's (or Caspar van Baerle's) *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum sub præfectura Comitis J. Mauritii, Nassoviæ comitis Historia* (Amsterdam, 1647; 2d ed. Clivis, 1660; in German, Cleve, 1659, 1684).

Johan Nieuhof was in the country for nine years, in the employ of the West India Company, and his *Zee en Lant Reise* (Amsterdam, 1682; in English in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, xiv. pp. 697–881) covers the period 1640–1649, extending beyond Nassau's term.

The withdrawal of Nassau, and the less conciliatory measures of his successors, induced a serious revolt under the lead of a rich Portuguese merchant, Joam Fernandes Vieira,[1] who finally succeeded in luring the Dutch into the country, where, at the battle of Tapicura, he completely routed them, Aug. 3, 1645. Other successes followed on the Portuguese side, and it was not long before the insurgent leader was in a position to threaten Recife and Olinda.

Meanwhile affairs were complicated by advices from Lisbon. The Portuguese king dreaded an alliance between Spain and the Dutch, and was anxious to avert it by conciliatory conduct towards Holland. His consequent orders were enough to show Fernandes that he was not to be sustained in his vigorous onsets against the Dutch. Hesitating to obey the royal orders, the faction of the king made an attempt to kill him. In Europe some diplomatic fence and not a little courteous deceit were going on between the Portuguese ambassador Francisco de Sousa and the government of the States; but it all ended in open war. The Dutch sent a fleet and 6000 troops to succor Recife, where it arrived in 1646. Two years later 6000 more troops were sent over; but the great preponderance of the Dutch in the field did not prevent the Portuguese leaders, Fernandes and Vidal, gaining over them a victory on the hillsides not far from Recife, and it was not long before the Portuguese occupied Olinda.

There is a "Histoire de ce qui c'est passé en la guerre faite au pays du Brezil entre les Portugais et les Hollandais, 1644–1648, avec la carte et description du Recif par Pierre Moreau," contained in *Relations veritables et curieuses de Madagascar et du Brésil; avec l'histoire de la dernière guerre faite au Brésil entre les Portugais et les Hollandais* (Paris, 1651). A Dutch translation of Moreau appeared at Amsterdam, 1652: *Beschryving van de Berverten der Portuguezen in Brasil.* The *Journael ofter Kort discours notende de rebellye der Portugesen, 1645* (Arnheim, 1647) is an important source of the Portuguese success.

A Portuguese Brazil Company was soon created, and this strengthened the hands of the Portuguese in various ways. It sent a fleet to succor Fernandes, but when it arrived it found that this leader had won a second victory over the Dutch forces, on the old battlefield near the Guararape hills. Events all converged towards a successful close of the war for the Portuguese, and attacking Recife by sea and land, that redoubtable port fell into their hands in 1654, and this practically ended the long struggle. The Portuguese were at last masters.

The general literature of the war is extensive, and it can be conveniently surveyed in sections of the *Catalogo de Historia do Brazil* (vol. i. pp. 484, 494; *Supplemento*, pp. 1653, 1656, etc.). So far as the Dutch chronicled its events, the titles can be found in Asher and in Muller's *Americana* (1872), nos. 185–286.

There are a few important contributions of more or less general scope before the Portuguese achieved their crowning success:—

Relations veritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil (Paris, 1651).

Matthias van den Broeck's *Journael . . . wegen de revolte van de Portuguese in Brasiel* (Amsterdam, 1651). It has a view of Pernambuco (Recife) and the sea-fight. Richard Fleckno, the English dramatist, visited Brazil not long before this, and we have his observations in his *Relation of ten years' Travells* (London, 1654?).

Perhaps the best account near the events is Duarte da Albuquerque Coello's *Memorias diarias de la guerra del Brasil* (Madrid, 1654; in Portuguese, with annotations, Rio, 1855).

Later we have:—

Francisco de Brito Freyre's *Nova Lusitania, historia da guerra brasilica* (Lisboa, 1675).

Luis de Menenez, Conde da Ericeyra's *Historia de Portugal restaurado* (Lisbon, 1679, 1710; 2d vol. 1698; new ed. 1751–59, in 4 vols.) is of importance for the period 1640 to 1668.

The period 1624–54 is covered in Father Raphael de Jesus's *Castrioto Lusitano, ou historia da guerra entre o Brazil e a Hollanda* (Paris, 1844,—original ed., Lisbon, 1679).

The war has some individualized expositions in two works of the present day:—

P. M. Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil: notice historique sur les Pays-Bas et le Brésil au 17e siècle* (La Haye, 1853).

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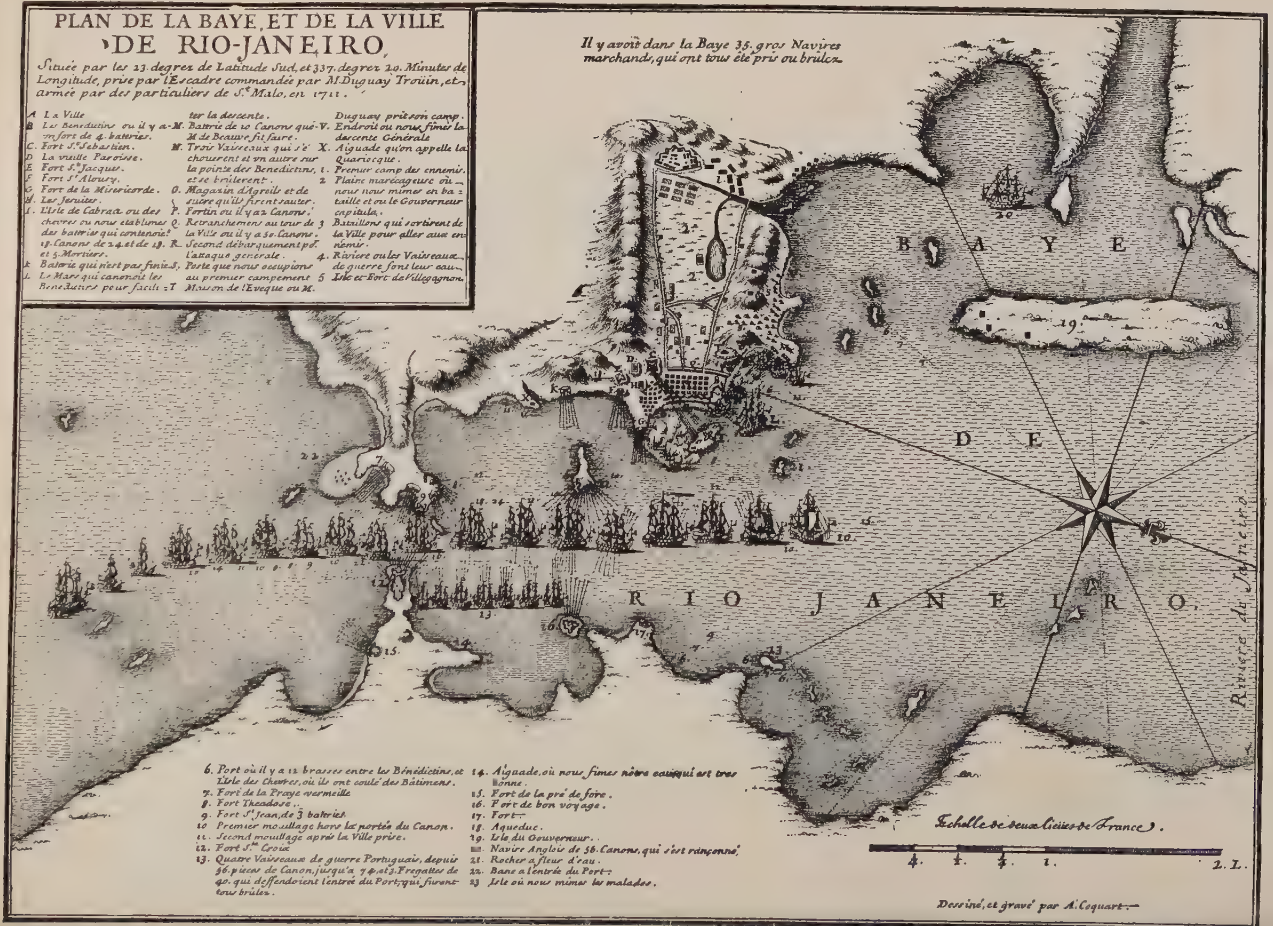
[1] There is a likeness of Fernandes Vieira in *Castrioto Lusitano: Parte I. Entrepresa e restauração de Pernambuco e das capitanias confinantes* (Lisboa, 1679).


PLAN DE LA BAYE, ET DE LA VILLE DE RIO-JANEIRO,
Située par les 23. degrez de Latitude Sud, et 337. degrez 20. Minutes de Longitude, prise par l'Escadre commandée par M. Duguay Troüin, et armée par des particuliers de S.t Malo, en 1711.
A La Ville
B Les Benedictins ou il y a un fort de 4. bateries.
C. Fort S.t Sebastien.
D La vieille Paroisse.
E Fort S.t Jacques.
F Fort S.t Aloury.
G Fort de la Misericorde.
H. Les Jesuites.
I. L'Isle de Cabras ou des chevres ou nous etablimes des batteries qui contenoie.t 18. Canons de 24. et de 18. et 5. Mortiers.
K Baterie qui n'est pas finie.
L Le Mars qui canonoit les Benedictins pour faciliter la descente.
M. Baterie de 10 Canons que M. de Beauve fit faire.
N. Trois Vaisseaux qui s'échouerent et un autre sur la pointe des Benedictins, et se brûlerent.
O. Magazin d'Agreils et de sucre qu'ils firent sauter.
P. Fortin ou il y a 2 Canons.
Q. Retranchemens au tour de la Ville ou il y a 50. Canons.
R. Second débarquement p.r l'attaque generale.
S. Poste que nous occupions au premier campement
T Maison de l'Eveque ou M. Duguay prit son camp.
V. Endroit ou nous fimes la descente Générale
X. Aiguade qu'on appelle la Quariocque.
1. Premier camp des ennemis.
2 Plaine marécageuse où nous nous mimes en bataille et ou le Gouverneur capitula.
3 Bataillons qui sortirent de la Ville pour aller aux ennemis.
4. Riviere ou les Vaisseaux de guerre font leur eau.
5 Isle et Fort de Villegagnon.
6. Port où il y a 12 brasses entre les Bénédictins, et l'Isle des Chevres, où ils ont coulé des Bâtimens.
7. Fort de la Praye vermeille
8. Fort Theadose.
9. Fort S.t Jean, de 3 bateries.
10 Premier mouillage hors la portée du Canon.
11. Second mouillage après la Ville prise.
12. Fort S.te Croix
13. Quatre Vaisseaux de guerre Portuguais, depuis 56. pieces de Canon, jusqu'a 74, et 3. Fregattes de 40. qui deffendoient l'entrée du Port, qui furent tous brûlez.
14. Aiguade, où nous fimes nôtre eau qui est tres bonne.
15. Fort de la pré de fore.
16. Fort de bon voyage.
17. Fort.
18. Aqueduc.
19. Isle du Gouverneur.
20. Navire Anglois de 56. Canons, qui s'est rançonné.
21. Rocher a fleur d'eau.
22. Banc a l'entrée du Port.
23 Isle où nous mimes les malades.
Il y avoit dans la Baye 35. gros Navires marchands, qui ont tous été pris ou brûlez.
BAYE
DE
RIO JANEIRO.
Riviere de Janeiro
Echelle de deux Lieües de France.
4. 4. 4. 1. 2. L.
Dessiné, et gravé par A. Coquart

ATTACK ON RIO DE JANEIRO, 1711.*

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* From the *Mémoires de M. du Guay-Trouin* (Amsterdam, 1740). There is a fac-simile map in Varn- agen's *Hist. do Brazil* (1877), p. 80; also see Sieur François Frogers's *Relation of a Voyage, 1695–97* (Lon- lon, 1798), and Giuseppi's *Istoria delle Guerre del Regno del Brasile* (Roma, 1698), lib. vi. 155. Cf. José de Souza's *Memorias historicas ao Rio de Janeiro* (Rio, 1820, etc.), in eight volumes; and Balthazar da Silva's *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro contendo a descoberta e conquista deste paiz, a fundação da cidade* (Rio, 1834–35), n seven quarto volumes. Cf. other titles in *Cat. de Hist. do Brazil*, i. p. 471.

Varnhagen's *Historia das lutas com os hollandezes do Brazil desde 1624 a 1654* (Vienna, 1871; new ed. improved, Lisbon, 1872), which led to a pamphlet controversy between Netscher and Varnhagen (1873–74).

The Portuguese confirmed in their possession of Brazil, a difference soon began between the courts of Lisbon and Madrid as to the bounds to be settled upon as dividing their South American realms. It was manifest that the old bull of Alexander VI, establishing a line of demarcation, was not going to satisfy Portugal under the new conditions; but the question of its validity was seriously discussed in 1681.[1]

This was but the beginning of the disputes which lasted as long as each power had a foothold on the continent.[2]

An insurrection which took place in 1683–84 in Maranham raised a fear for a while that the neighboring French in Guiana would become involved, but an expedition sent out by the king in 1685, under Gomez Freyre, rapidly quelled the rising.

The finding of gold in 1691 in the southern parts of the country changed the centre of population, and, sending a new tide of immigration thither, it gave Rio de Janeiro an importance as the outlet of the new treasure which it had not before had, and ultimately (1763) caused the transfer to that magnificent bay of the seat of the general government of the country. A supposition that the product of the mines was laid up in great store in Rio excited the cupidity of the French, and they resolved to attack the town. They made a foolhardy raid from their fleet in 1710, and the imbecility of the Portuguese commander did not prevent the invading force being entoiled in the streets of the town and captured. Little mercy was shown to the prisoners; and mercantile eagerness in the French ports, with governmental patronage, soon caused a fleet for reprisals and other gain to be dispatched under the famous French sea-leader, René du Guay-Trouin. He arrived off the bay Sept. 11, 1711, and found a Portuguese fleet had just preceded him, and was within. Its commander lacked courage, and beached and fired his ships. His spirit pervading the garrisons of the forts, they were speedily captured and the town occupied. The French admiral soon exacted a large ransom for the town, and, departing with his plunder, he sought to lay Bahia under contribution, but failed. Thence recrossing the ocean, and encountering much peril and disaster, he reached home; and still, despite his later misfortunes, was enabled to pay a profit of almost a hundred per cent. into the hands of the expectant merchants.

The documentary sources on the French side of this expedition are given in Eugène Sue's *Histoire de la Marine française* (v. 300). Cf. Du Guay-Trouin's *Mémoires* (Amsterdam, 1748); Frédéric Koenig's *Du Guay-Trouin* (Tours, 1876); Norman's *Corsairs of France* (p. 231); and the titles in the *Catal. de Hist. do Brazil* (i. 516). The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) came opportunely to confirm the Portuguese in their possessions, and to stay the French cupidity.

A frenzy for the newly found diamond fields soon led expeditions to roam or tarry in the interior, and added to the allurements of gold mines, which of late had incited adventurous spirits to push into the interior. Cf. Nuno Marquez Pereira's *Compendio Narrativo do Peregrino da America* (Lisbon, 1728, 1750).

During the period now ensuing till the coming of the royal house of Portugal, the titles are numerous, and may be found in the *Catal. de Hist. do Brazil* (i. pp. 494, 522; *Supplemento*, 1656, 1658, etc.). The settlement of the bounds with Spain on the south had forced a war with the Guaranis to push them beyond the Uruguay. The interference and not always concealed hostility of the Jesuits had brought on events (1759–1767) which finally ended in their expulsion.[3] A Spanish fleet in 1777 had captured St. Catharine's Island[4] and the southern parts of the peninsula formed by the ocean and the Uruguay; but under a treaty between the two powers, brought about by Florida Blanca, while the future territory of Uruguay was confirmed to

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[1] Cf. Calvo's *Recueil des Traités*, i. pp. 1, 190, for the bull and its history. See also *ante*, Vol. II. p. 13, 14, 43, 45, 108, 441, 592. The bull has recently been printed from Eden in the *Catholic Historical Researches*, Oct., 1886, p. 71, and in Howley's *Eccles. Hist. Newfoundland*, p. 66. Cf. Navarrete's *Opúsculos*, ii. 47; *American Catholic Quarterly Rev.*, iii. 339.

[2] The negotiations are best followed in Calvo, *Recueil des Traités*, ii. 242 (1750, etc.); iii. 128, with an historical notice; iv. 126, 333; vii.; viii.; ix.; x. Documents relating to the bounds of Brazil are noted in the *Catalogo de Hist. do Brazil* (i. p. 892), and maps appertaining (i. p. 178).

[3] The story of the Jesuit missions is an interesting one. Cf. titles in the *Catal. de Hist. do Brazil* (i. 784), and Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese So. America*, ii. ch. 5. Cf. Simaõ de Vasconcellos' *Crónica da Companhia de Jesus do estado do Brazil* (Lisbon, 1663), — the introduction of which appeared also separately as *Noticiàs curiosas e necessarias sobre o Brasil* (Lisbon, 1668), — and the same author's *Vida do Padre Joseph de Anchieta* (Lisbon, 1672); and Manoel da Fonseca's *Vida do Padre Belchior de Pontes* (Lisbon, 1752).

[4] Cf. Frezier's *Relation du Voyage* (Amsterdam, 1717) for a map.

Spain, the island of St. Catharine's was restored to Portugal.

The great event in the later history of Brazil was to come when Rio de Janeiro received the Braganzas, under a secret convention, which can be found in Calvo (v. 118).

Napoleon had forced the court of Lisbon into an alliance against England, and a British fleet under Sir Sidney Smith blockaded the Tagus, while Marshal Junot was approaching on the land side. To avoid being crushed between the two, Dom John VI accepted the offer of the English ambassador, and on Nov. 29, 1807, the archives, treasures, and royal family went aboard the Portuguese and British fleets and were transported to Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived March 7, 1808, and found safety for the material wealth and an asylum for the royal dignity. The country passed out of a colonial condition when, in Dec., 1815, a decree made it a kingdom, as an integral part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil. Quiet, however, did not long prevail. Jealousies between the native Brazilians and the hordes of dependants of the royal family, which had followed them to the country, and the defections of some among the natives, in order to gain titular distinctions from the crown, brought about serious disturbances. A revolt at Pernam-

RENÉ DU GUAY-TROUIN.*

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* From *Mémoires de Monsieur du Guay-Trouin* (Amsterdam, 1740); cf. Sue's *Marine française*, v. 95.

buco, in 1817, was put down, and no native soldier was trusted thereafter in the royal army. The constitutional revolution in the mother country in 1821 at once had its counterpart in Brazil, which induced Dom John VI to embark for Portugal, leaving his son, Dom Pedro I, to govern in his stead. The National Cortes at Lisbon soon ordered the prince's return and the abolition of royal tribunals at Rio; but Pedro decided to refuse, and to cast in his lot with the Brazilians, while the Portuguese troops in the garrison capitulated and were sent home. On the 7th of Sept., 1822, Dom Pedro determined that Brazil should be independent, and on the 12th of Oct. he was proclaimed constitutional Emperor. For a while the Portuguese government maintained by the troops a contracted dominion at Bahia and at a few other ports; but within three years, the court at Lisbon acknowledged the independence of the new power.

It was not till March, 1824, that a constitution was adopted which was acceptable to both monarch and people. The way to it had been a thorny one; but the emperor's courage and fairness suppressed a revolutionary spirit that could have profited by an opportunity and a weaker ruler. But courage did not make Dom Pedro prudent; his war with Montevideo, in which he was worsted, showed something of the inconsiderate autocrat, and he seemed to forget, as years went on, those ardent promises which so conciliated the Brazilians when he began his rule. So his people and even his army deserted him, and, with a mob before the palace on April 7, 1831, he abdicated in favor of his son, the present emperor, Dom Pedro II.

The literature of this later period is extensive, and will be found in the *Catal. de Hist. do Brazil* (i. pp. 573, 607; *Supplemento*, 1661, 1663). Cf. João Manoel Pereira da Silva's *Historia da fundação do Imperio brazileiro* (Rio, 1864–68), in seven volumes.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE VALLEY OF THE LA PLATA RIVER. — Alexander Dalrymple's *Catalogue of authors, who have written on Rio de la Plata, Paraguay, and Chaco* (London, 1807), is arranged chronologically, and includes some titles omitted in Pinelo's *Epitome* (1737). There is a collection of historical documents from 1500 down, including a chronology of the basin of the La Plata, in Martin de Monsey's *Description géographique et statistique de la Confédération Argentine* (Paris, 1860), in three volumes. The *Coleccion de obras y documentos a la historia de la provinceas del Rio de la Plata*, edited with notes by Pedro de Angelis (Buenos Ayres, 1836), in six volumes, is a source of importance. Hermann Burmeister's *Description de la république Argentine* (Paris, 1876), as it is called in the French translation from the German, contains for a first part a history of the discovery and geography of this region.

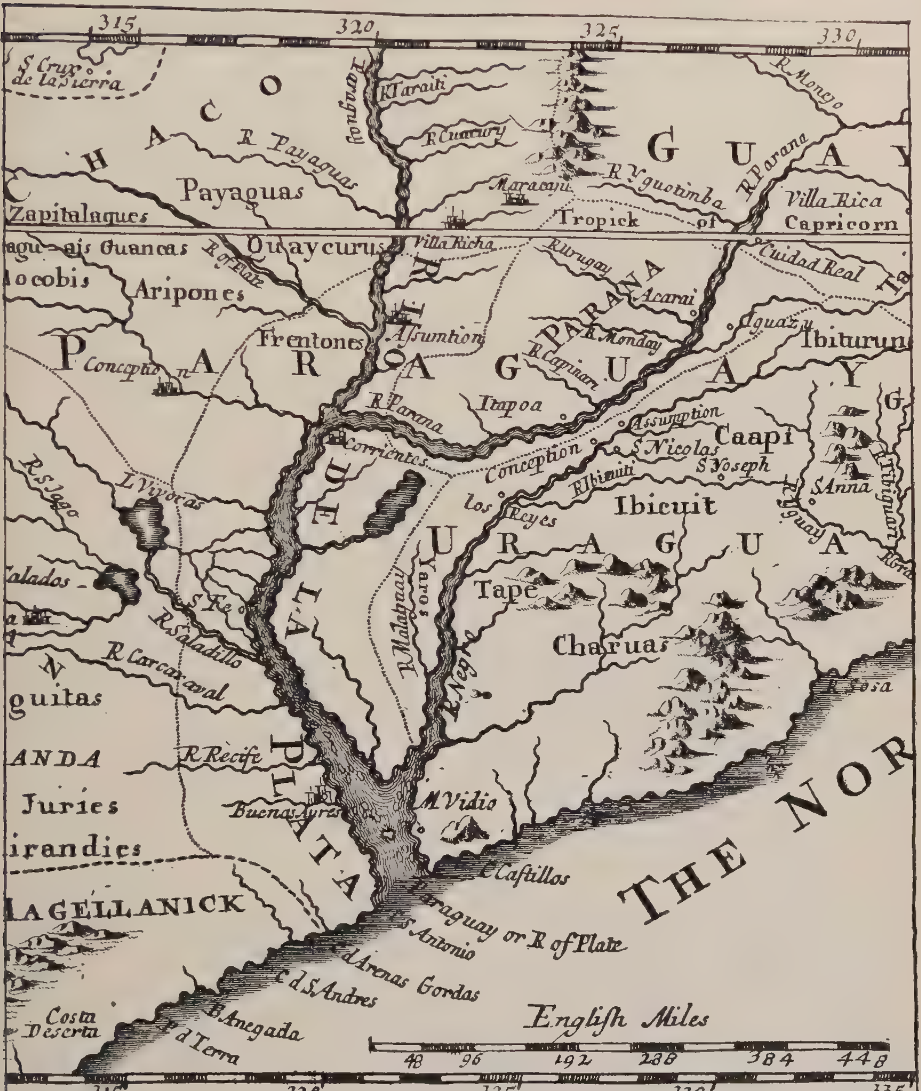
The cartography of the La Plata Valley and of its several divisions is best traced from the time of Wytfliet and his contemporaries in the enumeration of maps in Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana;* to be supplemented by those mentioned in the *Brit. Museum Map Catalogue* (London, 1887), and by the MS. maps in the British Museum, referred to in Calvo's *Recueil des Traités* (x. 326). The maps of the last century can be represented by such as Herman Moll's, as given in the *Voyage to Buenos Ayres*, by Acarete du Biscay (London, 1716); that in Pedro Lozano's *Descripcion chorográphica* (Cordoba, 1733); those in Charlevoix's *Paraguay*, made by Bellin (1756); the composite maps in general collections, like those in Prévost's *Voyages* (xiv.), and the German equivalent, the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, 1758 (xvi.). There are also occasional fresh observations in the accounts of such explorers as Bougainville.[1] Maps of the present century are abundant, and one of the most widely circulated of the early part of the century is that in Ignacio Nuñez's *Noticias de las Provincias unidas del Rio de la Plata* (Londres, 1825; in English, 1825; in French, Paris, 1826).[2]

The maps of Paraguay alone, of which Sanson's of 1650 is one of the earliest, are enumerated in Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana* (p. 178, etc.). That in Acarete du Biscay's *Acc. of a Voyage up the River de la Plata* (London, 1698) shows the views at the close of that century. The leading cartographical ideas of the next century are found in D'Anville's map, given in 1733 in the *Lettres Édifiantes* (vol. xxi.), and later in the English translation of Muratori's *Missions of Paraguay* (London, 1759). Bellin contributed the maps to Charlevoix's *Histoire du Paraguay* (Paris, 1756–57). Delisle's map is used in Bernardo Ibañez de Echavarri's *Histoire du Paraguay* (Amsterdam, 1780). The MS. maps in the British Museum are noted in Calvo's *Recueil des Traités* (x. 331). For a recent map see *Geographical Magazine*, Sept., 1875.

[1] Cf. A. J. Pernetty's *Hist. d'un Voyage aux isles Malouines*, 1763–64 (Paris, nouv. ed., 1770), or *Hist. of the Voyage to the Malouine* (*or Falkland*) *Islands*, *1763–64* (London, 1771; 2d ed., 1773), with its chart of La Plata and plans of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo.

[2] A later work by the same author is in better esteem: *Noticias históricas de la república Arjentina* (Buenos Ayres, 1857).

The history of Paraguay from the time when, with the foundation of Assuncion, it became a province of the viceroyalty of Peru is best followed in the *Histoire du Paraguay* of Charlevoix,[1] in Funes' *Historia civil del Paraguay* (Buenos Ayres, 1817), and in Charles A. Washburn's *History of Paraguay* (Boston, 1871). The rule of the Jesuits when, in the seventeenth century, Spain gave them the entire control of its government, with power to exclude the Spanish adventurers, which had rendered their missionary efforts abortive, resulted in an ecclesiastical domination, whose character, and the causes of whose downfall with the final expulsion of the order in 1768, have been the subject of much controversy. This story is traced in a summarized way in R. G. Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, vol. i. ch. 16, covering 1608–1648; and for later times in vol. ii. Beside the general histories of the order (cf. bibliography, *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 295), collections like the *Lettres Édifiantes*, and the biographical records in succession of Nieremberg,



THE LA PLATA COUNTRY.*

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[1] Three volumes, quarto, Paris, 1756; six vols. 12mo, Paris, 1757; in Latin, Venice, 1779; in German, Nuremberg, 1768; abridged in English, London and Dublin, 1769, in two vols. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1107, 1663, 2541.

* From Acarete du Biscay's *Voyage up the River de la Plata* (London, 1698).

Andrade, and Cassani,[1] we trace the diverse views on the Jesuit rule in such works as *Mémoire touchant l'établissement des P. Jésuites dans les Indes d'Espagne* (1716); a letter of 1721, describing events which, extracted from the *Mémoires de Bravet*, appeared as *Le Paraguai Jesuitique* (Amsterdam, 1768); Juan Patricio Fernandez' *Relacion de las Missiones de los Indios* (Madrid, 1726);[2] Pedro Lozano's *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Paraguay* (Madrid, 1754-55), in two folio volumes; Ludovico Antonio Muratori's *Il Christianesimo Felice nelle missioni de' Padre della Compagnia de Gesu del Paraguai* (Venice, 1743);[3] *Histoire de Nicolas I, Roy du Paraguai* (1756), — an imposition intended to injure the Jesuits; the most effective of all the opposing criticism, *Relacão Abbreviada da Republica* (Lisbon, 1757), which appeared in both Portuguese and French, and is said to have been written by Sebastião José de Carvalho, the Marquis of Pombal, and is best known by the French title, *Relation abrégée concernant la République (Paraguay) que les Jésuites des Provinces de Portugal et d'Espagne, ont établié dans les Pays et Domaines de ces deux Monarchies, et de la guerre qu'ils y ont excitée et soutenue contre les armées Espagnoles et Portugaises* (n. p.; n. d., 1758);[4] an Italian book of Father Bernardo Ibañez de Echavarri, which is better known in the French version, *Histoire du Paraguay sous les jésuites* (Amsterdam, 1780),[5] and the long delayed *Historia de Abiponibus* of Martin Dobrizhoffer (Vienna, 1784), in three volumes, which recounts missionary experiences among this equestrian people of Paraguay.[6]

These must be supplemented by some collections of documents necessary in the study of the movements against the Jesuit rule, and recording the final action of their expulsion. Such are the *Coleccion jeneral de Documentos* (1644, etc.), published at Madrid in 1768-69,[7] and the *Recueil des decrets apostoliques et des ordonnances du Roi de Portugal concernant la conduite des Jésuites dans le Paraguai; les moyens employés pour en procurer la réforme de la part du S. Siège; l'attentat du 3 Sept. 1758, la punition des coupables, etc.* (Amsterdam, 1760, 1761, 1781). This is the French translation of the Latin and Portuguese original, and it was authorized by the Portuguese king. The Jesuits were charged with instigating the natives against the European arms.[8]

Not long after the Jesuit expulsion Paraguay was made a part of the new La Plata viceroyalty (1776), and in 1810 it was the earliest of the states to establish its independence. The exclusive rule of the Dictator Dr. Francia, beginning in 1814 and ending with his death in 1840, can be easiest studied in Washburn's *History*, with help from some contemporary accounts and later examinations.[9]

The later rule of Lopez (1844, etc.) can be best followed, by the English reader, in Washburn.

The early history of Buenos Ayres is a story of Indian depredations; but in 1594 the city became firmly established, and in 1620 the seat of government for the La Plata region was transferred to it from Assuncion. In 1629, a single viceroyalty included Buenos Ayres, Assuncion, Charcas, Potosi, and Cochabamba. After 1640 there was an intermittent conflict between Spain and Portugal for the possession of the country, but in 1785 Spain confirmed her rights by treaty. In 1806 the English invaded La Plata, and Buenos Ayres fell into the hands of General Beresford, only to be recaptured (Aug. 14, 1806) by a Spanish expedition under Santiago Liniers, organized in Montevideo, when Liniers was placed in command of the city.

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[1] *Ideas de Virtud en algunos claros varones de la Compañia de Jesus* (Madrid, 1643-47), vols. i., ii., iii., iv.; *Varones ilustres en santidad* (Madrid, 1666-67), vols. v., vi.; and the final continuation of Cassani in 1784.

[2] German edition, Vienna, 1729; Latin, Rome, 1729, and Vienna, 1733.

[3] French translations, Paris, 1754, 1757; German, Vienna, 1758; English, London, 1759 (Carter-Brown, iii. 744, 746, 1026, 1164, 1186, 1228).

[4] It came out also in French at Amsterdam, 1758, and Paris, 1758; in German at Amsterdam, 1758 (2 eds.), and at Lisbon, 1760. *Extraits de la Relation abrégée* appeared at Utrecht, 1758; and a *Mémoire pour servir d'addition et de éclaircissement à la Relation abrégée sur l'abominable conduite des Jésuites dans les Pays d'outre-mer* (1758). Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. 1186-1190, 1271-73, and Sabin, vol. xv.

[5] German translation, *Jesuitisches Reich in Paraguay* (Cöln, 1774). The French edition contains a translation of vol. iv. of *Coleccion jeneral de documentos tocantes a los regulares de la compañia* (Madrid, 1768-1770). Cf. Arana's *Notas para una bibliografia*, no. 222.

[6] It has a map of Taruma and a plan of Rosario. The German translation (Vienna, 1783) has the same maps. There is an English version by Sara H. Coleridge (London, 1822).

[7] Three vols., quarto. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. no. 1632, gives the contents. Mainly based on this collection is the *Histoire du Paraguay sous les jésuites, et de la Royauté qu'ils y ont exercée pendant un siècle et demi* (Amsterdam, 1780), in three vols. There is another *Coleccion de documentos relativos a la espulsion de los jesuitas de la República Arjentina y del Paraguai* (Madrid, 1872).

[8] Cf. also, for the criminal process against the order, the *Geschichte von Paraguay* of Juan de Escandon and Bernard Rusdorfer (Frankfort and Leipzig, 1769), which purports to be translated from Spanish MSS.

[9] *The Reign of Doctor Joseph Gaspard Roderich de Francia in Paraguay, being an account of a six years residence in that Republic, July, 1819-May, 1825, by J. R. Rengger and Longchamp, translated from the French of Rengger* (London, 1827), known in the original as *Essai historique sur la révolution du Paraguay, et le gouvernement dictatorial du Docteur Francia* (Paris, 1827). There is an English translation, badly done and defective. There are other experiences of two Scotchmen, J. P. and W. P. Robertson, who published their *Letters on Paraguay, four years residence in that Republic under the government of the Dictator Francia* (London, 1839, two eds.), in three volumes, to which they added another volume, *Dr. Francia's Reign of Terror* (London, 1839), — a book to meet the current interest, rather than to add to what they had already written; and much the same may be said of their still later *Letters on South America* (London, 1843), in three vols. Cf. further, Carlyle's essay on Francia, published originally in the *Foreign Quart. Review*, 1843, and included in his *Essays*; the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie en Anvers* (x. 8-31); and references in *Poole's Index*, vol. i.

In 1807, Sir Samuel Auchmuty assaulted Montevideo and captured it; but another British force, under General Whitelocke, failed in an attempt to secure Buenos Ayres, and as a result the British evacuated the whole country.

The documentary and contemporary evidence on these British operations can be found in the following:—

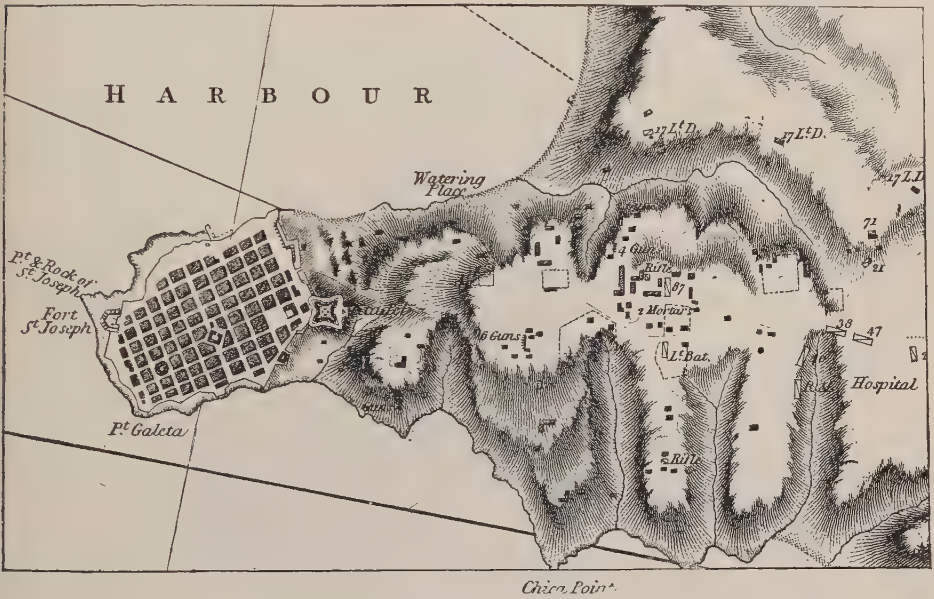
Memoranda on the taking of Buenos Ayres (1806) and its recapture, with documents, Calvo's *Recueil des Traités* (iv. 385; v. 5).

S. H. Wilcocke's *Hist. of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres* (London, 1807), with a map of La Plata and the harbor of Montevideo.

Narrative of the operations of a small British force under General Auchmuty, employed in the reduction of Montevideo (London, 1807), with a map of the country round Montevideo.

Authentic narrative of the expedition of Brig. Gen. Craufurd, until his arrival at Monte Video, with an account of the operations against Buenos Ayres under the command of Lt. Gen. Whitelocke, by an officer (London, 1808).

Notes on the Viceroyalty of La Plata, with a history of the operations of the British troops in that country (London, 1808).



AUCHMUTY'S ATTACK ON MONTEVIDEO.*

A modern English view of the transactions of 1806–7 is to be found in the last chapter of R. G. Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America* (London, 1884), who bases his recital in good part on the *La Plata* of Santiago Arcos (Paris, 1865) and the account of the trial to which Whitelocke was subjected. The charges against that officer, with some extracts from the voluminous publications on the *Trial*, are given in Watson's appendix. Whitelocke was cashiered.

Sir Woodbine Parish, the minister from England to Buenos Ayres in the later days of Rosas, gave the English reader one of the best comprehensive surveys of the history and condition of the region in his *Buenos Aires and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata from their discovery and conquest by the Spaniards to the establishment of their political independence* (2d ed., London, 1852), a work which the South Americans think much improved by the annotations of Justo Maeso in his Spanish translation (Buenos Ayres, 1852).

Cf. Andres Lamas's *Coleccion de memorias y documentos para la historia y la jeografía de los pueblos del Rio de la Plata* (Montevideo, 1849).

The beginning of the revolution in Buenos Ayres has been referred to in the preceding chapter; and the country soon fell under the control of a director of the United Provinces of La Plata, who with his successors met with many vicissitudes, until a congress, sitting at Tucuman, declared the independence of the republic, March 24, 1816. One of the most important works for the war of independence in the La Plata region, as well as for the later strifes, is General José M. Paz's *Memorias pósthumos: comprenden sus compañas, servi-*

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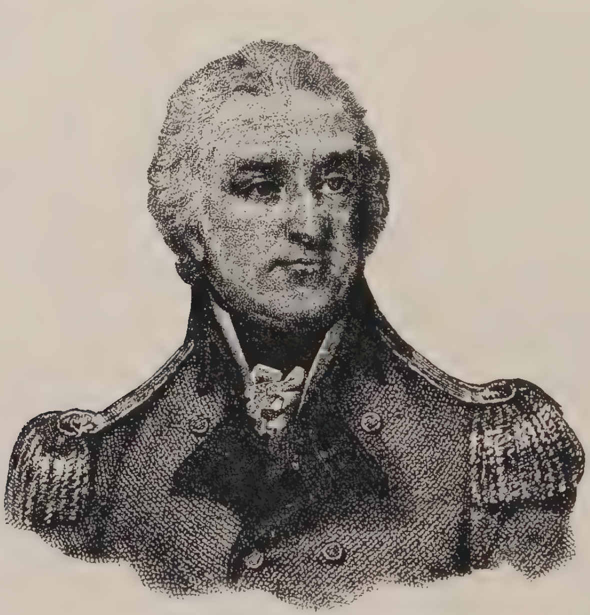
* A portion of a map in a *Narrative of the operations of a small British force employed in the reduction of Montevideo, 1807* (London, 1807).

cios i padecimientos desdes la guerra de la independencia hasta sa muerte, con variedad de otros documentos inéditos de alta importancia (Buenos Ayres, 1855), in four volumes. The story of the revolution, its fulfilment and its sequel, can be well followed in D. F. Sarmiento's *Civilizacion i barbarie* (Santiago de Chile, 1845). A second edition was published at Santiago in 1851, as *Vida de Facundo Quiroga, i aspecto físico, costumbres i hábitos de la República Argentina*, with an *Examen critico* by Ch. de Mazade, translated from the *Revue des deux Mondes.* A French version (Paris, 1853) by A. Giraud follows this second edition. The third Spanish edition follows closely the second, and it is from this that the English version, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants*, was published in New York in 1868. Mazade's paper, however, is replaced by a biographical sketch of Sarmiento by Mrs. Horace Mann.

The precarious political condition of Uruguay during this period of revolution and later is chronicled in Antonio Diodoro de Pascual's *Apuntes para la historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, desde el año de 1810 hasta el de 1852 por A. D. de P.* (Paris, 1863), in two volumes.

There are some stray records of observation on the lower La Plata during the first half of this century:—

Alexander Gillespie's *Gleanings and Remarks collected during many months of residence in Buenos Ayres* (Leeds, 1818).



SIR SAMUEL AUCHMUTY.*

Reports on the present state of the United Provinces of South America (London, 1819), laid before the United States Congress by C. A. Rodney and John Graham. This made part of Monroe's message of Nov. 16, 1818, to which were appended documents respecting the affairs in South America. There were other South American reports made to the same Congress (Poore's *Descriptive Catal.*, p. 129). Cf. H. M. Brackenridge's *Voyage to South America performed by order of the American government, 1817–18* (Baltimore, 1819; London, 1820).

Vicente Pazos' *Letters on the United Provinces of South America addressed to Henry Clay, translated from the Spanish by P. H. Crosby* (N. Y., 1819).

A. F.'s *Précis historique sur la Révolution des Provinces Unies de l'Amérique du Sud, 1819* (Paris, 1849).

Alexander Caldcleugh's *Travels in South America, 1819–21* (London, 1825).

J. A. B. Beaumont's *Travels in Buenos Ayres* (London, 1828).

Manuel Moreno's *Late military revolution in Buenos Ayres and assassination of Gov. Dorrego* (London, 1829).

Samuel Haigh's *Sketches of Buenos Ayres and Chile* (London, 1829).

Voyages à Buenos Ayres, 1830–34 (Havre, 1835).

Col. J. A. King's *Twenty-four Years in the Argentine Republic, ed. by G. R. Whitney* (New York, 1846).

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* After a likeness by Abbot, engraved by A. Cardon, and given in *Notes on the Viceroyalty of La Plata* (London, 1808).

GUIANA. — The stretch of the Atlantic coast from Trinidad to the mouth of the Amazon, called Guiana in a general way, was first prominently brought to the attention of Europe by the voyage of Raleigh, of which an account, together with the beginnings of the coast's cartography, is noted elsewhere.[1] The Dutch had begun as early as 1580 to snatch a temporary hold here and there of the coast, but it was not till about 1602 that they acquired on the Essequibo anything like a permanent station.[2] The English were soon alert. Nichols published his *Houreglasse of Indian News* at London in 1607, which told the sad story of the suffering of a company of sixty-seven colonists who missed their way; and in 1608 Robert Harcourt made a pretence of taking possession of the country for James I.

A voyager along the coast a little later was Jean Mocquet, who at Paris in 1616 published his *Voyages*; and a second edition was issued in 1617, a third in 1645, a fourth in 1665.

Mocquet visited the region where the French were soon in such numbers as constituted a claim to a settlement, at what is now Cayenne, and the French under Charles Poncet soon confirmed their claim by further occupation at Cayenne, Surinam, and Berbice. The natives, however, attacked the settlements, and those who escaped destruction fled to St. Kitts. In 1643 the French again undertook the expedition whose story is told in Paul Boyer's *Veritable Relation de tout ce qui s'est fait et passé au voyage que Monsieur de Bretigny fit à l'Amérique Occidentale* (Paris, 1654).

Again, in 1652, a more determined undertaking was that of Royville, but the leader of the expedition died on the voyage, and external dangers and intestine quarrel soon worked the colony's destruction, and the remnants of the colonists soon fled to the English, now holding Surinam. We have two contemporary accounts of this misguided attempt.. Antonie Biet, who was in charge of the Jesuit priests in the expedition, published at Paris in 1664 his *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en l'isle de Cayenne, entrepris par les François en l'année 1652*. The other was by Jean de Laon, Sieur d'Aigremont, a member of the company, and was called *Relation dv voyage des François fait av cap de Nord en Amériqve, par les soins de la Compagnie establie à Paris, et sous la conduite de Monsieur de Royville, leur général, auec vne ample description du Pays, des mœurs et façon de viure des sauuages, et l'observation des hauteurs, dédié à Madame la duchesse d'Egvillon, par I. de Laon, sieur d'Aigremont, ingénieur du Roy, et capitaine dans les troupes de France Equinoctialle* (Paris, 1654).

Cayenne being now deserted by the French, the Dutch reoccupied it under Guerin Spranger, but this commander was soon obliged to yield possession to a new French expedition. Meanwhile the missionaries record for us something of what they saw and were doing during this interval. The Father Pierre Pelleprat was sent as a Jesuit missionary to the West Indies in 1639, and he gave an account of his order's labors in the French islands and in Guiana in his *Relation des missiones* (Paris, 1655).

Leclerc (no. 1528) notes, as of importance for the study of the French colony in 1661–63, five letters written by Dutch missionaries to the consistory of Amsterdam.

The Sieur Lefebre de la Barre formed in 1663 a new company for the settlement of Guiana. The project met the approval of Colbert, and in 1664 the advance party of the colony sailed in two ships. The next year La Barre returned and laid before the king his hopeful *Description de la France Equinoxiale, cy-devant appelée Guyanne, et pay les Espagnols, El Dorado* (Paris, 1666). It was accompanied by a map "dressée sur les mémoires de la Barre et gravée par Mel."

A war between the French and English ensued, and we can follow it, as well as the personal career of La Barre, in a *Relation de ce qui s'est passée, dans les isles et Terre-Ferme de l'Amérique pendant la dernière guerre avec l'Angleterre, et depuis en exécution du traité de Breda; avec un journal du dernier voyage du Sr. de la Barre en la Terre-Ferme, et Isle de Cayenne. Le tout recueilly des mémoires des principaux officiers qui ont commandé en ce pays. Par I. C. S. D. V.* (Paris, 1671). This recital has been ascribed to J. de Clodore, governor of Martinique (Leclerc, no. 1307). The French fleet under La Barre was defeated by the English near Martinique in July, 1667, in an action described in *Relation de ce qui s'est passé à la defaite de l'armée navale de France dans l'Amérique, par le Chevalier Jean Herman, commandant une esquadre de vaisseaux d'Angleterre.* (Cf. Leclerc, no. 1331.)

In 1667 George Warren gives us *An impartial description of Surinam* (London) during the English occupancy; and in a recent London catalogue an original plan of the English plantations at this time is thus described: *A Description of the Colony of Surranam in New Guiana, drawne in the yeare 1667; the Planters names as they are settled in their plantations in the Severall parts of the Country; the land is low and very full of woods; its very bad travelling from one plantation to another without Boats.* Amongst the names of planters is that of Sir Robert Harley (uncle of the famous Robert Harley, created in 1711 Earl of Oxford), who died in 1673.

The Treaty of Breda had not pacified the region as was expected, and the Dutch again took Cayenne, and the complaint of the English as to their action at Surinam is set forth in *The Conduct of the Dutch relating*

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. III. p. 124. Cf. also Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana*, pp. 103–116.

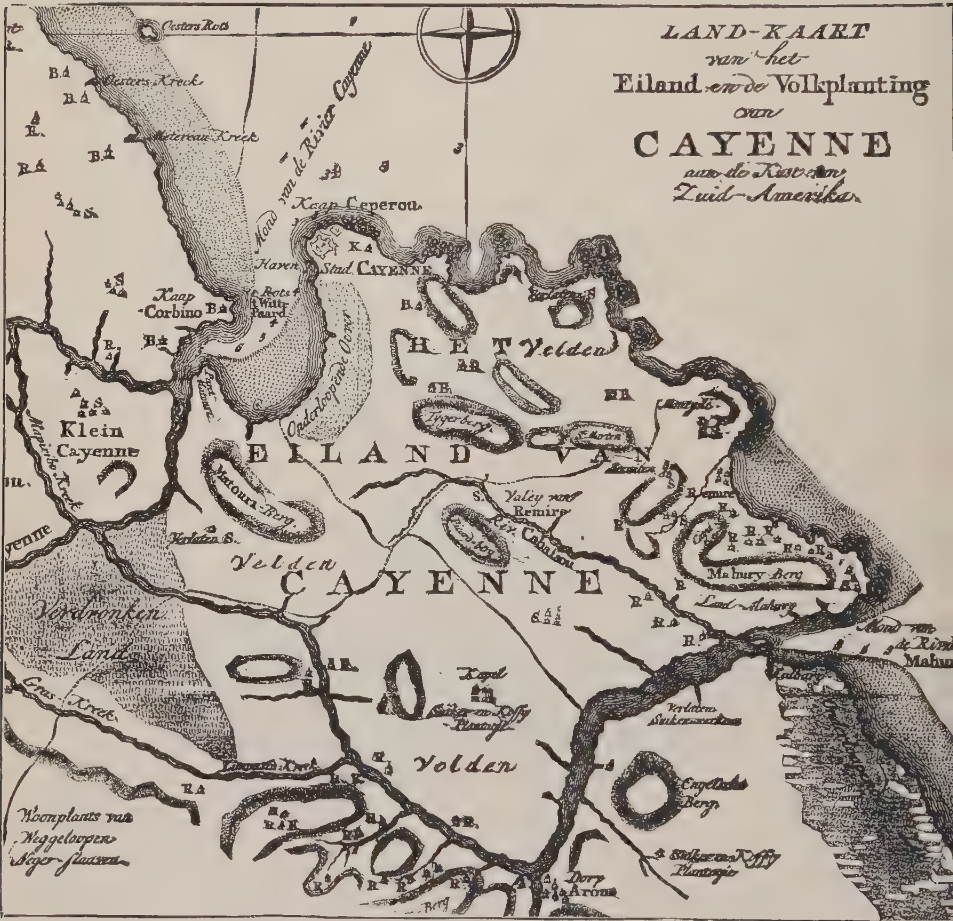
The bibliography of Guiana is best followed in Ternaux's *Notice Historique sur la Guyane française* (Paris, 1843), pp. 169, 170; and in Victor de Nouvion's *Extraits des Auteurs et voyageurs qui ont écrit sur la Guyane, suivis du Catalogue bibliographique de la Guyane* (Paris, 1844).

[2] On the Dutch colonization, see Gerardus de la Mijst's *Verloren Arbeyt ofte klaar en kortbondigh vertoogh van de Colonie in de Lantstreke Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1678).

to their breach of treaties with England, particularly their breach of the articles of capitulation for the surrender of Surinam in 1667 (London, 1760).

The French, under the Comte d'Estrees, once more attacked Cayenne, Dec. 21, 1676. (Cf. Eugène Sue's *Hist. de la Marine Française*, ii. 411.)

We have, a few years later, a Dutch description in Adrian van Berkel's *Amerikaansche Voyagien* (Amsterdam, 1695), of which a German version was later published: *Beschreibung seiner Reisen nach Rio de Berbice und Surinam* (Memmingen, 1789).



CAYENNE AND ITS VICINITY.*

Early in the next century we follow the fortunes of Surinam in such recitals of Cassard's exploits (1712) as are given in Norman's *Corsairs of France* (London, 1887), p. 141, and in the contemporary *Beschryvinge van Zuriname*, by J. D. Herlein (1718).

The French settlements are described by Pierre Barrère, who was there in 1722–24, in his *Nouvelle Relation de la France Equinoxiale* (Paris, 1743), and this same writer printed a more distinctly descriptive *Essai* in 1749. Father Labat worked up some material put into his hands in his *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinée, . . . et à Cayenne, fait en 1725–27* (Paris, 1730; Amsterdam, 1731).

The English cartographer Thomas Jefferys in 1760 brought the region into notice in his *French Dominions*

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* Part of a map in *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), ii. 418. Cf. maps in Labat's *Voyage du Chev. des Marchais* (Amsterdam, 1831); Pierre Barrère's *France Equinoxiale* (Paris, 1743); Bellin's *Desc. Géog. de la Guiane* (Paris, 1763); Prévost's *Voyages*, vol. xi.; *London Magazine*, 1763.

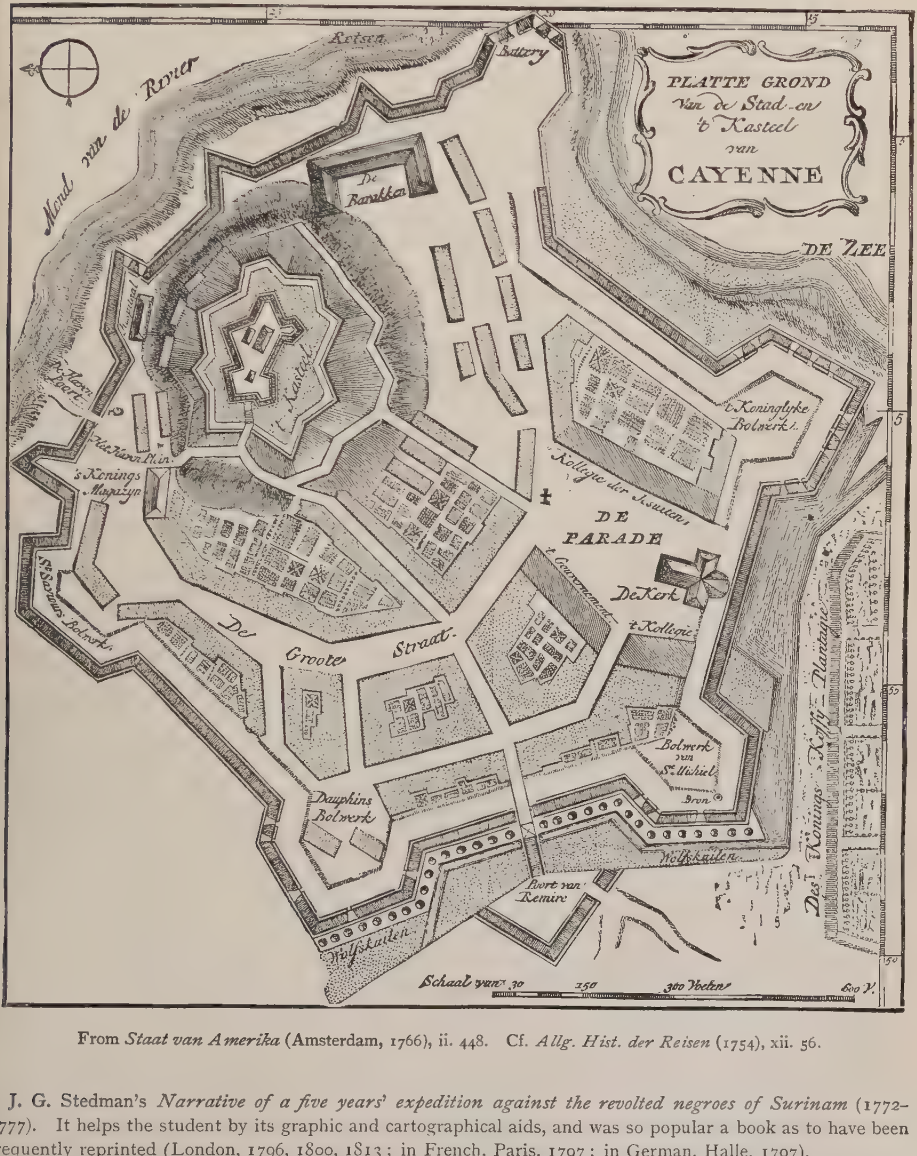
The most common maps of the last century of the whole country of Guiana were Bellin's and D'Anville's, which last is in Labat, Prévost, and the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, etc.

in North and South America, and in 1763 there was a revival of interest in Europe. Bellin, the French geographer, published his *Description géographique de Guyane* (Paris, 1763), with its numerous maps; and in Holland we find Thomas Pistorius's *Korte en Zakelyke Beschryvinge van de Colonie van Zuriname* (Amsterdam, 1763).

During the rest of the century it is mainly personal experiences, as reflecting the social and political conditions, that help us. We now encounter such books as these: —

Philip Fermin's *Description de Surinam* (Amsterdam, 1769).

Jan Jacob Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1770; German, Berlin, 1784), with various maps and views.



From *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), ii. 448. Cf. *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (1754), xii. 56.

J. G. Stedman's *Narrative of a five years' expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam* (1772–777). It helps the student by its graphic and cartographical aids, and was so popular a book as to have been requently reprinted (London, 1796, 1800, 1813; in French, Paris, 1797; in German, Halle, 1797).

Remarques critiques sur le tableau historique et politique de la colonie de Surinam (Londres, 1779).

Philip Fermin's *Tableau historique et politique de l'état ancien et actuel de la colonie de Surinam et des auses de sa décadence* (Maestricht, 1778; in English, London, 1781). Firmin was for a long time a resident n the colony.

D. de la Nassy's *Essai historique sur le colonie de Surinam* (Paramaribo, 1788), in two volumes.
J. F. Ludwig's *Surinam* (Jena, 1789).

In 1796 the British, under Major-General Whyte, took possession of a portion of the country, and in 1802 the peace of Amiens restored the same to the Dutch; but the next year the English arms repossessed the region, and in 1814 the sections now known as Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were confirmed to British rule.[1]

The three possessions of the English, Dutch, and French are usually separately considered since the latter part of the last century. It is enough for the English part to refer to H. G. Dalton's *Hist. of British Guiana* (London, 1855). A publication of the Society of Portuguese Jews, called *Essai historique sur la colonie de Surinam, avec l'histoire de la nation Juive Portugaise et Allemande y etablié* (Paramaribo, 1788; in Dutch, Amsterdam, 1791), elucidates the history of the Dutch portion. For the French region we have larger resources: Bajon's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Cayenne et de la Guiana Françoise* (Paris, 1777, — an abridged German version, Erfurt, 1780–84). Gallard de Terraube's *Tableau de Cayenne en de la Guiane Française* (Paris, 1799), the result of three voyages to rectify the cartography. A French work, of which I have only seen the German translation, *Reise nach Guiana und Cayenne, nebst einer Uebersicht der ältern dahin gemachten Reisen und neuern Nachrichten von diesem Lande* (Hamburg, 1799). *Neue Reise nach Cayenne* (Leipzig, 1799). Ferdinand Denis's *La Guyanne, ou Histoire, etc., de cette partie de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1823). Frédéric Bouyer's *La Guyane Française* (Paris, 1867).

About the beginning of the present century there was an important documentary collection published by V. P. Malouet, *Collection de Mémoires et Correspondance officielles sur l'administration des Colonies, et notamment sur la Guiane Française et Hollandaise* (Paris, l'an x), in five volumes.

THE REVOLUTION IN THE NORTHWEST. — The literature of the revolutionary period of this century in the northwestern parts of South America is not well represented collectively in any bibliography, and must mostly be eliminated from the larger groupings of the native publications. For such purpose, the *Biblioteca de ex Coronel Pineda* (Bogota, 1853) chronicles the issues of the press from 1774 to 1850. P. Herrera published an *Esayo sobre la Historia de la Literatura Ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1860). J. M. Vergara y Vergara's *Historia de la literatura en Nueva Grenada* (Bogota, 1867). J. M. Spence's *Land of Bolivar*, vol. ii., has a list on Venezuela. J. M. Rojas's *Biblioteca de escritores Venezolanos Contemporáneos* (Caracas, 1875).

One of the principal documentary sources for the period from 1808 to the establishment of South American independence is Charles Calvo's *Annales historiques de la révolution de l'Amérique latine* (Paris, 1864–67; also in Spanish, Paris, 1864–67), in five volumes, which is the second series of his *Recueil des Traités*. The whole field is surveyed in Mariano Torrente's *Historia de la Revolucion Hispano-Americana* (Madrid, 1829), in three volumes; but the view is a Spanish one, and not satisfactory to Spanish-Americans. Some of the characteristic illustrative publications of the time are: —

Alvado Florez Estrada's *Impartial Examination of the Dispute between Spain and her American Colonies*, an English translation by W. Burdon (London, 1872).

Manuel Palacio Fajardo's *Outline of the Revolution in South America* (London, 1817; N. Y., 1817). There is a French version (Paris, 1817; revised, 1819).[2]

Dominique Dafour de Pradt's *Des Colonies et de la Révolution Actuelle de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1817; Bordeaux, in Spanish, 1817); and J. D. Williams's translation of De Pradt's *Europe and America in 1821* (London, 1822).

W. B. Stevenson's *A historical and descriptive narrative of twenty years' residence in South America; containing travels in Arauco, Chile, Peru, and Colombia; with an account of the revolution [1821–1824], its rise, progress, and results* (London, 1825).

The arguments that induced the interposition of the English are found in —

Wm. Burke's *South American Independence*, and his *Additional Reasons for our immediately emancipating Spanish America* (London, 1808).

William Walton's *Present State of the Spanish Colonies* (London, 1810), and his *Exposé of the dissensions of Spanish America* (London, 1814).

M. G. Mulhall's *English in South America* (Buenos Ayres, 1879).

The lives of Bolivar, already referred to, gather the essential elements of the story. The basis of all is the considerable *Coleccion de documentos, relativos a la vida pública del libertador de Colombia y del Peru, Simon Bolivar para servir a la historia de la independencia de Sur América* (Caracas, 1826, 1833), in 22 volumes, and the *Documentos para la historia de la vida publica del Libertador de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia, Puestos por orden cronológico, y con adiciones y notas que la ilustran, por el general José Felix Blanco y Ramon Azpurua* (Caracas, 1875–77), in fourteen volumes.

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[1] Cf. P. M. Netscher's *Geschiedenis van de Kolonien Essequibo, Demerary en Berbice* (La Haye, 1888).

[2] D. B. Arana's *Notas para una bibliografia*, no. 157.

These may be supplemented by such works as *Interesting official documents relating to the United Provinces of Venezuela* (London, 1812, in both English and Spanish); *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la revolution de la Capitainerie générale de Caracas jusqu'au mois d'août, 1814*, by H. Poudenx and F. Mayer (Paris, 1815); Major George Flinter's *Hist. of the Revolution in Caracas* (London, 1819); José Domingo Diaz's *Recuerdos sobre la rebelion de Caracas* (Madrid, 1829), the record of an eye-witness, and secretary of Morillo; Geo. Laval Chesterton's *Narrative of proceedings in Venezuela*, 1819–1820 (London, 1820); R. M. Baralt and R. Diaz's *Historia de Venezuela*, 1797–1830 (Paris, 1841, — a continuation of Baralt's *Historia de Venezuela desde el descubrimiento hasta 1797*, Paris, 1841), works too Spanish to be wholly pleasing to South American readers; Rafter's *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor, comprising a sketch of the Revolution in New Grenada and Venezuela* (London, 1820); J. A. de Plaza's *Memorias para la historia de la Nueva Granada* (Bogota, 1850), which, however, only comes down to 1810, but in his *Compendio de la historia de la Nueva Grenada* (Bogota, 1850) he tells the story in a condensed way to 1831; Guillaume Lallement's *Histoire de la Colombie* (Paris, 1826); José Manuel Restrepo's *Historia de la revolucion de la república de Colombia* (Paris, 1827, in ten vols., with an atlas; 2d ed., Besanzon, 1858, in 3 vols.); *The Present State of Colombia, containing an account of the principal events of its revolutionary war* (London, 1827).

There are a number of contemporary records of the period following the declaration of independence: Alexander Walker's *Colombia* (Londres, 1822). G. T. Mollien's *Voyage dans la république de Colombia* (Paris, 1823, 1825; English trans., Lond., 1824). W. B. Stevenson's *Historical and descriptive narrative of twenty years' residence in South America* (London, 1825). Col. William Duane's *Visit to Colombia, 1822–23* (Philad., 1826). Capt. Chas. Stuart Cochrane's *Residence and Travels in Colombia*, 1823–24 (London, 1825). Lieutenant Richard Bache's *Notes on Colombia*, 1822–23 (Philad., 1827).

PERU AND CHILE. — The descriptions of Peru and Chile in the seventeenth and eighteenth century are an important element in our knowledge of the history of that time. They come in the main from navigators, members of religious orders, and latterly more particularly from travellers. The *Descripcion del regno de Chile*, by Francisco Ponce de Leon, was presented to the king in the form of a memorial, and later printed at Madrid about 1644. (Leclerc, no. 1965.)

The voyage of Frezier on the coasts of Chile and Peru in 1712–14 was the most noticeable of its time, and the maps and plates which accompanied its relation attracted popular notice.[1]

The voyage of Alonzo Carillo Lazo to Peru in 1745–49, originally written in Spanish, was presented in French by the Abbé de la Blancharderie as *Nouveau Voyage fait au Pérou* (Paris, 1751), and in an English dress (London, 1753).

The travels of the early part of the present century are not so important as historical material.[2]

The material in relation to the Church and missions of both Peru and Chile is extensive and needs to be used in parallel study. The general histories give much; but there are details in many sectional works.

The most famous of the Spanish prelates sent to Peru to take the headship of its Church and its missions was Toribio, who at forty-three reached Lima as its archbishop. From this time till his death in 1606 his personality was a conspicuous one both in the affairs of the Church and in the labors among the native tribes. The first considerable life of Toribio was that by Antonio de Leon Pinelo, who founded it on a mass of documents which he possessed: *Vida de D. Torribio Alfonso Montgrovejo, arçobispo de la ciudad de los Reyes* (Madrid, 1653), which was followed by the Italian memoir by Michel Angelo Lapi, *Vita del servo di Dio, Torivio* (Roma, 1656). An effort later began to secure his canonization, and Cypriano de Herrera published his *Mirabilis Vita* (Roma, 1670), which was based on the material sent from Lima in aid of the movement. Anastasio Nicoselli's *Vita di S. Toribio* (Roma, 1726) is simply drawn from Herrera. There was another *Vita Venerabilis Toribii* (Patavii, 1670) published by an Augustine monk, Francisco Macedo. The beatification took place in 1679, and his canonization in 1726. Meanwhile, in 1683, Francisco Antonio de Montalvo made Toribio the subject of some important books, *El sol del Nuevo Mondo*, and *Breve teatro de las acciones de la Vida del bienaventurado Toribio* (Roma). A later account is in Ant. Guerrero Martinez Rubio's *El phenix de las becas* (Salamanca, 1728).

Fray Antonio de la Calancha's *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Perú* (Barcelona, 1638) is an important chronicle, continued in a second volume, never completed however, by Fray Diego de

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[1] The original edition, *Relation du Voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chily et du Pérou fait pendant les nnées 1712, 13 et 1714* (Paris, 1716). A later edition Paris, 1732) is the same with a new title and some additions in an appendix. There was a French edition also at Amsterdam in 1717; a Dutch one there in 1718; German, t Hamburg, 1717, 1718, 1745; and an English version at London, in 1717 (Leclerc, nos. 1954, etc.; Carter-Brown, ii. nos. 212, 221, 222, 229, 230, 486, 800).

[2] For example: Joseph Skinner on *The Present Condiion of Peru* (1806). Peter Schmidtmeyer's *Travels into Chile over the Andes, 1820–21* (London, 1824). Thomas Sutcliffe, *Sixteen years in Chile and Peru, 1822–1839* (London, 1841). Robert Proctor's *Narrative of a journey across the Andes and of a residence in Lima, etc., 1823–24* (London, 1825). Capt. Basil Hall's *Extracts from a Journal on the Coasts of Chile, Peru, and Mexico, 1820–22* (London, 1824; Edinburgh, 4th ed., 1825; also in *Constable's Miscellanies*, 1826; Philad., 1824). John Miers's *Travels in Chile and La Plata* (London, 1826). This writer was an observer of Cochrane's operations. Lieut. Charles Brand's *Journal of a Voyage to Peru* (London, 1828). Edmund Temple's *Travels in various parts of Peru* (London, 1830; Philad., 1833).

Cordova, which was printed at Lima in 1653 (Leclerc, no. 1701). There is a French translation (Toulouse, 1653), and Brulius's *Historia Peruana ordinis erimitarum S. P. Augustini libri octodecim* (Antuerpiæ, 1651) is called a translation.

Fray Andres de S. Nicolas began a history of the labors of the order of Saint Augustine, but his death left it to be finished by some of his brothers, and it appeared at Madrid (1664–1669), in four volumes.

Cordova also published at Lima, in 1630, the life of a famous Franciscan who had died in Lima in 1610, *Vida del Apostol del Perú el Venerable Fray Francisco Solano.* An enlarged edition was published by Alonso de Mendieta at Madrid in 1743, who prepared it in furtherance of the effort made to secure Solano's canonization. Father Tiburcio Navarro published a Latin life, *Triumphus Charitatis* (Rome, 1671), to the same end. He was not canonized till 1726. There was a great ceremony in Lima when that beatific honor was secured, all of which is recounted in Fray Pedro Rodriguez Guillen's *El sol y año feliz del Perú San Francisco Solano* (Madrid, 1735). There are lesser lives of Solano by Fray Cisneros (Madrid, 1727), B. S. de Feria y Morales (Madrid, 1762), etc. Cf. Leclerc, nos. 1710, 1714, 1731, 1751, 1805.

This portrait of TORIBIO is reduced from a plate in Leon Pinelo's *Vida* (1653).

An early work on the labors of the Dominicans is Fray Juan Melendez's *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias* (Roma, 1681), in three folio volumes.

As respects the Jesuits and their relation to the progress of events, the *Compendio historial e Indice cronológico Peruano y del nuevo Regno de Granada* (Madrid, 1684?), of Fray Manuel Rodriguez, covers the events from the discovery down to the date of publication.

For divisionary periods we have the *Relatione Breve del P. Diego de Torres*, by F. Vuez (Milano, 1603); other details are in Juan Hayus's *De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruanis Epistolae recentiores* (Antuerpiae, 1605).

Padre Joseph Puendo's *Vida admirable y prodigiosas virtudes del V. Padre Francisco del Castillo* (Madrid, 1693) is the story of a priest born in Lima in 1615, who became a Jesuit in 1632, and having acquired great fame as a preacher, died at Lima in 1673.

Miguel de Olivares's *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Chile* (1593–1736), annotated by Diego Barros Arana, makes vo. vii. of the *Historiadores de Chile* (Santiago, 1874).

THE HISTORICAL CHOROGRAPHY OF SOUTH AMERICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

WITH the discovery of Magellan, complementing that of Balbóa, the general contour of South America was pretty well understood; and the southern continent of America, long before the northern, took its place in the new hemisphere with something like completeness. The oldest map we have — that of La Cosa — had shown from the explorations of Columbus and his companions the northerly and northeasterly shores, in 1500.[1] The same had been delineated with more or less development in the Cantino map of 1502;[2] in the Portuguese charts which Lelewel supposes to be represented in the map which he assigns to 1501–1504;[3] in the Ruysch map of the Ptolemy of 1508;[4] in the Peter Martyr map of 1511;[5] in the Sylvanus map in the Ptolemy of 1511;[6] in the "Admiral's map,"[7] and in the "Orbis typus universalis juxta,"[8] — both in the Ptolemy of 1513; and in the map in Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* of 1515.[9] The explorations upon which this knowledge was based, began with the expedition of Ojeda and Vespucius (1499), and with that of Pedro Alonzo Niño and Cristóbal Guerra (1499–1500), both on the northern coasts.[10] These were followed by the expedition of Vincente Yañez Pinzon, one of Columbus' original captains, who in the latter part of 1499 crossed the equinoctial line, and on Jan. 20, 1500 (though accounts vary a little), made Cape St. Augustine, — the first of Europeans to see that most easterly point of what was for a few years to come to be distinctively the New World.[11] Pinzon's explorations in the Spanish interests were northerly from

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[1] See sketch, Vol. II. p. 106, and the heliotype in Vol. III. p. 8.

[2] Sketched in Vol. II. p. 108.

[3] *Géographie du moyen-âge,* p. 43, — confessedly made up from the two maps in the Ptolemy of 1513 as based on Portuguese knowledge of ten years earlier.

[4] Sketched in Vol. II. p. 115, and heliotyped in Vol. III. p. 8.

[5] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 110.

[6] Sketched on Mercator's projection in Vol. II., p. 122.

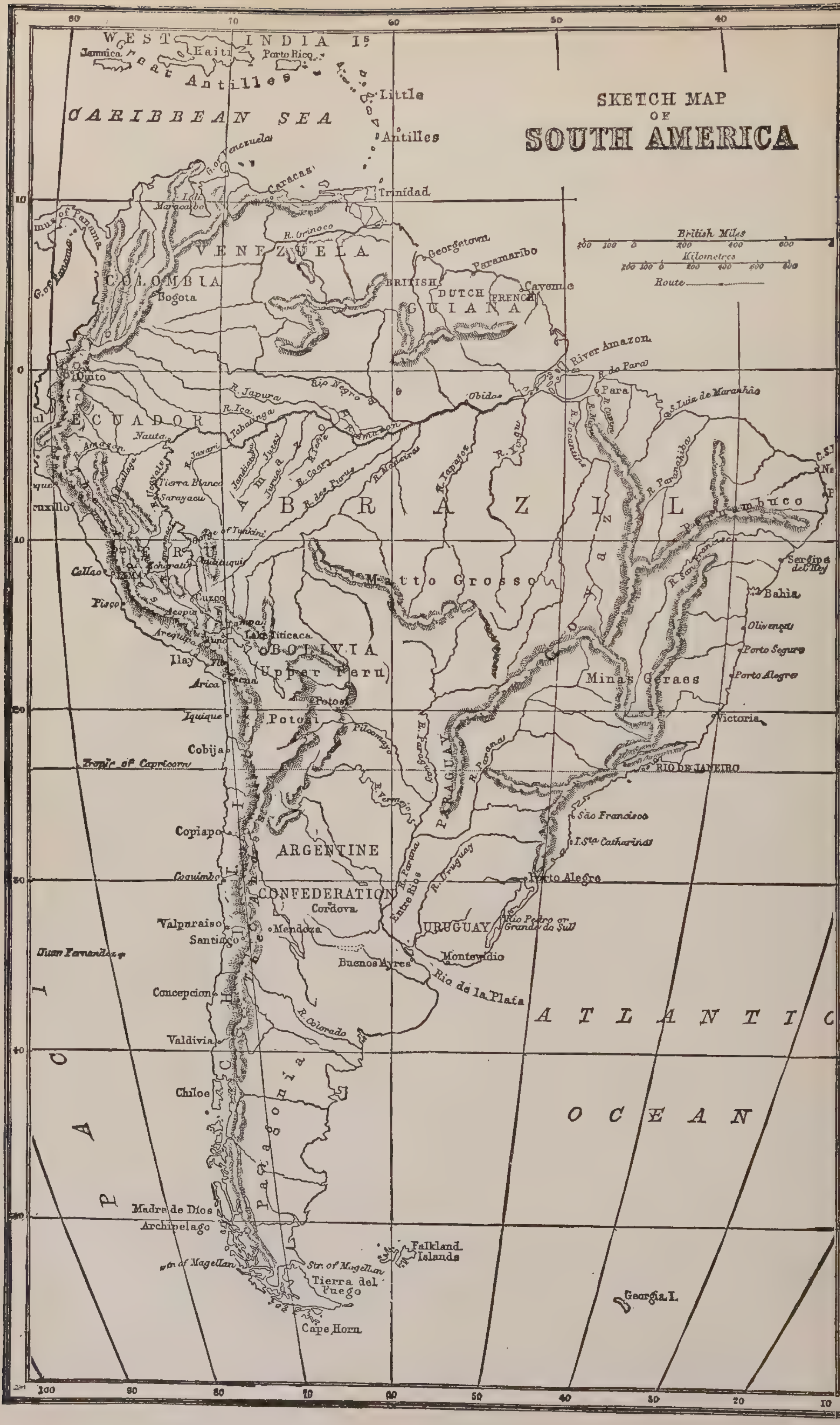
[7] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 112.

[8] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 111.

[9] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 114.

[10] See Vol. II. p. 187.

[11] See Vol. II. p. 188. The author of the *Corografia Brazilica,* while admitting the voyage of Pinzon, claims that his Cape Consolation was not Cape St. Augustine, but the North Cape, under two degrees south latitude. Cf. Santarem, Childe's tr., p. 110, and Cesáreo Fernandez Duro's *Colón y Pinzón. Informe relativo á los pormenores del descubrimiento del Nuevo mundo presentado á la Real academia de la historia* (Madrid, 1883). In the La Cosa map (1500) at Cape St. Augustine is this legend: "Este Cabo se descubrio en anno de mil y iiiixcix por Castilla syendo descubridor Vicentians." Cf. the bibliography in Silva's *L'Oyapoc et l'Amazone.* It is claimed for Ojeda that he touched near Cape St. Augustine in June, 1499. Varnhagen in his



SKETCH MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA

this point.[1] He sailed into that fresh-water sea which the Amazon spreads into the ocean, and filled his water-casks, while yet no land was in sight. He passed the Orinoco, and from the Gulf of Paria turned back and reached Spain in September.[2] Between December (1499) and June (1500) Diego de Lepe added something to the knowledge of the coast from below Cape St. Augustine northward; but precisely how much is not known.[3] Meanwhile the Portuguese had established the claim under the treaty of the Line of Demarcation which makes Brazil to-day the inheritance of the House of Braganza.[4] To follow up Da Gama's discoveries by the Cape of Good Hope, Emanuel of Portugal had sent a squadron under Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, who left the Tagus in March, 1500. To avoid the calms on the African coast, as is commonly alleged, though possibly stress of weather may have been the reason,[5] he stretched his course so far westerly that on April 22 he struck the American coast at a point considerably south of Pinzon's landfall.

He followed the coast beyond fifteen degrees south latitude, and landing in a safe harbor, Puerto Seguro, on the third of May, called the country *Terra Sanctæ Crucis*.[6] He sent back one of his vessels to announce his discovery, and on the 22d, steering southeasterly, proceeded to his original destination. Thus, as has frequently been said, from the time of Robertson, the New World might have in a short time been discovered by accident, had Columbus never pursued his theory. It was customary in the days of Robertson and Raynal to claim for Cabral the discovery of Brazil, in

MONTE PASCOAL, FROM THE SEA.[7]

Examen, in reply to D'Avezac, enumerates the proofs, as he calls them, of his belief in the discovery of Brazil by Ojeda in June, 1499. Burton (*Hans Stade*, p. lxxix) notes various claims of earlier knowledge.

[1] Varnhagen defended his view of the landfall of Pinzon in his *Examen* (p. 19), in reply to D'Avezac.

[2] Cf. Navarrete, iii. 18; Grynæus, *Novus orbis*, editions of 1532 and 1555; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 313, and iii. 221; Galvano (Hakluyt Society's edition), p. 94. The "Capitulation" of Pinzon was first published from the manuscript, at Madrid, by Joaquim Caetano da Silva in the appendix of his *L'Oyapoc et l'Amazone, Question Brésilienne et Française*, Paris, 1861, 2 vols. This work is an historical examination of the dispute between France and Brazil as to the bounds of French Guiana.

[3] Navarrete, iii. 23, 553; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 314, iv. 221.

[4] Varnhagen's *Examen de quelques points de l'histoire géographique du Brésil*, p. 31, with map showing his own and D'Avezac's views of the portion of Brazil cut off by it.

[5] Galvano (Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 96) says: "Losing sight of one of his ships, he went to seek her, and in seeking of her, lost his course, and sailed till he came within sight of land."

[6] Ruysch's map of 1508 is the earliest to name Brazil "Terra Sanctæ Crucis." See Vol. II. p. 115.

[7] The first land seen by Cabral was a range of hills in the province of Bahia, back from the coast in the region of the savage Botocudo; and conspicuous in the prospect is a conical hill, which is seen in the view of the coast at this point given in C. F. Hartt's *Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil* (Boston, 1870), p. 226, as copied above.

One of Cabral's companions, Pedro Vaz de Caminha, describes the view with tolerable accuracy in a letter, dated May 1, 1500, preserved in the Governmental archives at Lisbon. This letter was first printed incorrectly in the *Corografia Brazilica* (vol. i. p. 13) of Ayres do Cazal, 1817, and in 1836 was edited more correctly by the Royal Academy of Lisbon in *Noticias das nacões ultramarinhas*, vol. iv. no. 3. It was translated into French in 1822. Cf. Burton's *Hans Stade*, p. lxxvii (Hakluyt Society's Edition), and the *Art de vérifier les dates*, xiii. 441; Varnhagen's *Hist. do Brazil*, 2d ed., p. 72; and references in *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac.*, i 478–479.

disregard of the priority of Pinzon, now generally recognized, though certain Portuguese writers have been loath to acknowledge the Spanish claim.[1]

In 1501, on the report brought by Cabral's messenger ship, the Portuguese sent out an expedition under Gonçalo Coelho to follow up the discoveries; and in this expedition Vespucius may have sailed in some subordinate capacity, as cosmographer even, as is said.[1] Galvano places its track along the coast from the fifth degree to the thirty-second degree south. Varnhagen traces the nomenclature of the Brazilian coast, as we have it in the early maps, to this voyage of Gonçalo Coelho in 1501. On the return of Coelho, another fleet, commanded by Christovão Jaques, pushed the discoveries as far as the cape forming the northerly entrance of Magellan's Straits. Jaques on this expedition put into the bay "Bahia de Todos os Sanctos" (San Salvador). This was in 1503; and in the same year Coelho led another expedition, sailing from Lisbon on the

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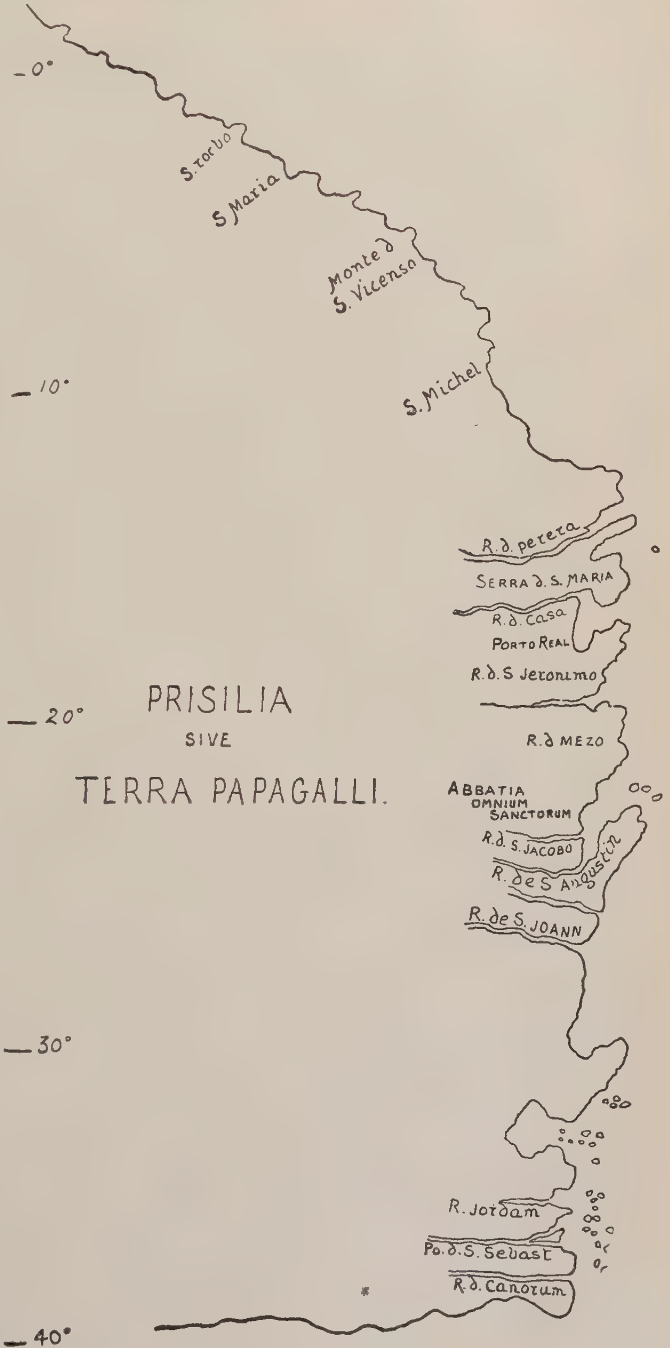
[1] Cf. Santarem in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (1847), vii. 319, and his enumeration of writers who accord priority to Cabral (Childe's translation of Santarem, p. 33, etc.). Cf. various illustrative and controversial works, etc., enumerated in *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac.*, i. 479; also Ferd. Denis' *Une fête Brésilienne*, p. 51. Cabral's instructions are printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion*, iii. 45, 94, and they are found in Italian in the *Paesi novamente retrovate*, etc. His track is pricked in the mappemonde prefixed to Lafitau's *Histoire des découvertes des Portugais* (Paris, 1734). A letter of the Portuguese King, dated July 29, 1500, conveying tidings received from Cabral's messenger, Gaspar de Lemos, and addressed to the Spanish monarch, — *Copia de una littera del Re de Portagallo mādata al Re de Castrella del viaggio e successo de India*, — was printed in Rome, Oct. 23, 1500, and again in Milan in 1505. Navarrete (vol. iii. p. 13) reprints it. There are copies in the Bibliotheca Marciana and Bibliotheca Corsini at Venice (Sabin, vol. vi. no. 22,407; Varnhagen, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 18; *Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, nos. 18, 19; Dr. Court's *Catalogue*, no. 83). Cf. further on this voyage, — Faria de Souza, *Asia Portugueza*, book i. chap. 5; De Cazal, *Corografia Brazilica*, i. 12; Barros, *Decada da Asia* (Lisbon, 1628), vol. i. chap. 30; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 315, ii. 217, iv. 223, v. 53, 61, 71; Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, vol. v.; Cancellieri, *Notizie di Colombo*, p. 48; Purchas, vol. i. book ii. p. 30; Badelli, *Milione*, vol. i. p. liv; Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 128. The accounts in Ramusio and Grynæus were translated into Spanish in the *Noticias das nacãos ultramarinhas* (vol. ii.) of the Royal Academy of Lisbon. We know that Las Casas, in 1502, had possession of some notes by Columbus of the traces of lands to the west, which he had found in the accounts of Portuguese navigators (*Examen critique*, i. 21); but the earliest particularized extant account of the Portuguese discoveries in the new regions east and west is contained in the *Historia do descobrimento* by Ferñao Lopez de Castanheda, the first part of which was printed at Coimbra in 1551. It is, however, scant on the American voyages of the Portuguese (Sabin, vol. iii. no. 11,381, who also gives the later editions; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*). There seems to have been a reprint the same year, and a second edition in 1554, which was reprinted at Lisbon in 1797. Books ii. to vii. appeared in 1552–1554, and the eighth book in 1561, completing the work, which is rare in a full set. An entire reprint appeared at Lisbon in 1833 in seven volumes.

Of the first book a French version appeared at Paris in 1553, and a Spanish at Antwerp in 1554 (Murphy, no. 494; Court, nos. 53, 54). Two books appeared in Italian at Venice in 1577 (Carter-Brown, i. 311). A German translation was made from the French in 1565. An English version of the first book, made by Nicholas Lichefield, and dedicated to Sir Francis Drake, appeared in London in 1582, and was reprinted in Kerr's *Voyages*, ii. 292.

Castanheda was largely drawn upon by H. Osorius in his *De rebus Emmanuelis* (Cologne, 1581), which took a French version as *Histoire de Portugal* the same year, and in Dutch was called *Leven en bedrijf van Don Emanuel, Koning van Portugal*, Rotterdam, 1661–1663 (Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,804; Carter-Brown, i. 342; Muller, 1872, no. 1,160). There was an English book of about the same time covering nearly the same field, John Dauncey's *Compendious Chronicle of Portugal*, London, 1661 (Sabin, vol. v. no. 18,669; Bohn's *Lowndes*, p. 594).

The best known record, however, of the Portuguese maritime explorations was published in Paris in 1733 (two imprints), and again in 1733–1734. This was J. F. Lafitau's *Histoire des découvertes et conquestes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde.* The title is deceptive, for the book concerns mostly Asia and Africa; and the American portion is but a small part of its four volumes, and none of its engravings pertain to the western hemisphere. A Portuguese version was printed at Lisbon in 1786–1787 (Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,591, etc.; Carter-Brown, iii. 506–508; Leclerc, nos. 319–320, — 1601–1602). There is a recent contribution to the subject in a lithographed volume, E. A. de Bettencourt's *Descobrimentos, guerras e conquistas dos Portuguezes em terras do ultramar nos seculos XV. e XVI.* (Lisboa, 1881–1882). General histories of discovery, like Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, and Varnhagen's *Historia do Brazil*, necessarily treat the subject more or less concisely. Cf. Luciano Cordeiro, "La part prise par les Portugais dans la découverte de l'Amérique," published in the *Compte-rendu* of the *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1875, i. 274. Santarem passes in review most of the writers in discussing the claims of Vespucius to having been on the coast in 1501 and 1503. See Vol. II., chapter on "Vespucius."



LORENZ FRIESS, 1504.[2]

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[1] See chapter ii. of the second volume.

[2] Lorenz Friess' sketch of the coast of Brazil in his *Carta marina navigatoria Portugalensium*, apparently, as Dr. Kohl thinks, drawn from the reports of Cabral and the other early navigators of 1500–1503. A legend in the north reads: "A dying person is killed in this country; his flesh smoked, roasted, and eaten." At the south another legend says: "They have sailed all along this coast, but have not as yet penetrated into the interior." Kohl thinks the "Abbatia" is a misreading of the Portuguese "a baia." It is claimed that Vespucius had written, mixing Spanish and Italian, "Bahia di tutti i sancti," but had made the first word, by his bad penmanship, "Badia." The *Carta* was published in 1530, and this map is no. 423 in Kohl's Collection.

10th of June. The squadron of Alfonzo de Albuquerque, bound beyond the Cape of Good Hope, skirted the coast as Cabral had done, and cast anchor in one of the harbors, — as did the fleet of Francisco de Almeida two years later, and that of Tristam da Cunha in 1506.

The French claim even earlier visits. The pretended voyage of Jean Cousin has been mentioned elsewhere;[1] and when Las Casas mentions that the first discoverers of Hispaniola learned from the natives of earlier visits of white and bearded men, it has been very easy for the Norman antiquaries to connect this story with the alleged Cousin voyage of 1488. They grant, however, the lack of indubitable proof, but contend for the hardy Normans being on the Brazilian coast without doubt as early as 1497 and 1498, on the following evidence. Gonneville, in 1505, in describing his own voyage of 1503, speaks of his countrymen having preceded him some years ("aucunes années"); and Jean Parmentier's "Discorso d' un gran capitano" in Ramusio[2] is thought to indicate, in another way, a similarly early French traffic on the same coast.[3]

We come to less disputable ground for the French in 1503 in considering Paulmier de Gonneville's own voyage. He sailed from Honfleur in the latter part of that year, and found land Jan. 5, 1504, and shortly after harbored his vessel in the Rio San Francisco do Sul, under 26° 10′ south latitude. At least this is the port of refuge which is fixed for him by D'Avezac in his *Campagne du navire l'Espoir de Honfleur*, published in the *Annales des voyages*, June and July, 1869. This view is also entertained by Gravier in his *Les Normands sur la route des Indes*, and by Paul Gaffarel in his *Brésil Français*.[4] The French have scarcely admitted any question about this voyage since D'Avezac examined the evidence. It is claimed also that another Honfleur captain, Jean Denis, accompanied by a Rouen pilot, Gamart, was on the coast at the same moment with De Gonneville.[5]

The geographical problem which was given to all these early navigators to solve was, the extent of this new Santa Cruz coast southerly; and the anticipatory suspicion naturally rife was, that it would be found to have an apex toward the South Pole, — as Africa had.

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[1] Vol. II. p. 34; also Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*, and extracts in Dussieux, *Grands faits de l'histoire de la géographie*, iii. 37.

[2] Cf. Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*, and Dussieux, *Grands faits de l'histoire de la géographie*, iii. 65.

[3] Gaffarel in *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 419; and Gravier, *Les Normands sur la route des Indes*, p. 41; D'Avezac, *Nouvelles annales des voyages* (July, 1869). Popellinière, another Norman, insisted on the French discovery in his *Trois mondes* (1583).

[4] *Histoire du Brésil Français au seizième siècle* (Paris, 1878), p. 30 (Leclerc, no. 2,776); cf. also Gaffarel on the *Découverte du Brésil* in the *Compte-rendu*, *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877 (vol. i. pp. 397, 426), which later became the first part of the *Histoire*. When the Abbé Binot Paulmier de Gonneville first published in his *Mémoire présenté au Pape Alexandre VII.*, Paris, 1663 (Court, nos. 267, 268), the account of his ancestor's voyage, from whom he was descended through an alliance, it is said, of the old navigator's daughter with one of the natives of the country, it was supposed or claimed that the land visited in 1503 was Madagascar (cf. Gaffarel, *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 427, and references there cited), — a view held so lately as 1860 (August 15) by Baude in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The error arose in part from the defective copy of the Relation which was printed in 1663. In 1847 Margry found in the Archives "la copie entière du procès-verbal de retour du 19 Juillet, 1505," which enabled him to determine that the landfall of De Gonneville was not in the Indian Ocean, but on the coast of Brazil (Margry, *Les navigations Françaises*, p. 156). Later Paul Lecroix discovered, among the manuscripts of the Marquis de Paulmy, the original *Déclaration du voyage du Capitaine Gonneville et ses compagnons ès Indes*, a copy of which he communicated to D'Avezac, who completed the demonstration (Gaffarel, *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 430; see also Dussieux, *Grands faits de l'histoire de la géographie* ii. 54).

[5] Gaffarel, in his *Brésil Français*, p. 54, has traced the influence that the two Angos, father and son, enterprising ship-owners of Dieppe, at this time exerted through such voyages as this one of Jean Denis, in disputing the claims of the Portuguese and in establishing relations of trade between France and this part of the New World. The coast most frequented by the French was between Cape St. Augustine and Port Royal. Cf. Gosselin's *Marine Normande* (documents), p. 21; Desmarquets, *Mémoires de Dieppe;* also extracted in Dussieux' *Grands faits de l'histoire de la géographie*, iii. 32.

An examination has been made in another chapter[1] of the service in this direction which is claimed for Vespucius in the voyages of 1501 and 1503. In 1520 Albertus Pighius published at Paris his *De æquinoctiorum solstitiorūque inventione*, in which he spoke of Vespucius' discoveries, down to the latitude of 35° south, along a coast which for its magnitude is called the New World, and "the end is not yet found."[2] Humboldt[3] found proof in the Ptolemy of 1508 that the Portuguese had up to that year explored to the fiftieth degree of south latitude, but "without reaching its southern extremity," — as the legend on Ruysch's map says.

In that and the following year (1508–1509) Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis had coasted the shore of Brazil from Cape St. Augustine to the fortieth degree south, but had failed to find the La Plata. Herrera[4] represents them as going below to the River Colorado. Jealousy and distrust existed between the commanders, and their ships returned to Spain near the end of 1509.

The discovery of Balbóa in 1513, and the experience of the Portuguese in rounding the southern point of Africa, naturally prompted the belief that by the south of Brazil, as the continental mass of South America was now called,[5] a similar southern cape would show a passage to the great southern sea, of which Balbóa had found the supposed northern limits, on the theory that North America was continuous with Asia. Ferdinand Columbus already in 1511, in a manuscript treatise which is preserved to us, his *Colon de concordia*, had maintained the possibility of such a passage.[6]

In November, 1514, Pedrárias Dávilla and Juan Diaz de Solis had been commissioned to find this western passage;[7] and sailing in October, 1515, Solis found the La Plata[8] in the following January, and in exploring it in boats from his ships he and his companions were captured, roasted, and eaten within sight of their shipmates.

It is a question which geographers and historians discuss with uncertain results whether, antecedent to Magellan, anybody had actually found a limit to South America toward the Antarctic Pole.[9] We have the report which Sebastian Alvarez made from

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[1] See Vol. II. p. 151.

[2] "Necdum finis inventus," *Examen critique*, iv. 145; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 107.

[3] *Examen critique*, ii. 5, 9.

[4] Edition of 1730, vol. i. p. 177.

[5] Wieser finds the name Brazil, as applied to Cabral's *Sancta Cruz*, in use ever after 1504, citing as the earliest instance the "terra nova de Prisilli" of the *Beschreibung der Meerfahrt von Lissabon nach Calacut* of that year, published in the *Jahresberichte* of the "Kreisverein für Schwaben und Neuberg" (Augsburg, 1861), p. 160; as well as Giovanni da Empoli's use of the term "la terra della Vera Croce, over del Bresil," in Ramusio (Venice, 1563), vol. i. folio 145. Cf. Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, iii. 99. Humboldt pointed out how some form of the word Brazil had been in use in Europe for centuries, to designate a red dyewood, and it was only newly applied in the present case. Cf. Gaffarel, *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 422, and notes to his edition of Thevet, p. 307, and De Lery, ii. 183; Hartt's *Geology of Brazil*, vol. i. p. x; E. E. Hale in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1867.

[6] Harrisse, *Ferd. Colomb*, pp. 10, 52.

[7] Navarrete, iii. 48, 134, 357; Lelewel, ii. 164; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 320, 350; ii. 19; Galvano, Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 122. Wieser thinks (p. 57) that we have in the map given by Kunstmann (*Atlas*, pl. iv.) a Portuguese copy of the map which Solis prepared at this time of the way to India.

[8] The name La Plata was not given to the river till 1527, when some silver plates found there in the hands of the natives suggested it. Cf. Pedro de Angelis, *Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Rio de la Plata. Ilustrados con notas y disertaciones.* Buenos-Aires, 1836, 1837.

[9] The latest discussions of the question of knowledge antecedent to Magellan of this southern limit of South America and its straits have been by Dr. Kohl in his *Geschichte der Entdeckungsreisen und Schiff-fahrten zur Magellan's-Strasse* (Berlin, 1877), taken from the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin*, vol. xl.; by Dr. F. Wieser in his *Magalhâes-Strasse und Austral-Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erdkunde im xvi. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck,

Seville, July 18, 1519, to the King of Portugal as to the cartographical equipment with which Magellan was said to be supplied; and these charts showed no land between Cape Frio on the Brazilian coast and the Moluccas. It was stated that the maps were such as Diego Ribero made for his living.[1] This would seem to indicate a type of map, represented by the Ptolemy of 1513 and the Reisch of 1515,[2] in which South America ends abruptly at about forty degrees south, with an unknown coast beyond, but supposably running to the west on a parallel of latitude. Peschel[4] points out how maps antecedent to Magellan end with the Cabo de Sta. Maria (near Montevideo, thirty miles east of the mouth of the La Plata), and refers to the Maiollo map of 1519 and the Portuguese chart.[5]

CAPE FRIO.[3]

There seems to be little doubt that Magellan, as Pigafetta says, had seen in the royal palace at Lisbon a chart of Martin Behaim which represented South America to end in a point; but it by no means follows that Behaim or any other navigator had ever found that point, for conjecture was rife in Europe at this time, and a passage by the south was not the only passage that now and for some years to come map-makers were to put upon their charts without warrant in fact. There is an interval between 1494 and his death in 1506 or 1507 when Behaim could have made such a voyage of discovery; but we have no record of it, nor is it probable.[6]

Las Casas[7] also reports that he saw Magellan in the antechamber of Fonseca; that Magellan showed him a globe in which the coast of South America was extended to the Cabo de Sta. Maria, and said to him that he expected to find a passage still farther south.

Either from conjecture or inference from analogy, if not from knowledge, it is certain that there had been made sundry delineations of South America during the eight or ten years previous to the sailing of Magellan which did not treat the problem with the same uncertainty. If we except the Stobnicza map,[8] which hesitated to define this southern

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1881); also put forth in effect in the *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, in 1881; and by Ruge in his *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 1883.

[1] Stanley's *Magellan*, p. xliv.

[2] See Vol. II. pp. 111, 114.

[3] This follows a sketch given in Hartt's *Geology and Geography of Brazil*, p. 39. Cape Frio is where the coast turns westerly just north of Rio de Janeiro.

[4] *Erdkunde*, p. 275.

[5] Kunstmann, pl. iv. and v.

[6] Among the earlier believers in the prediscovery of Behaim are Wilhelm Postel, *Compendium geographicæ disciplinæ* (1561); B. Varenius, *Geographia generalis* (Amsterdam, 1671). Cf. Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, i. 296, and Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.* p. 38. In later days Behaim's anticipatory discovery has been contended for by Ghillany in his *Martin Behaim* and by Ziegler in his *Martin Behaim aus Nürnberg, der geistige Entdecker America's* (Dresden, 1859). The recent doubters have been Oscar Peschel, both in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* and in his *Geschichte der Erdkunde;* and writers like Humboldt, Varnhagen, Lelewel, and Kohl have either ignored the claim of Behaim, or have considered merely as speculative any configuration of such a strait which he may have made.

[7] *Historia*, lib. iii. cap. 100.

[8] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 116. Wieser (*Magalhâes-Strasse*, p. 11) considers the Stobnicza map as only a rough copy of the "Tabula Terræ Novæ" (1507) of the Ptolemy of 1513, as given in Vol. II. p. 112.

extremity, what is perhaps the earliest of these representations, the Lenox globe,[1] has curiously something like the actual fling of the southern end of the continent toward the east, as we now know to be the fact, but which for a hundred years to come was not again to be given so well. One is prompted to associate this appearance with the Dragon's Tail of the map which Galvano[2] mentions as brought back from Italy to Portugal by Don Pedro, the King's eldest son, in the early part of the fifteenth century.[3] Of not far from the same date is the drawing in the Queen's collection at Windsor, which, from Major's description, is usually cited as the Da Vinci map. It gives us an insular "America," and puts down Cape Frio as very near the southern extremity.[4]

The authority of both the Lenox and Da Vinci representations is anonymous; but in 1515 we come to the delineation of a well-known cosmographer, Schöner, and in his globe of that year, of which the Frankfort globe is said to be a duplicate, an absolute southern limit to the continent is given; but it is put too far north, offering a suspicion that the passage through the continent may have been a misconception of some more northerly inlet, as Wieser suggests. A sketch of this globe from Wieser's drawing is given on an earlier page,[5] with a note on the authorities. Of its congener, the Frankfort globe, as Wieser considers it, there is a sketch in Jomard and in Kohl's treatise on Magellan's Straits, which shows how nearly alike the two are, though Kohl and others have placed the Frankfort globe under 1520. On the northern shore of South America the discoveries are credited, in legends upon it, to navigators sailing under orders from the King of Spain, while the southeastern coast is said to have been discovered by explorers of the King of Portugal. Another sketch (annexed) from Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (p. 461) shows a part of the 1515 Schöner globe in its relations to the correct outline of South America, according to modern maps.

Schöner might well have used the "Admiral's map;"[6] but as he has additional names, it is an interesting inquiry what other source availed him. There is preserved in a notebook of Schöner's, in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, a sketch of a world-map which seems

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[1] Of about 1510–1512; see sketch in Vol. II. pp. 123, 170.

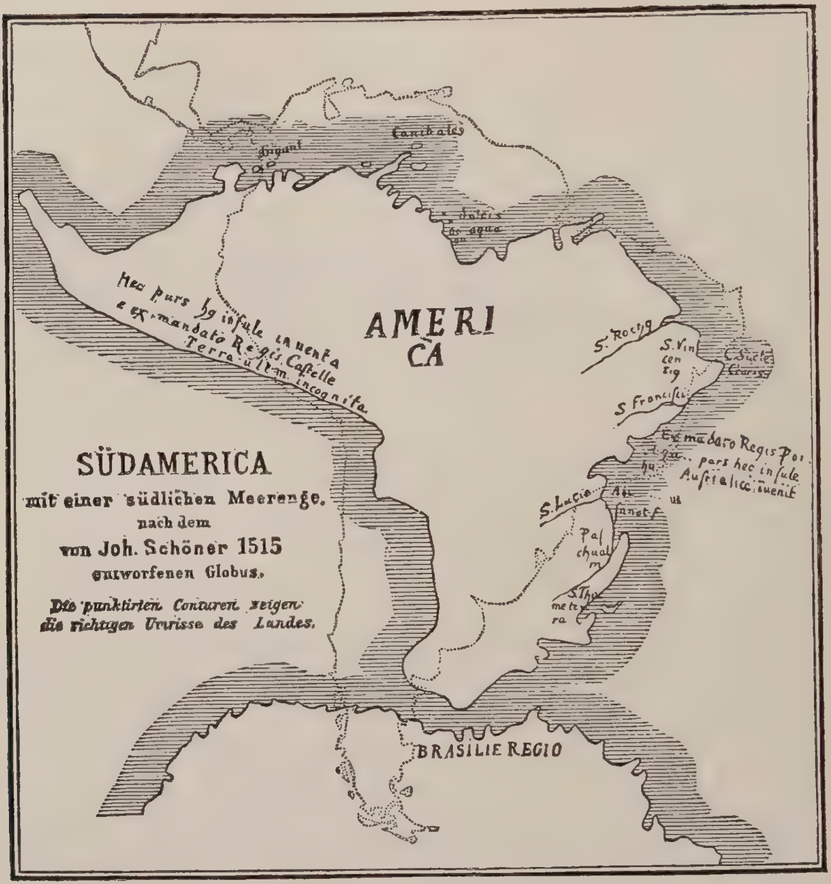
[2] One of the earliest to treat the narratives of navigators in an historical spirit was a Portuguese, Antonio Galvano. He was born in Lisbon in 1503, and at an early age (in 1527) he had been intrusted with an important command in the Moluccas, where for several years he ruled too rigorously and wisely to escape detraction. This active career fitted him to judge broadly of the pursuits of explorers; and being industrious by habit, Galvano gathered much material from reading and observation, and in his later days, while official employment had been taken from him, he fashioned his notes into a treatise on the history of discovery. Galvano died in a Lisbon hospital in 1557, but he had brought his chronicle down to 1550. He left the manuscript to a friend, Francisco de Souza, who published it at Lisbon in 1563 as *Tratado dos diversos & desuayrados caminhos . . . & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos*. The book is extremely rare; three copies are known, one of which is in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, i. 241). Richard Hakluyt published it at London in 1601 as *The Discoveries of the World from their first Originall unto the year of our Lord* 1555 (Carter-Brown, ii. 1.; Murphy, no. 1,005). The translator says of it that "though small in bulk, it containeth so much rare and profitable matter that I know not where to seek the like, within so narrow and straight a compass." The original 1563 edition seems to have been rare even then, for Hakluyt had sent in vain for it to Lisbon, to correct an English version which had come into his hands before printing it. The Hakluyt Society reprinted this English version in 1862, and appended to it the original Portuguese text, using the Carter-Brown copy, — the whole edited by Admiral Bethune. This version was reprinted in the later edition of Hakluyt's Collection and in that of Churchill. It is abridged in Purchas. The original Portuguese text was reprinted at Lisbon in 1731 (Carter-Brown, iii. 469; Murphy, no. 1,003).

[3] Galvano, Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 67. "The Streight of Magelan was called in it the Dragon's taile." One remembers that an aperture in the coast-line at the northern end of the continent had already been called "the dragon's mouth." When Galvano wrote his treatise he spoke of Magellan's voyage as not at that time having been "exactly written."

[4] This map is sketched in Vol. II. pp. 124, 125, 126.

[5] See Vol. II. p. 118.

[6] See Vol. II. p. 112.


Canibales
dulcis aqua
AMERICA
Hec pars hg insule inventa
e ex mandato Regis Castelle
Terra ultra incognita
S. Rochg
S. Vincentig
S Francisci
Ex mandato Regis Portugalie pars hec insule Australice inuenit
S. Lucie
Pal chualm
S Thome terra
BRASILIE REGIO
SÜDAMERICA
mit einer südlichen Meerenge,
nach dem
von Joh. Schöner 1515
entworfenen Globus.
Die punktirten Conturen zeigen
die richtigen Umrisse des Landes.

SCHÖNER, 1515 (*Ruge*).

to have been based on the map of 1513 in Ptolemy.[1] He might, of course, have used the information of the *Paesi novamente retrovati* (1507); but as his Latin is not that of the version called *Itinerarium portugallensium*, it is most probable that he knew its text in the German of Ruchamer, with whom, it would seem, he stood indeed in certain personal relations.[2] Some points he doubtless got from Ruysch; but from neither of these, nor from Stobnicza, could he have got the straits at Panamá, which at a time not far from this was made to appear in the Lenox globe and in two globes of the Hauslab Collection at Vienna.[3]

In his *Luculentissima quædam terræ totius descriptio*, Schöner had distinctly averred that the Portuguese had found a passage separating the New World from the "Brasiliæ regio." It is not easy to determine how far this belief grew out of a certain undated

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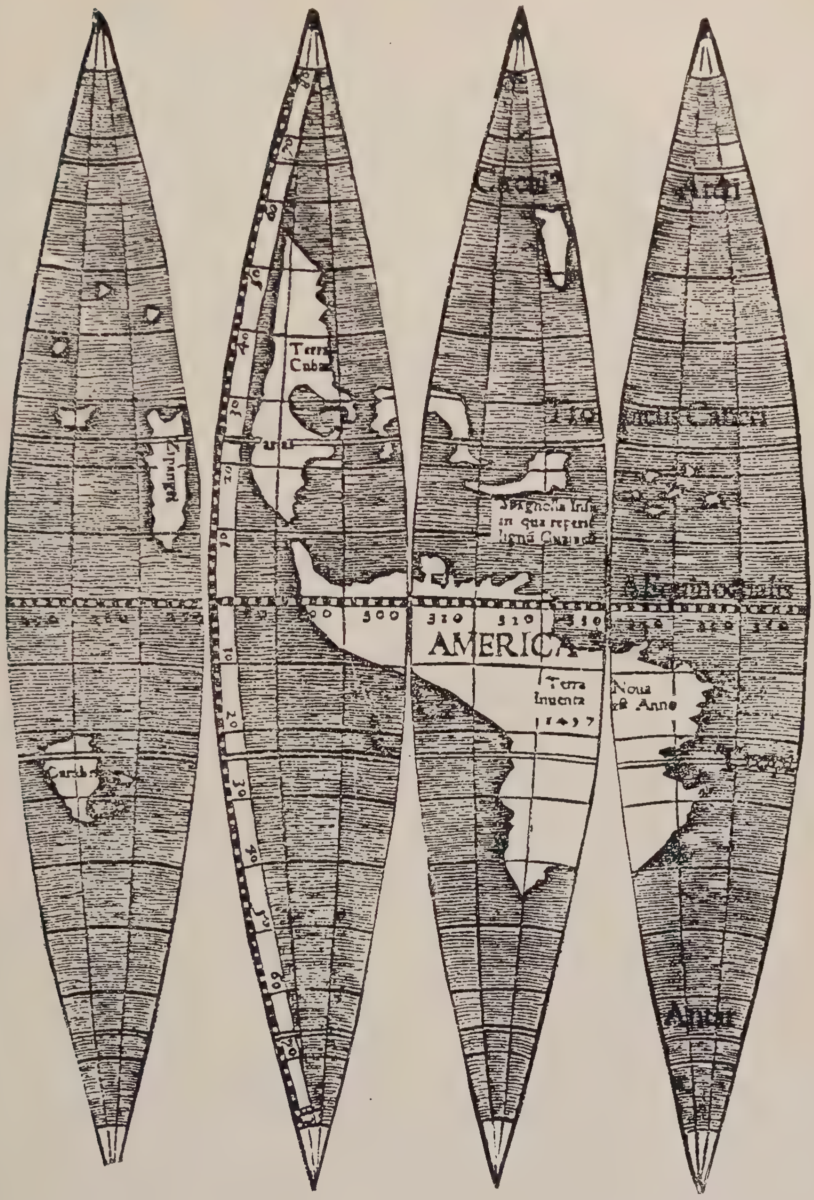
[1] Cf. Wieser, p. 15.

[2] Wieser traces this out, pp. 17, 18.

[3] Varnhagen in his *Schöner e Apiano* argues that of these two early globes in the Hauslab Collection, — one, engraved, was the work of Waldseemüller in 1509; the other, a manuscript delineation, should be dated about 1513. Wieser (*Magalhâes-Strasse*, p. 27) thinks these dates problematical.



SECTION OF A MAPPEMONDE IN GORES EARLY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.[1]

anonymous tract, the publication of which is to be placed somewhere in the beginning of the sixteenth century. This little fugitive publication, called *Copia der Newen Zeytung*

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[1] This is the American part of the gores of an early globe given in fac-simile by the Baron A. E. Nordenskiöld in a pamphlet, *Om en märklig Globkarta från Början af sexton de selket,* printed from the Journal of the Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography at Stockholm

auss Presillg Landt, has given rise to a variety of views as regards the identification of the voyage which it chronicles and the date at which it should be put. Some writers, like Sophus Ruge,[1] deem it indeed wholly apocryphal. Humboldt was the first to draw attention to it,[2] and he thought it chronicled some voyage to Magellan's Straits between 1525 and 1540.

Wieser finds sufficient correspondence between the Schöner globe of 1515 and this *Copia* to believe that Schöner derived more or less of his information from it. It is, moreover, the oldest, as he thinks, of all issues called "Zeitung." The parallels pointed out by Wieser (p. 29) are curious, and perhaps conclusive. Of this Portuguese expedition one "Nono" and a certain "Cristoffel de Haro" had been promoters. De Haro is known as a rich Antwerp merchant who contributed to the expenses of Magellan's voyage, and presumably incurred some of the displeasure which the Portuguese Court bestowed upon Magellan and his adherents. This, in Wieser's judgment, is enough to show that the connection with the Portuguese authorities on De Haro's part must have been earlier than Magellan's voyage, and not later, as Humboldt places it. Varnhagen, in his *Historia geral do Brazil* (Madrid, 1854), had connected the *Copia* with the Solis and Pinzon voyages of 1508; but he was driven from this position by the criticism of D'Avezac, and then dated the supposed voyage back to that of Vasco Gallego de Carvalho and Joâo de Lisboa in 1506; and again later he moved the identity still farther back to the expedition of Gonçalo Coelho in 1503,[3] in which Vespucius is supposed to have taken part, but had returned earlier than his commander. Where Coelho, with the two ships remaining to him, went is without record, except we follow Varnhagen's final belief that this *Copia* is such a record. Weller assumes the year to be 1505, and assigns it to Vespucius himself; but without satisfying the critics.

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in 1884, and translated into English in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, 1884, p. 222. It was discovered pasted within a copy of the Ptolemy of 1525. Baron Nordenskiöld claims for it that it preceded Apian's map of 1520, and was produced even before Schöner's *Luculentissima descriptio* and the *Newe Zeytung auss Presilig Landt.* The same pamphlet has fac-similes of a map of the Old World, which he calls *Præcolumbisk Verldskarta ur Johannis Eshcuidi summa Anglicana*, 1489, and of the 1520 map of Apianus. I am obliged to General James Grant Wilson for drawing my attention to Baron Nordenskiöld's tract, which that author has kindly sent to me; but I am not inclined to place the gores so early as Nordenskiöld does. He dissents from Wieser's opinion that it is a work of Apianus after he settled at Ingoldstadt as professor in 1527, and inclines to believe that it was drawn from the same or similar sources as the Schöner globe of 1515. The view of Mr. William H. Tillinghast (*Nation*, New York, Feb. 26, 1885, p. 183) is: "It may safely be assigned to the period 1515-1518; it may with equal safety be remanded to the second quarter of the century, as it is not a whit cruder than the map of Münster in 1532,"— and this view is acceptable. The shape of the Island Cuba is altogether different from anything which has been noticed in other maps. The appearance of the map indicates that the type inscriptions were registered to be printed after the woodcut had been worked. This was done in the map in the Ptolemy of 1511, and that has usually been considered the earliest instance of such a process.

[1] *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, vols. iv. and v., and his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 459.

[2] The only copy then known was in the Hofbibliothek at Dresden. Wieser (p. 86) now says there are ten copies known, three of which are in America, and they all show such differences as indicate that three editions were printed at Augsburg. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. xlix, and nos. 99 and 100; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 62; Sabin, vol. vi. no. 22,405; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 835.

The earliest modern presentation of the tract was in French by Ternaux-Compans in his *Archives des voyages* (1840), ii. 306. Cf. also Humboldt, *Examen critique*, v. 239. The original German has been reproduced by Ruge in the *Jahresberichte des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden* (1868), p. 16; by Weller in the *Bibliothek des lit. Vereins in Stuttgart* (1872), iii. 5; and by Wieser in his *Magalhâes-Strasse*, p. 99. Varnhagen has given a great part of it in Portuguese in his *Historia geral do Brazil*, i. 434, and in his *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 49.

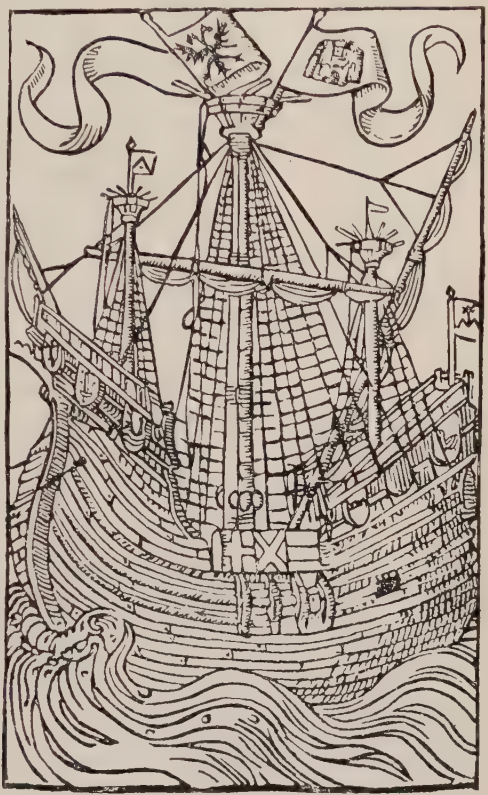
[3] *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1857, p. 169, and and also the volume for 1858, p. 233; and Varnhagen's *Nouvelles recherches*, etc., pp. 11, 50.

Wieser (p. 91) thinks the account refers to an expedition which must have been conducted before 1509, in which year the Portuguese first reached the Moluccas; and the members of the expedition evidently believed South America to be a peninsula of Asia.

D'Avezac places the expedition no more definitely than in the first years of the sixteenth century. Harrisse and others have held that as Oglin, the printer of the *Copia*, is not known to have printed later than 1516, the printing, at all events, must be put earlier than that date; but Wieser shows (p. 88) that there are imprints of Oglin as late as 1520 at least.

Wieser also thinks the *Copia* could not have been printed before the end of 1508, because Ruchamer would have included it in his *Newe unbekanthe Landte* if it had been; and with the copy in the Dresden Library there is bound up another tract of similar typographical appearance, which is known to be of that year.

Ruge, in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 459, places the printing of the *Copia* at Augsburg in 1508–1509. Gabriel Gravier, as we have seen, connects it with the voyage of Nuño Manuel and Vespucius in 1501, and points out various correspondences in what we know of that voyage with the account of the *Copia*.[2]



AN ANTWERP SHIP.[1]

Wieser (p. 94) points out the internal evidence that the *Copia* was a translation from an Italian original, probably the report of some agent of an Italian business house written from Lisbon; or perhaps, as Harrisse suggests, the original of all may have been in Portuguese.

In Wieser's judgment the Bavarian and Swabian dialectic peculiarities of the *Copia* indicate that the German rendering of it was the work of a German merchant in Italy, — a correspondent, it may be, of some Augsburg House, probably the well-known House of Welser, who are known to have had business agencies in Italian cities and close mercantile relations with Lisbon.[3]

The *Copia* speaks of Brazil ending with a passage, that reminded the voyager of the Straits of Gibraltar; but it puts the latitude of it at forty degrees south, or about twelve degrees too far north, which induces Wieser to believe that the supposed passage was a misconception of the Gulf of St. Mathias, which, in the northern parts of the east coast of Patagonia, lies about under forty degrees, as the account says.

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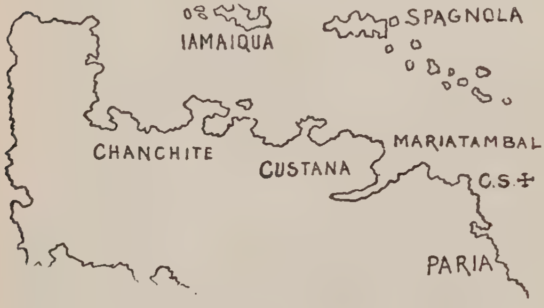
[1] Reduced fac-simile used as a device by Mathias van der Goes, printer in Antwerp, 1482–1494, taken from cut reproduced in Bigmore and Wyman's *Bibliography of Printing*, i. 270.

[2] *Les Normands sur la route des Indes* (Rouen, 1880), p. 44.

[3] Johannes Falke, *Geschichte des Deutschen Handels*, ii. 30. References in Wieser, p. 97.

As we approach the date of Magellan's voyage we encounter several other maps or globes, which give us the ideas prevailing just before the return of Del Cano in the "Victoria," Sept. 6, 1522. The makers of some of these may possibly have availed themselves of the conjectures which the partial exploration by the "San Antonio," under Gomez, had given rise to, and which Gomez was able to report on his earlier arrival, May 6, 1521. One of these is the series of gores, of somewhat uncertain date, to which the name of the Paris bookseller, Tross, has become attached, and of which a fac-simile is given on an earlier page;[1] another is the later globe of Schöner of 1520, long known by his name, also elsewhere figured;[2] and a third is the map of Apianus which appeared in Camers' edition of Solinus in 1520, of which a fac-simile of the South American portion has already been given.[3] A much less satisfactory idea belongs to a map, ascribed to 1521, which appeared in Bordone's *Isolario*, and called by him "Terra Santa Croce." It seemingly applies the same name to the easterly cape, — probably our St. Augustine. The four names, Chanchite, Custana, Mariatambal (introduced by Pinzon), and Paria (by Columbus), are those of provinces.[4] The map, however, more commonly known at this time was probably that of Lorenz Friess (Laurentius Frisius), which appeared in the Ptolemy of 1522, and which has already been given in fac-simile.[5]



BORDONE, 1521.

These then were the views which Magellan was to confirm or disprove. We know from Pigafetta that he had determined, in searching for the passage or for the extremity of the continent, to follow the coast to 75° S. latitude; and if he found neither in that range, to steer for Madagascar by the African cape. How he found a passage has been already told.[6] The only map which has come to us immediately growing out of his discoveries is the rude sketch of the Straits which Pigafetta gives, and which it may be convenient to compare with modern surveys.

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[1] Page 120, Vol. II.

[2] Page 119, Vol. II.

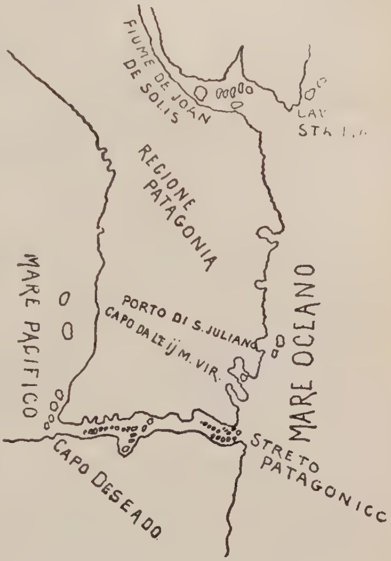
[3] See Vol. II. p. 183.

[4] This map was not printed till 1528, but it is supposed by Lelewel to have been made at least as early as 1521, and was in use in Bordone, with others, for many years. Lelewel at least places the map at this early date on account of the record of license, and (pl. 46) gives a sketch of it. It was not made public till Bordone annexed it to a book, of which the title reads, *Libro di Benedetto Bordone*. It was published at Venice in 1528; and besides a much misshapen contour of the New World, as shown in the annexed sketch, it contained (p. 10) also a bird's eye view of "la gran citta di Temistitan" (Mexico), with one of the earliest descriptions which we have in any general work (Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 280). Bordone died in 1531; and though Graesse reports an edition in 1532, followed by Sabin (vol. ii. no. 6,418), the next edition usually recognized is that of 1534, in which the title became *Isolario*, — a designation retained through all subsequent editions, as published at Venice. These were issued in 1537 (?), 1547, and 1548. They have three double maps, and one hundred and five (increased to one hundred and eight later) small maps in the text. Cf. Sabin, vol. ii. nos. 6,417, 6,420; Lelewel, vol. ii. nos. 114, 162; Carter-Brown, i. 91, 108, 122, 144, 355; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 145, 187, 221, 275; *Additions*, no. 107; Brunet, *Manual*, vol. i. col. 1,112; Murphy, no. 2,833; Zurla's *Marco Polo*, ii. 363–366; Lenglet du Fresnoy, *Méthode pour étudier la géographie*, i. 419; Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, i. 142, 338, 339; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 144, and *Mexico*, i. 281: Leclerc, nos. 72, 2,678; Rich (1832), nos. 18, 19; Muller (1872), no. 125; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, iii. 57; Graesse, i. 495. The 1528 and 1547 editions have been recently priced at 100 and 60 marks respectively. F. S Ellis (1884, no. 31) has recently priced the 1547 edition at £7 10*s.*

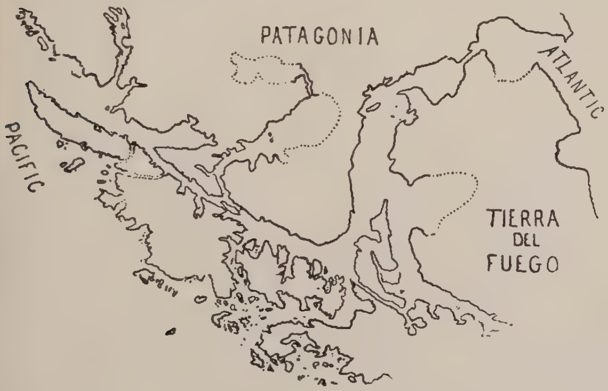
[5] See Vol. II. p. 175.

[6] Vol. II.

An immediate result of Magellan's discovery was to bring in question the longitude of the Moluccas, to which the Spaniards had thus found a western way, as the Portuguese had earlier found it by the east. It was necessary to determine their longitude in relation to the Cape de Verde Islands and to the papal Line of Demarcation. A serious question thus early arose as to the meridian of these Atlantic islands, and the placing of that line on the Atlantic side as governing its position on the Pacific hemisphere. Accordingly, the two Crowns of Spain and Portugal convened, shortly after Del Cano's return, a congress of learned cosmographers and navigators at Badajos and Elvas, at which they alternately sat, these two places being contiguous and on opposite sides of the frontier line between these rival Powers. Among the famous men in attendance was Ferdinand Columbus, who put in evidence as an expert three documents, which are printed by Navarrete. The variances between the representatives of the two Crowns were greater than could be reconciled, each viewing the physical facts, which were necessarily the basis of a determination, as would best suit their respective claims on the Asiatic shore. There was seventy leagues' difference in the position of the Cape de Verde Islands on the maps which they respectively produced. They could not agree upon the particular island of the group from which to calculate the distance to the papal line, and this made another seventy leagues' difference; for the Portuguese insisted upon the most eastern, and the Spanish upon the most western island.[2] So nothing was settled; the congress broke up May 31, 1524, and the solution was left to the drift of events which culminated finally in 1529 in the convention of Saragossa, by which the Moluccas were confirmed to Portugal, as ratified by the Portuguese King, June 20, 1530. The Spanish monarch thus abrogated his claim to them, as is shown in a *carta nautica* of the Spanish map-maker, Nuño Garcia de Toreno (dated 1522), preserved in the Royal Library at Turin.[4]



MAGELLAN'S STRAITS (*Pigafetta*).[1]



RECENT SURVEY OF MAGELLAN'S STRAITS.[3]

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[1] See a fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 605.

[2] Cf. Vol. II. p. 45, and the documents in Navarrete, iv. 326, etc.

[3] This follows a map, "nach den neuesten Aufnahmen" in Kohl's *Magellan's-Strasse* (Berlin 1877). A map of the survey of the Straits and Tierra del Fuego, made in 1826–1830 by his Majesty's ships "Adventure" and "Beagle," is in the *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* (1832), i. 155. Cf. the map in *Tour du monde*, iii. 227, and elsewhere.

[4] *Studi biog.*, etc., vol. ii. no. 411. Cf. Herrera, *Descripcion*, dec. 3, lib. vi. cap. 3–8; Navarrete,

Meanwhile, new efforts were made by the Spaniards to push their advantage westward. Gomez, the recreant pilot of Magellan, was sent to explore the eastern coast of the present United States, to find, if possible, a passage by the north, as has been told elsewhere.[1]

The French also, in the voyage of Verrazano, endeavored, if we accept the accounts, to gain their share in the new progress, as illustrated in the Verrazano map.[2] To the south the Spaniards sent Loyasa in 1525,[3] who succeeded in finding the Straits which Magellan had passed through; while one of his vessels, driven south as far as fifty-five degrees in February, 1526, discovered Cape Horn; and the insular character of Tierra del Fuego was thus early divined, though the fact was kept secret from the world.[4]

In 1526 Sebastian Cabot was sent in command of four vessels to follow Loyasa on the route to the Spice Islands. When he had reached the La Plata he undertook the exploration of it, and never went farther on his way to India. Five years were spent here in encampments and boat expeditions. The main river and its tributaries were explored to points over a thousand miles from the sea. He was so impressed with the resources of the country that he sent reports to Spain, and asked for reinforcements to effect the settlement of the region; but delays in their coming discouraged him, and he set sail for Spain, with drafts and reports which the map-makers made good use of in plentifully bifurcating the La Plata on their maps.[5]

The belief in a great Antarctic continent, through ignorance, or misunderstanding of the Spanish discovery of Cape Horn, was soon firmly established, the Straits of Magellan forming its northern limits. We find it thus in the map of the Monk Franciscus; in the map which Thorne, the Englishman, sent from Seville in 1527;[6] and in the fac-simile of a map given in the *Cartas de Indias.*

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iv. 310; Jones's edition of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, p. 47; also such general accounts as those of Peter Martyr, Oviedo, and Gomara; also Varnhagen's *Historia geral do Brazil*, second edition, p. 68, with map.

[1] Vol. IV. p. 24.

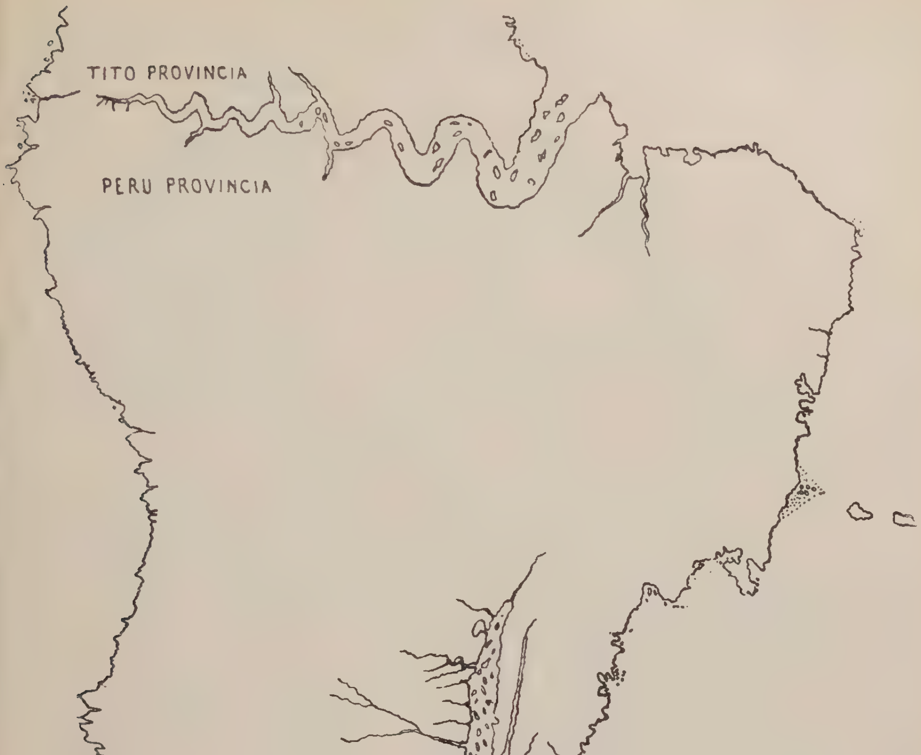
[2] Given in Vol. IV. p. 26. E. Gosselin in his *Documents . . . de la marine Normande* (Rouen, 1876), enumerates (p. 142) some of the voyages made from Norman ports to Brazil and parts adjacent after 1523.

[3] Galvano, Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 165.

[4] Drake in October, 1578, did the same, calling its most southern cape "Terra nunc bene cognita." A sketch of Hondius' map, illustrating Drake's voyage, is given in Kohl's *Magellan's-Strasse.* Schouten, however, in 1616 was the first actually to double Cape Horn from the east. "The merit of the discovery of the southernmost extremity of the new continent in fifty-five degrees south latitude," says Humboldt (*Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 642, iv. 339), "is due to Francis de Hoces, who commanded one of Loyasa's ships in 1525. It is very characteristically described in Urdaneta's Journal by the words *acabamiento de tierra,* — the ceasing of the land. De Hoces probably saw a portion of Tierra del Fuego west of Staten Island; for Cape Horn is situated, according to Fitzroy, in 55° 58′ 41″. See Navarrete, v. 28, 404."

[5] Cabot got little credit from any but the cartographers. The Council of the Indies would have sent him into exile for his shortcomings, except for the clemency of the Emperor. The legend on the Cabot map of 1544 regarding this La Plata expedition is given by Harrisse in his *Cabots*, p. 356, where that author refers to the original sources for this voyage, printed in the Rawdon Brown *Calendar*, vol. iii. no. 115; to the *Relazioni di Ambasciatori* (Veneti), 2d ser., ii. 9; Navarrete, v. 456, 457; various manuscripts in the Archives of the Indies; a letter of Luis Ramirez, July 10, 1528, published by Varnhagen in the *Revista do Inst. Hist.* (*Trimensal*), Rio de Janeiro, 1852, p. 14, also in the *Nouvelles annales des voyages* (1843), iii. 39; a letter of Simão Alfonso in Varnhagen's *Brazil*, etc.; and such early accounts as Galvano's (Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 169), etc. Cf. Vol. III. pp. 4, 48; Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix's *Histoire du Paraguay*, 1516–1547 (Paris, 1756), and modern summaries like Charles A. Washburn's *History of Paraguay*, i. 7, — the work of a United States Minister to Asuncion, published at Boston in 1871, — and Sir Woodbine Parish's *Buenos Ayres and the provinces of the Rio de la Plata; from their discovery and conquest by the Spaniards to the establishment of their political independence.* Second edition, enlarged, with a new map and illustrations (London, 1852).

[6] See fac-simile in Vol. III. p. 17.



CABOT, 1544.[1]

The distinctively Spanish maps of 1527 and 1529 — respectively assigned, the one ormerly to Ferdinand Columbus,[2] though with scant evidence, and the other to the royal hydrographer, Ribero — confine the shores of this supposable continent to what Magellan actually saw. Much the same may be said of the Homem mappemonde of about 1530, preserved in the British Museum; of the atlas at Turin;[1] of another mappemonde of about this time which Peschel has described and drawn in colored fac-simile;[2] of the Agnese map of 1536,[3] the type of so many others, including the Bodleian manuscript of about the same date.

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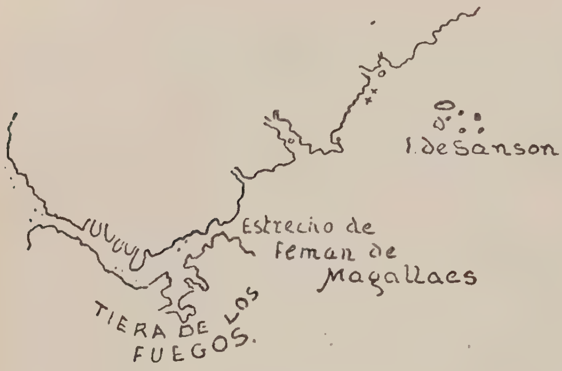
[1] Sketch of a section of the so-called Sebasian Cabot mappemonde in the National Library t Paris, following a photographic reproduction n Harvard College Library.

[2] Cf. sketch, Vol. II. p. 43. In addition to the reproductions of this map elsewhere named, one can be found in Ernst Mayer's *Die Entwicklung der Seekarten bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien, 1877).

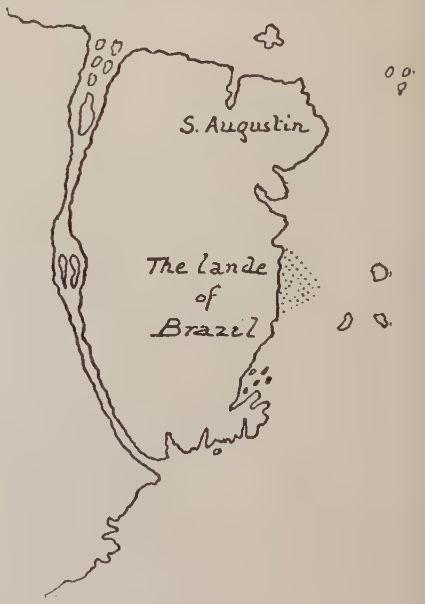


RIBERO, 1529.

In the Finæus map of 1531, and in Schöner's of 1533, the great southern continent takes very definite shape about the Pole.

It was some time after 1535, when the details of the coast of Chili first came to be partially understood in Europe, that this completion of the western coast of South America was drawn in the map with anything like precision; though Münster[4] and Apianus,[5] in 1540, and the Nancy globe,[6] had given it a seemingly definite line. It was drawn with a dotted line in the Homem of 1540 (?);[7] in the portolano (1539) which Charles V. gave to Philip II., the possible work of Agnese;[8] in the Mercator gores of 1541;[9] and with equal uncertainty in the great mappemonde of Sebastian Cabot in 1544. Both the determinate and dotted-line delineations of the west coast are shown in the maps of an atlas in the Riccardi Palace at Florence.[10] The coast is drawn continuous, though without names, in a French mappemonde (1540?), which was acquired by the British Museum in 1790, and which in Kohl's opinion was derived from French sources. The Ulpius globe[11] leaves the coast unbroken, but calls it "terra incognita."

Rotz's map in his *Idrography*, preserved



MARTINES, 1578.

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[1] Figured in the *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, 1870, Tab. vii.

[2] In the *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde in Leipzig*, 1871.

[3] See Vol. IV. p. 71.

[4] See Vol. IV. p. 41.

[5] Lelewel, pl. 46; repeated in the 1545 edition of Apianus.

[6] See sketch, Vol. II. p. 433.

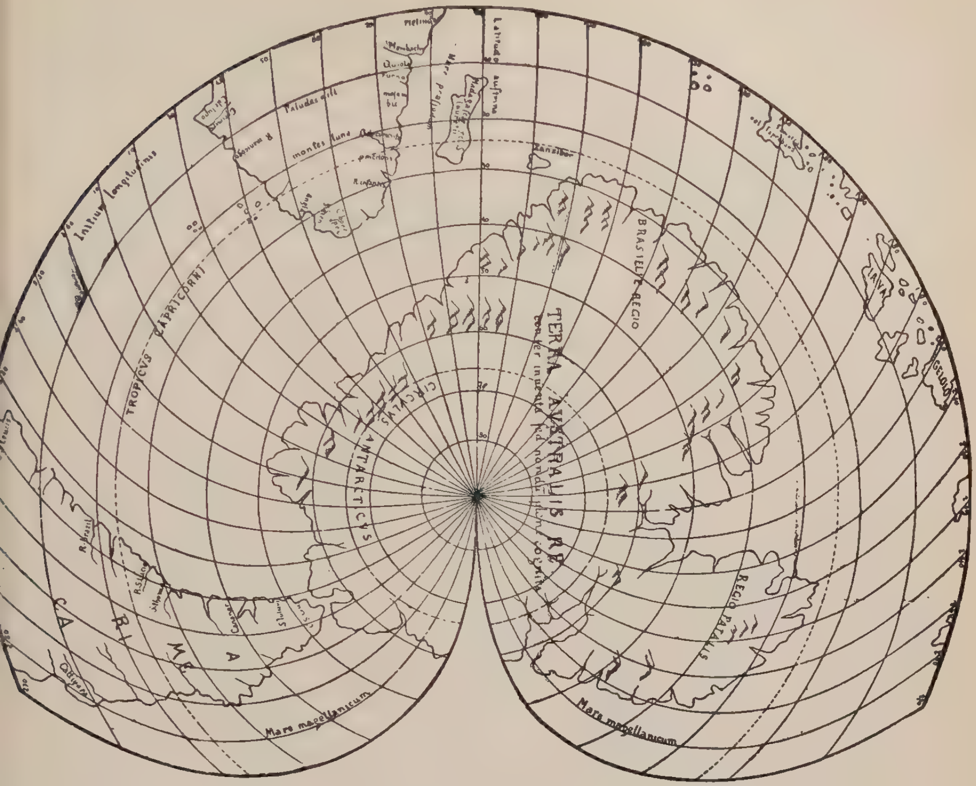
[7] See Vol. II. p. 456, for a sketch.

[8] See Vol. II. p. 445. The same uncertainty is shown in the Agnese map of 1543 at Gotha, and in those of 1554 preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice. Cf. *Studi biog. e bibliog.*, etc., ii. 139.

[9] See Vol. II. p. 177.

[10] Shown in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, 1870, Tab. vii. and ix.

[11] Fac-simile in Vol. IV. p. 42.



FINÆUS, 1531.[1]

in the British Museum,[2] repeated the new feature in the eastern parts which was shown in the French mappemonde of 1540 (?) in making a large part of Brazil an island, — a feature which was long preserved with some cartographers, and appears more pronounced still in the manuscript atlas of Johannes Martines, 1578, now in the British Museum, and is still differently conceived in the manuscript map of Johannes à Doetechum, made about 1585.

Four years after Cabot's desertion of the La Plata, Pedro de Mendoza led an expedition thither to possess the country, which in part he called Buenos Ayres, from the salubrity of the climate. The enmity of the natives and famine finally drove him away; but he left his lieutenant, Ayolas, who explored the stream and founded the city of Asuncion in 1537. To make good the hold which Ayolas had established, and in the belief that he was dead, — somewhat in advance of the fact, though the natives in due time murdered him and his followers, — Alvar Cabeça de Vaca was despatched from Spain, in 1540, with a following of four hundred men. He divided his force, part attempting to reach Asuncion from the coast overland, and part by following the river. After much hardship and adventure, both parties finally arrived at the settlement within a month of each other. Not much gain to geography came of the subsequent proceedings.

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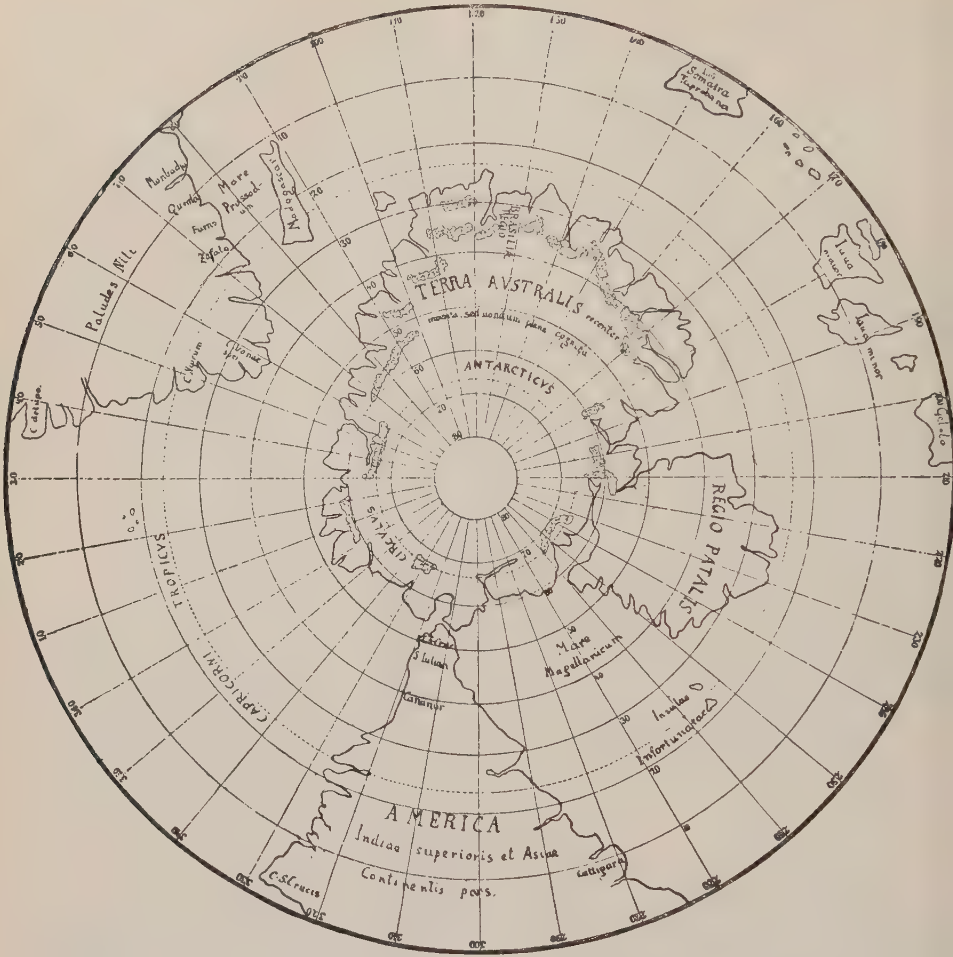
[1] This follows the map given in Wieser's *Magalhães-Strasse*. Wieser thinks (p 66) that the 1531 map of Finæus is the earliest map to apply the designation "Terra australis" to the supposed Antarctic continent.

[2] Kohl's Collection, no. 424.



SCHÖNER, 1533.[1]

He fought disease and want, and at last succumbed to a mutiny, which put in command Irala, one of Mendoza's men who had remained, and Cabeça de Vaca found himself a prisoner to his own followers. After a detention of nearly a year he was sent to Spain. Irala proved to be a hero of discovery; he forced an expedition through to Peru, and established a route across the continent. He showed himself also to be an able governor, and made of his people, whose amalgamation with the natives he encouraged, a nation of marked characteristics.[2] He died in 1557; but there was no one to take his place, and Paraguay never again had a governor in all respects his equal.[3]

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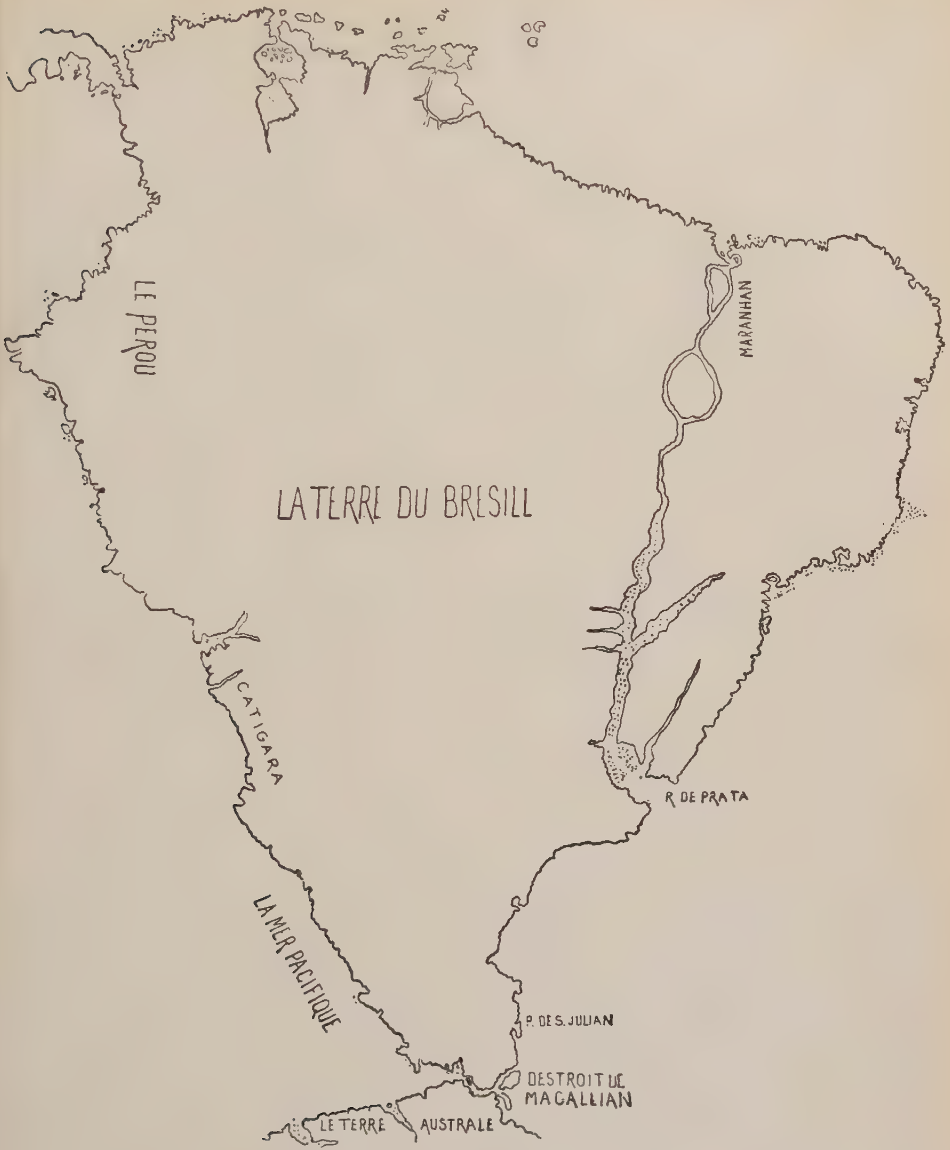
[1] This follows the map given in Wieser's *Magalhães-Strasse*.

[2] The fifth section of *Cartas de Indias* contains papers relating to the region of the La Plata (1555–1556) during the administration of Martinez de Irala. Cf. also *Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Rio de la Plata. Ilustrados con notas y disertaciones por Pedro de Angelis* (Buenos-Aires, 1836–1837).

[3] We have a plain narrative of these exploits of Mendoza and Cabeça de Vaca in an account



FRENCH MAPPEMONDE, 1540 (?)[1]

Such a base for interior exploration as the Spaniards had thus acquired at the La Plata, the Portuguese had already secured farther north at Bahia. Diego Alvarez, a

by Ulrich Schmidel of his experiences in Brazil and La Plata from 1534 to 1554, which was first published in 1567 at Frankfort as an addition to Sebastian Franck's *Weltbuch*. It is a story of

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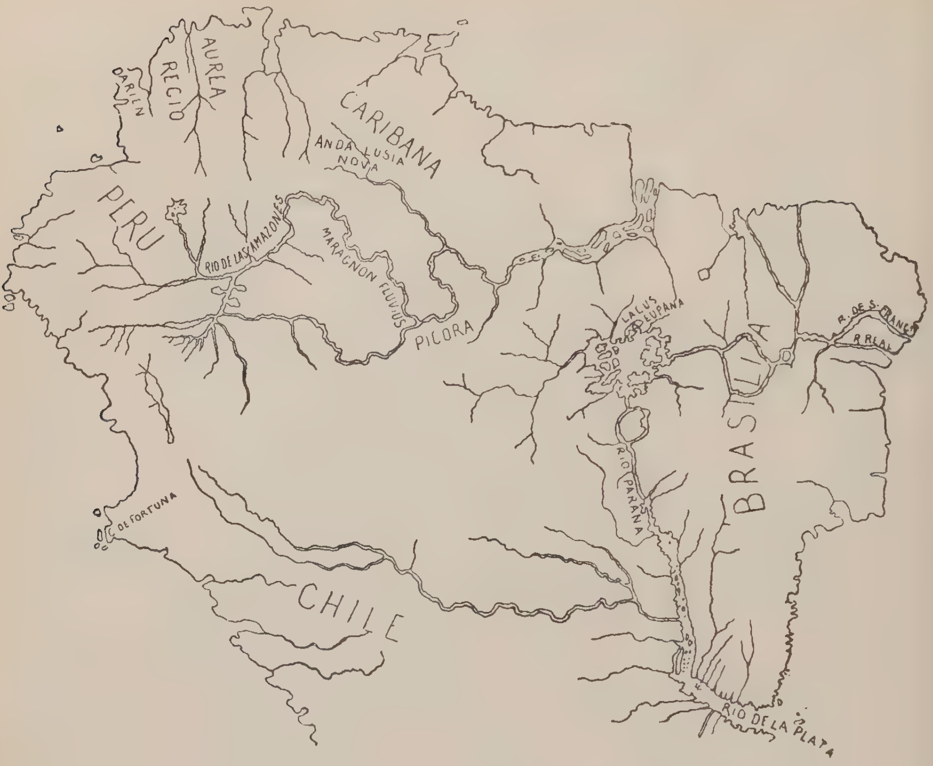
[1] A sketch after a copy (no. 355) in the Kohl Collection of a French map acquired by the British Museum in 1790, measuring $8\frac{3}{12} \times 2\frac{10}{12}$ feet, and referred to by Malte-Brun in his *Histoire de la géographie*, i. 630. The connection of the Amazon with the La Plata would place it before Orellana had coursed the Amazon in 1543 (Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 455).



JOANNES À DOETECHUM, 1585.[1]

survivor of a wreck in the neighborhood of this harbor, had, as early as 1510, established useful relations with the natives at Bahia, and being taken off by a French vessel, had endeavored to induce the Portuguese Government to colonize the country; but in vain, and Brazil was neglected until Martim Affonso de Sousa was given (1531) the captaincy of a stretch of coast amounting to about fifty leagues. It was he who discovered, on the 1st of January, the imposing bay, which he supposed the mouth of a river, and named Rio de Janeiro.[2]

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continuous massacre and enslavement (Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, p. 1362). De Bry gave the narrative in German in 1597 and 1617 (part vii.), and in Latin in 1599 and 1625. Hulsius gave a much better and corrected Latin version in 1599 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 383; *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac.*, no. 859). F. S. Ellis (1884, no. 340) priced this edition at £24. Barcia gave it in part in his *Historiadores primitivos* (vol. ii.) in 1749, and Ternaux has included it in French in his *Voyages*, part v.

Further recourse may be had to Gomara, Benzoni, Garcilasso de la Vega, Herrera, Torquemada, Charlevoix, etc. Cf. Funes, *Ensayo de la historia civil del Paraguay* (Buenos Ayres, 1816–1817), in three volumes.

A metrical chronicle, Barco Centenera's *Argentina*, published at Lisbon in 1602, commemorates in part Cabeça De Vaca's expedition (Carter-Brown, ii. 8). Cf. the modern narrative in Washburn's *Paraguay*.

[1] This sketch follows a draft by Kohl in his Washington Collection (no. 362) of a manuscript map in the British Museum marked "Joannes à Doetechum fecit;" but along coasts explored by the Spanish and Portuguese, the names are given in the languages of these discoverers.

[2] Such is the commonly received statement; but there seems good ground for doubting that he was even in the bay on the 1st of January, 1531, and there is evidence of earlier visits by others besides. Cf. Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil* (1866),

Other captaincies followed, and their history is largely a succession of petty warfares; until, in 1549, the captaincies were revoked, and a general command of the coast was given to De Sousa, who established himself at Bahia, built a town, and introduced the Jesuits, under Nobrega.[1] Between 1547 and 1555 we have a description of the eastern parts of Brazil, of the first importance in respect to the natives of the country, but of less value in developing the geography of the coast. This is the account which a common German boor gives, in his rough way, of his two voyages and of his captivity among the Indians, — one Hans Stade by name, a native of Hesse, who sailed successively in Portuguese and Spanish vessels as a gunner.[2]

France, impelled by a rivalry of her neighbors, next began a most untoward attempt at founding a colony at Rio de Janeiro. She sent out her expedition in 1555 under the command of Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, or Villegaignon, who was both wily and false. He gained the ear of the French King by professions of patriotism. He cajoled Admiral Coligny with promises of protection to such Huguenots as might accompany him. The Huguenots trusted him, and joined his company. Along with him went Thevet, a mendacious Franciscan, from whose narrative we must take some part of our knowledge of the expedition.[3] It served Villegagnon's purpose to write back letters, which induced others

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p. 50. On the results of the expedition of Martim Affonso de Sousa, see Varnhagen's *Brazil* (1877), sec. viii., and on his immediate successors, sec. ix. The log-book of his brother, Pero Lopez de Sousa, of the same squadron, was published by Varnhagen in 1839, at Lisbon, as *Diario da navigação da armada sob a Capitania-mor de Martim Affonso de Sousa;* see Santarem's *Analyze du journal* in *Nouvelles annales des voyages,* (1840). Cf. *Rev. do Inst. Hist.*, v. 232, 352, vi. 118, xxiv. 3; *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac. do Rio de Janeiro,* no. 853; *Murphy Catalogue*, nos. 2,343, 2,352. There is a later publication, — *Diario da navegação de Pedro Lopes de Sousa pela costa do Brazil* (1530–1532), *4ª ed., e Livro da Viagem da nao* "*Bretoa*" *ao Cabo Frio* (*em* 1511), *por Duarte Fernandez* (editor, F. A. de Varnhagen), Rio de Janeiro, 1867.

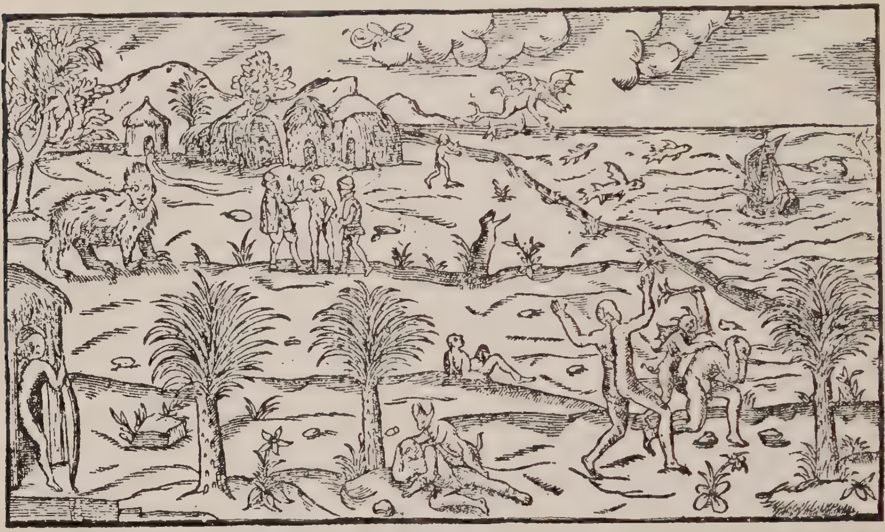
[1] Cf. publications of Jesuit letters from Brazil, 1551–1558, Venice, noted in Carter-Brown, i. nos. 181, 227, 238; and Simão de Vasconcellos' *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus do estado do Brasil, e do que obraram seus filhos nesta parte do Novo Mundo. 2a ed. Accrescentada com uma introducção e notas historicas e geographicas, pelo conego Dr. Joaquim Caetano Fernandes Pinheiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1864).

[2] The original edition of Hans Stade is a little unpaged quarto which appeared at Marburg in 1557 as *Warhafftige Historia unnd beschreibung einer landtschafft der Wilden . . . Leuthen in der Newen Welt* (Murphy, no. 2,376; Carter-Brown, i. 220), of which another edition appeared at Frankfort on the Main the same year. It is without date, but its preface is dated 1556 (Carter-Brown, i. 216; Beckford, iii. 2,175–76; Graesse, vi. 476; Rosenthal priced it recently at 60 marks). In 1567 it appeared as the third part of Sebastian Franck's *Weltbuch*, and again in folio at Frankfort (De Bry, vol. iii.) in 1593 and 1631; and at Oldenburg in 1664. It was reprinted at Stuttgart in 1859, under the editorial direction of Dr. Karl Klüpfel.

The earliest translation was a Flemish one at Antwerp in 1558 (Carter-Brown, i. 223). De Bry gave it a Latin dress in his great Collection in 1592; and this appeared later in 1605 and 1630. Dutch editions were printed at Amsterdam in 1630, 1634, 1640, 1686, and in Vander Aa's *Versamling* at Leyden, in 1706 and 1727. Another Dutch edition was published at Amsterdam in 1714. Ternaux gives a French translation (vol. iii. Paris, 1839). The earliest English version is *The Captivity of Hans Stade, of Hesse, in A.D.* 1547–1555, *among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil,* annotated by Richard F. Burton and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1874. Mr. Markham adds a bibliography to this edition. Stade's two voyages covered the intervals, April 29, 1547–Oct. 8, 1548, and from the fourth day after Easter, 1549, to Feb. 20, 1555. Southey seems to have been the first to recognize the value of the rude and honest work of Hans Stade, and he amply analyzes the narrative. Cf. Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 1,489; *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac. do R. de Janeiro,* i. 83.

[3] Thevet at the time of his brief sojourn on the coast was fifty-three years old, having been born at Angoulême in 1502. His narrative is contained in his *Singularitez de la France antarctique*, which has been edited by Paul Gaffarel (Paris, 1878), with notes and a biography of its author. The book originally appeared at Paris in 1557, and again at the same place in 1558, and at Antwerp the same year (cf. Vol. III. p. 31; Murphy, nos. 2,481–2,483; Court, nos. 350–351; Cooke, no. 2,429). Gaffarel gives a fac-simile of the title of the Paris, 1558, edition, and expresses the opinion that the wood-cuts of the Paris edition were the work of Jean Cousin, and were reduced by Assuérus van Londerzeel for the Antwerp edition of the next year; which,

of the Reformed party to embark; and among them were two Genevan ministers, attendant on whom was a young man, Jean de Léry, now scarcely twenty-one years old, who was influenced as much by curiosity to see the country as by zeal for the cause.



THE BRAZIL COAST, FROM DE LÉRY.[1]

De Léry has also told his side of the doleful story,[2] for Villegagnon soon threw off his mask, and gave play to the passions of his concealed faith; and his Huguenot settlers

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in the eagerness of the public for it, was hurried through the press, — to the detriment of the text. Italian editions followed at Venice, — *Historia dell' India America, detta altramente Francia antarctica*, in 1561 and 1584.

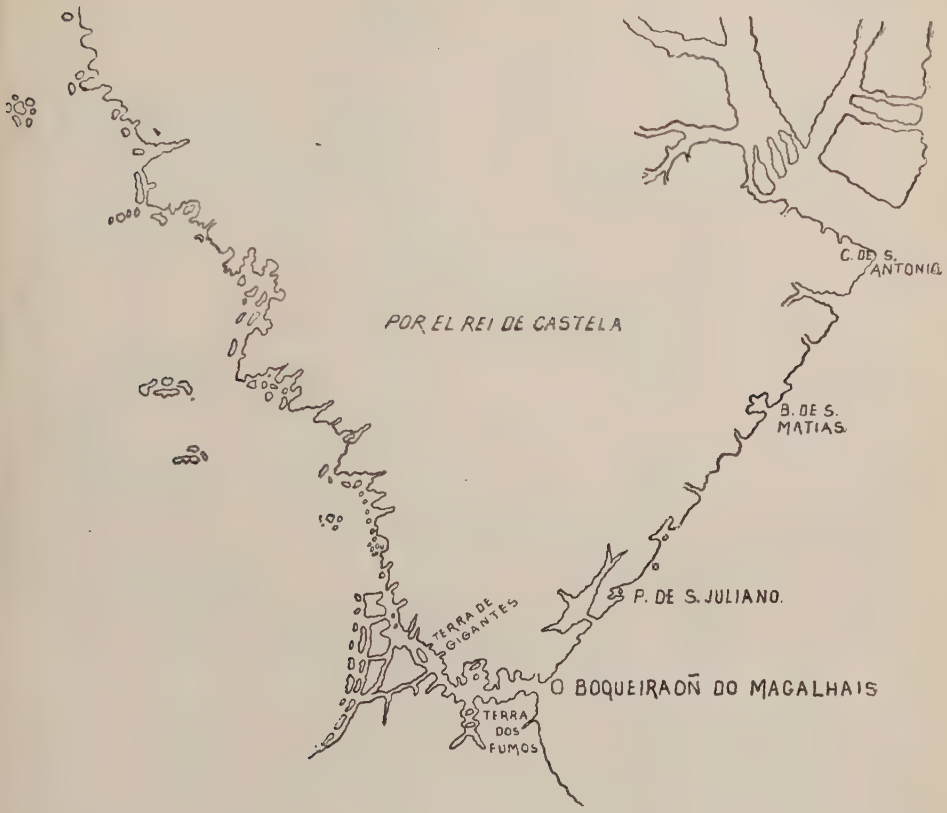
Thevet's character for veracity is not good. The errors which he commits seem sometimes wilful, and have thrown much doubt over his whole story; though with caution it can be used with advantage. Cf. Ferdinand Denis, *Lettre sur l'introduction du tabac en France* (1851).

"Fumée in his *Histoire des Indes*, and Belleforest in his additions to the *Cosmographia* of Münster, have not spared him," says Gaffarel; and De Léry is at pains to controvert him on points at considerable length. Cf. the preface to his second edition.

[1] A fac-simile from a cut in the Geneva (no place) edition, *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam* (1586), p. 207.

[2] The bibliography of De Léry is followed insufficiently in Gaffarel's edition (p. xiii), and better in Sabin (vol. x. no. 40,148, etc.). The original edition, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil*, was printed at La Rochelle in 1578, though some copies are without place, and others, seemingly the same, bear the name of Rouen. The little octavo is rare, and has been priced of late by Dufossé at 335 francs, by Maisonneuve (no. 2,835) at 450 francs, and by Porquet (1884, no. 1,366) at 500 francs. (Carter-Brown, i. 325; Court, no. 203. There is a copy in Harvard College Library). The second edition, "reveue, corrigée, et bien augmentée," was printed at Geneva in 1580, though some copies are without place, and the *Court Catalogue* (no. 204) gives a copy with a Rochelle imprint (Carter-Brown, i. 335). It is the text of this edition which has been reproduced lately with the following title: *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil. Nouvelle édition, avec une introduction et des notes par P. Gaffarel* (Paris, 1880).

A third edition appeared in 1585, with Geneva or Rochelle in the imprint, and some copies without place (Brunet, vol. iii. col. 1,004; Carter-Brown, i. 363; Porquet, no. 1,367, at 120 francs; Rosenthal, in 1884, no. 48, at 80 marks; Court, no. 205. Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 914, says "Paris"). Other editions appeared at Geneva in 1594 (Carter-Brown, i. 486; F. S. Ellis, London, 1884, no. 164, £7 15*s*.), 1599 (Porquet, no. 1,368, 400 francs), 1600, 1604, 1611, 1642, and at



JUAN FREIRE, 1546.[1]

were so badly used that, driven from the fort and placed at the mercy of the savages and the Portuguese, they accepted the risks of a crazy vessel and sailed back to France, while a few of their number were hurled by Villegagnon from a precipice into the sea.

Paris in 1600 (Carter-Brown, ii. 116; Murphy, no. 1,469; *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac.*, i. 83, 84).

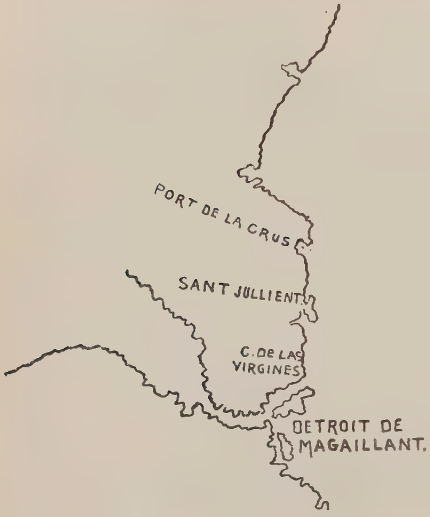
The first Latin edition, *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam*, appeared at Geneva in 1586, with seven full-page illustrations of native customs; and Brunet says it is rarer than the first French edition (Court, no. 206; Carter-Brown, i. 367; F. S. Ellis, 1884, no. 162, £2 2*s*.). It was also issued as the second part of *Historia Indiæ occidentalis, tomis duobus comprehensa*, the work of Benzoni being the first part. This bears the imprint of the same Genevan publisher, Vignon (Carter-Brown, i. 365). It was reissued with slight changes in 1594 (Carter-Brown, i. 487; F. S. Ellis, 1884, no. 163, £2 2*s*.). Brunet gives a Latin edition at Heidelberg in 1576, but I find no other trace of it. De Bry issued in his *Great Voyages* (part iii. 1592, and 1630, p. 137), with plates, what is rather a paraphrase than a translation, and it is moreover scant in the parts about Villegagnon.

There was a Dutch edition at Amsterdam in 1597, which is called the scarcest of all the editions. Muller reports having seen only two copies. Another Dutch version appeared in Vander Aa's Collection, 1727. A German edition, with notes, was printed at Münster in 1794. The only English version is what Purchas gives of it in his fourth volume, p. 1325.

Gaffarel in his edition (vol. i. p. 186) gives in his notes various references on De Léry's career.

[1] This is sketched from the copy, in Kohl's Washington Collection (no. 394), of Freire's manuscript map, which was in Viscount Santarem's possession. The source of the La Plata

Villegagnon then deserted his companions and returned to France;[1] while the Portuguese, after a year or two, attacked and destroyed the post in 1560. Beyond some narratives of the events, this futile attempt at colonization left no trace, and added little, beyond the chance descriptions of Thevet, De Léry, and others, to the knowledge which Europe was garnering of the New World in this direction.



NICOLAS VALLARD, 1547.[4]

The French again occupied the post, but only till 1567; when on St. Sebastian's Day, January 20, the fort was again attacked, and the Portuguese ever after maintained the foothold which their forces had won.[2]

Gomara says that the voyage of Camargo, in 1540, first gave to Europe something approaching a tolerably accurate knowledge of the west coast of Patagonia and Chili. Münster does not seem to have profited by this in the "Typus universalis," which appeared in the Ptolemy of 1545, and was re-engraved in that of 1552 and in the *Cosmographia* of Münster in 1554;[3] but Juan Freire in his manuscript map (1546) evidently drew from Camargo for this part, as he drew from Pigafetta for the east coast.

The draft of Patagonia and the Straits of Magellan in the Nicolas Vallard atlas of 1547, now in the Sir Thomas Phillipps Collection, indicates rather dependence upon Portuguese reports than upon Spanish; and the Portuguese nomenclature of the coast is hardly disguised by the French transformations which it has undergone[5] The small Spanish map which Medina was allowed to insert in his *Arte de navegar*, in 1545, was cut off below the La Plata; but the same cut was

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— not shown here — is in a lake, supposed to be the Lake of Xarayes, discovered by Cabeça de Vaca before 1546.

[1] Villegagnon published a reply to the charges against him, — *Response aux libelles publiez contre le Chevalier de Villegaignon, au lecteur Chrestien* (Paris), 1561. F. S. Ellis priced a copy (1884, no. 302) at £5 5*s*.

[2] Parkman tells the story of this French failure in a summarized way, but graphically, in his *Pioneers of France*, chap. ii; and Gaffarel rehearses it at considerable length in his *Brésil Français* (p. 139, etc.), with ample references.

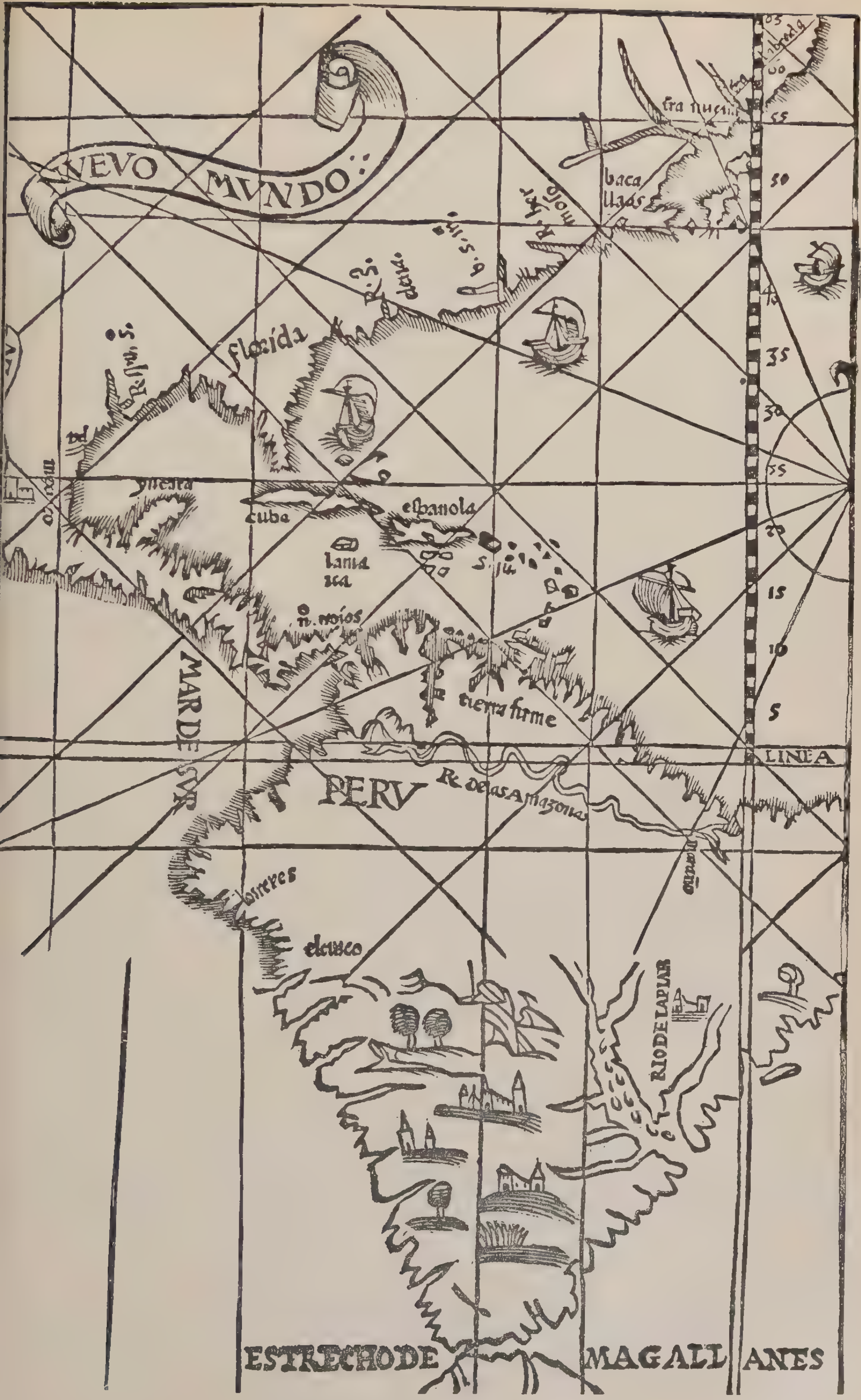
The ungodly tilting of the two religious factions in the colony is well shown in the *Histoire des choses mémorables advenues au la terre du Brésil*, published [at Geneva] in 1561 (Carter-Brown, i. 237), and *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, vol. xl. Cf. also Nicolas Barré's *Copie de quelques lettres sur la navigation du Chevalier de Villegaignon*, Paris, 1557. (Ternaux-Compans, i. 102; cf. De Bry, iii. 285, 295, for a Latin version. The French was again reprinted in Gaffarel's *Brésil Français*, p. 373, etc.)

There are passing mentions of the events in Lescarbot, *Nouvelle France* (1612), p. 146, and Popellinière, *Les trois mondes*, iii. 2. On Villegagnon himself cf. Bayle's *Dictionnaire;* Guérin, *Navigateurs Français*, p. 162, and his *Marins illustres*, p. 231; Gosselin, *Marine Normande* (*documents*), p. 147; Faillon, *Colonie Française*, i. 534; *Nouvelles annales, des voyages* (1854), iv. 188; Crespin, *Histoire des martyrs*; C. W. Baird's *Huguenot Emigration to America* (N. Y. 1885).

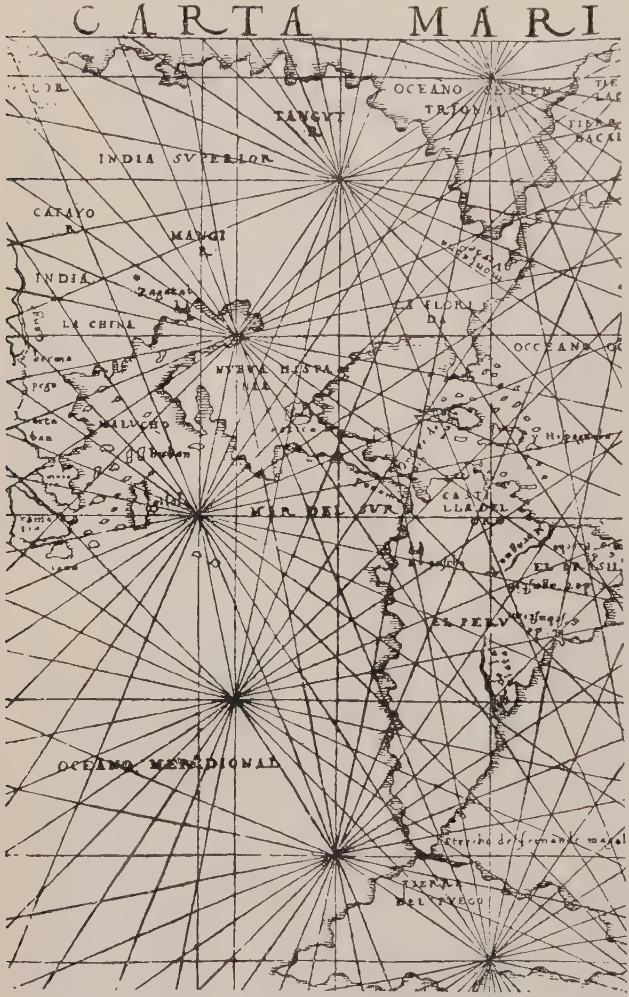
[3] In the first engraving South America is called "America seu insula Brasilii;" and in the newly engraved one "Ameria [sic] vel Brasilii insula."

[4] The inscription on this atlas, "Dieu pour Espoir. Nicolas Vallard de Dieppe, 1547," renders it uncertain if Vallard was the owner or maker; but Kohl says (no. 447) that the inscriptions in the body of the map are in the same hand. The tropic of Capricorn is marked; but the degrees of longitude, though traced, are not numbered. The bay of Rio de Janeiro is drawn, but not named.

[5] A similar dependence on Portuguese originals characterized a French map of an outline very like the Vallard map. It belonged to Jomard when Kohl made the drawing of it which is in the Washington Collection (no. 358).


NVEVO MVNDO::
baca
llaos
tra nueva
florida
cuba
espanola
Iamai
ca
S. jũ
ñ. nojos
tierra firme
MAR DE SVR
PERV
R. de las Amazonas
LINEA
los reyes
elcusco
RIO DE LA PLATA
ESTRECHO DE MAGALLANES
60
55
50
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5

patched out rudely down to the Straits of Magellan, but not beyond, when it appeared in the edition of 1549, as shown in the annexed fac-simile.



CARTA MARINA, PTOLEMY, 1548.

The Ptolemy of 1548 gave a greater prolongation of South America toward the south than earlier maps had shown. The maps of this edition were the work of Gastaldi,[1] who made a diamond-shaped island of Tierra del Fuego, — a novelty at the time.

Europe at this period got its ideas of the great South American continent largely from two maps. One of these was the Bellero map, which first appeared at Antwerp in 1554;[2] the other was the map which appeared in Ramusio's Collection in 1556, and was repeated in 1565.[3]

We first get the general easterly course of the Amazon after Orellana's explorations in 1541, though Homem in 1558 interpreted his accounts with an amusing serpentine regularity, while he left the lower western coast of the continent as undefined as it had been drawn many years before.

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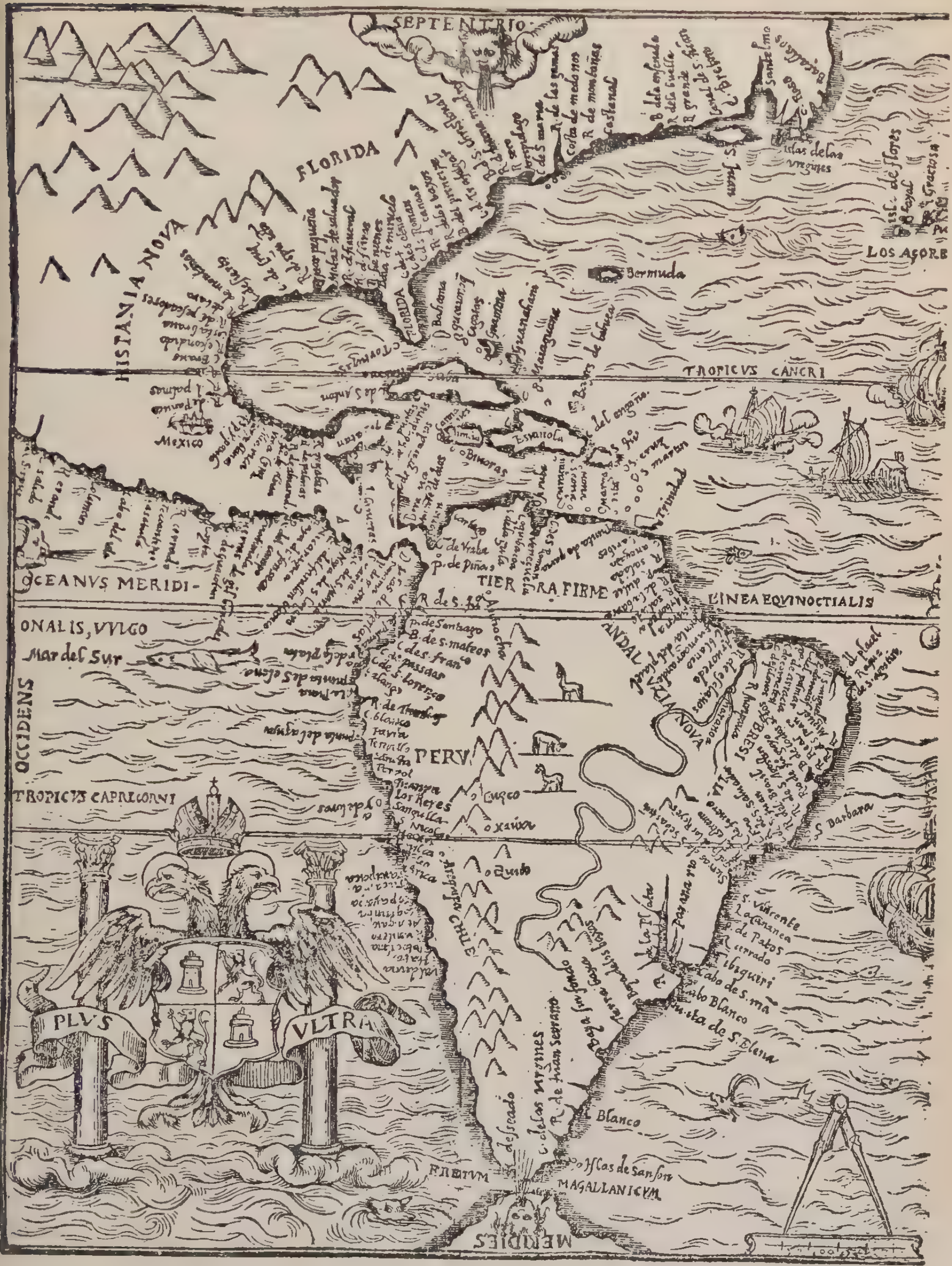
[1] Cf. no. 59 and no. 60, called "Carta marina," and used again in the Ptolemy of 1561.

[2] It came out in Gomara's *Mexico* and his *Historia general de las Indias*, both in 1554; in Darinel de Tirel's poem, *La sphère des deux mondes*, in 1555; sometimes in Eden's *Decades*, in 1555; in Cieça de Leon's *Peru*, in 1556; and in Levinus Apollonius' *De Peruviæ*, in 1565–1567. Cf. *Mapoteca Colombina*, p. 2; Huth, ii. 605; Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 1,987; O'Callaghan, no. 613; Rich (1832), no. 30; Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 201, 217; Muller (1877), no. 893.

[3] See Vol. II. p. 228. Another fac-simile of Ramusio's map of Brazil is given in Paul Gaffarel's *Brésil Français*, p. 61. On a portolano preserved in the Department of the Marine at Paris, and ascribed to Guillaume le Testu, see Gaffarel, *Brésil Français*, p. 122; Berthelot, in *Journal de l'instruction publique;* F Denis, *Une fête Brésilienne à Rouen, in* 1550, p. 32. This atlas was made in 1555, and was dedicated to Coligny. Le Testu was killed in an action with Drake in 1572 near Nombre de Dios. Gaffarel also (p. 115) speaks of the explorations on the coast by Jean Alfonsce at an earlier day.



BELLERO, 1554.

The huge Antarctic land connecting Tierra del Fuego with the supposable Australia came back to us again in the Martines map, shown on another page,[1] which is probably to be dated between 1550 and 1560. This last date we may give to a Spanish portolano, preserved in the Bodleian Library, which shows all the South American coast except the northwesterly parts.[1]

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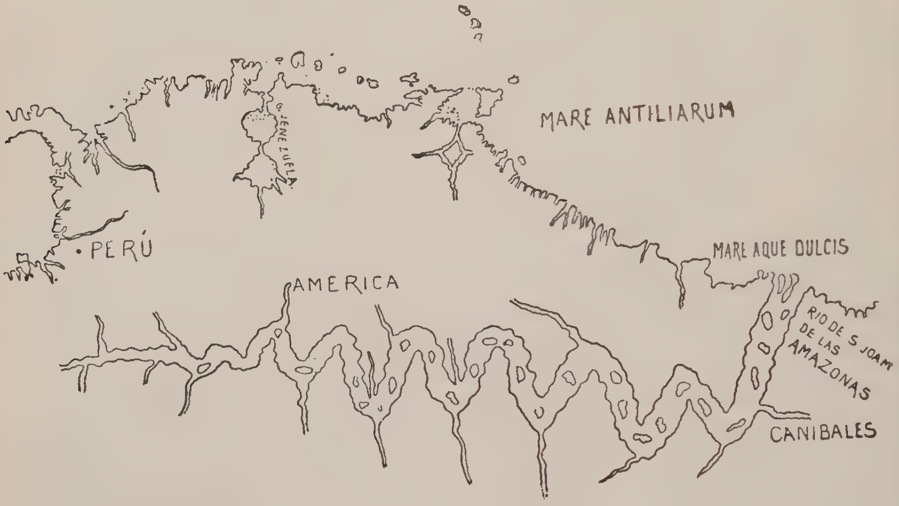
[1] See Vol. II. p. 450.

Ruscelli, in the Ptolemy of 1561, gives in one of his maps a dotted line to the Chili coast, and leaves indefinite the southern limits of Tierra del Fuego; but in his "Tierra nova" the outline of South America is completed.

A map made by Diego Gutierrez, and engraved by Hieronymus Cock in 1562, represents the Amazon much as it is shown by Homem, and introduces an erroneous river system (Rio Marannon) south of the Amazon, which prevailed for a considerable time in the maps.



THE AMAZON (*Homem*), 1558.[2]

Passing over the map of Des Liens of Dieppe (1566), preserved in the National Library at Paris, as presenting nothing distinctive, we come to the very indicative great Mercator map of 1569, which introduced a remarkably protuberant outline of the southwestern coast of South America. This feature stood as a type with the map-makers for a long time,[3] though it was not copied in the Spanish mappemonde of 1573, as figured in Lelewel,[4] nor in the Gilbert map of 1576.[5] The Mercator type, however, found a successful propagandist in Ortelius, who issued (1570) his great atlas the next year after Mercator, and repeated the same outline of South America in 1575 and 1584. Similar maps, dated 1574, are in the *Enchiridion* of Philippus Gallæus. The double protuberant angles of the west coast which characterize the Mercator-Ortelius type give place to a single projecting angle in the *Descrittione di tutto il Peru* of Paulo di Forlani da Verona, — which is without date, but is placed by Kohl about 1570, — in the Porcacchi maps of 1572 and 1576, and in the manuscript Martines map of 1578 in the British Museum. The extended southern polar continent, to

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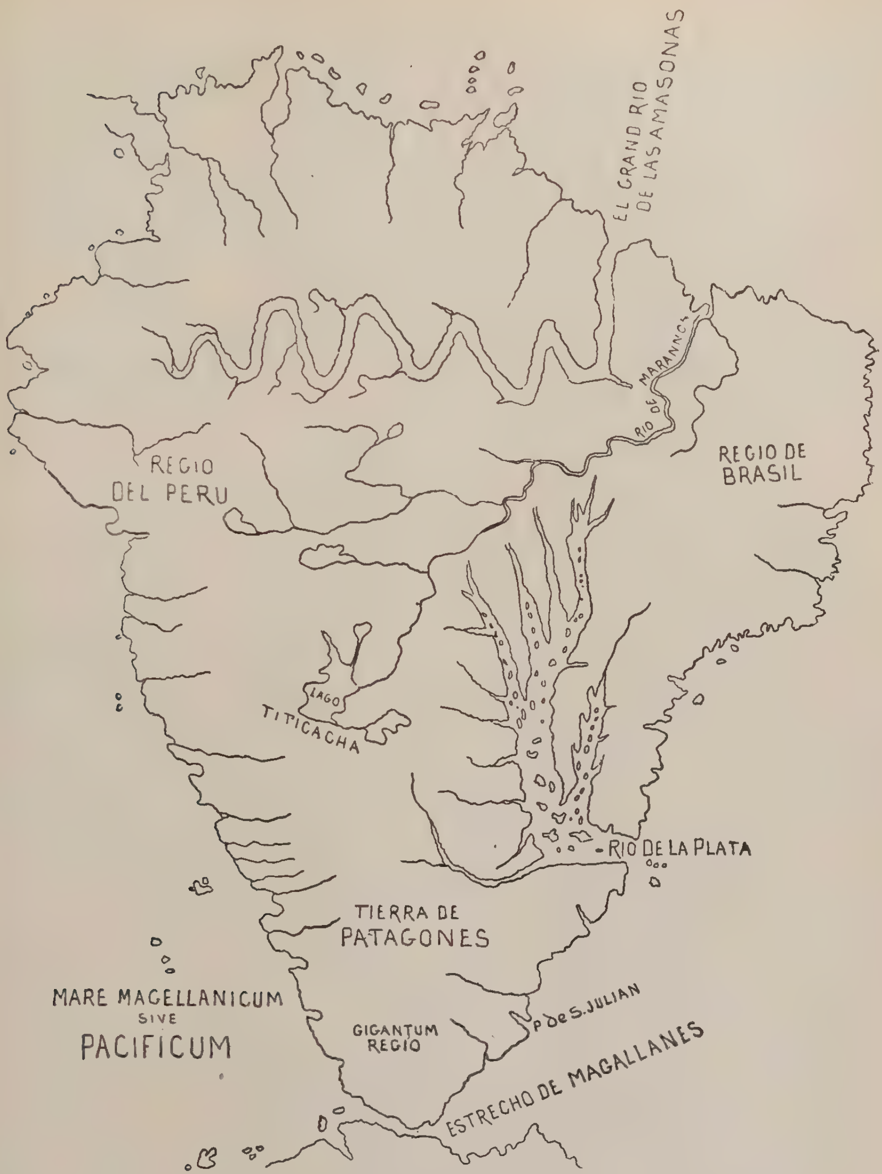
[1] There is a drawing of it in the Kohl Collection (no. 356).

[2] This follows Kohl's drawing (no. 429) from an atlas of Homem, preserved in the British Museum, which shows the explorations of Orellana. The same atlas contains a map of the coast of Brazil, with two main forks to the La Plata. It gives with some precision the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. The nomenclature differs from Freire's map. It is no. 428 in Kohl's Collection.

[3] This map is sketched in Vol. II. p. 452.

[4] Vol. i. pl. 7.

[5] See Vol. III. p. 203.



GUTIERREZ, 1562.[1]

which Mercator and Ortelius had lent the sanction of their important testimony, was emph sized again in 1583 in the *Trois mondes* of Popellinière, who, besides the old and the new, found his third world in this same Antarctic expanse of land. It is again found prominent in a map of the manuscript atlas dated 1587,[2] preserved in the British Museum, and in the map of the same date in Johannes Myritius' *Opusculum geographicum*, published at Ingolstadt in 1590. In the map, however, which Hakluyt added to his Paris edition of Peter

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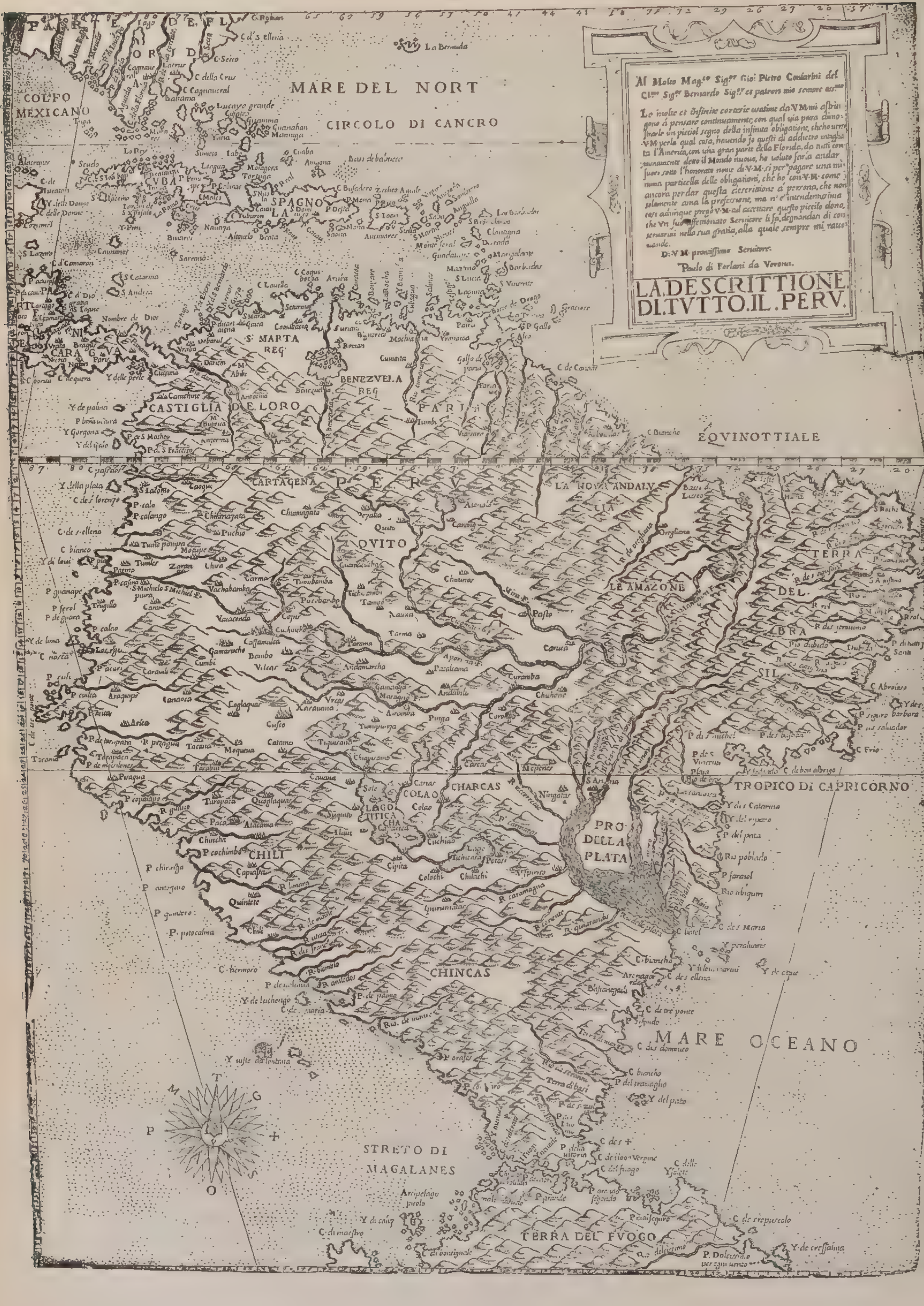
[1] Follows Kohl's no. 359.

[2] Kohl's Collection, no. 396.



FORLANI (*about* 1570).[1]

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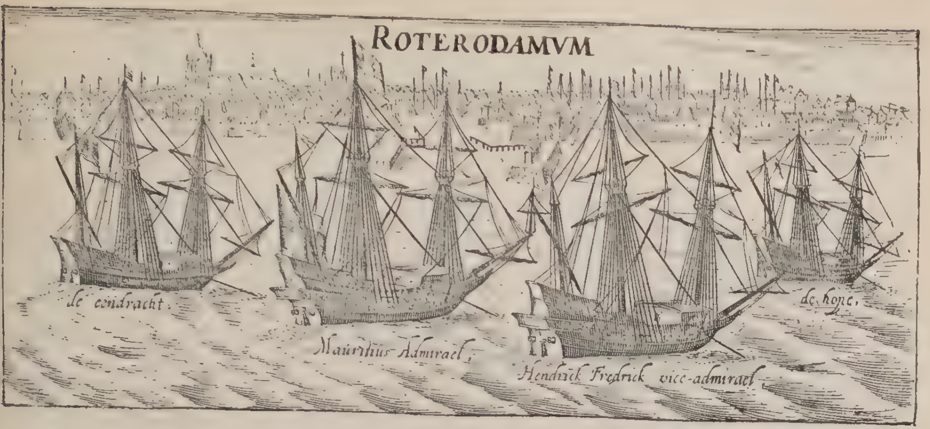
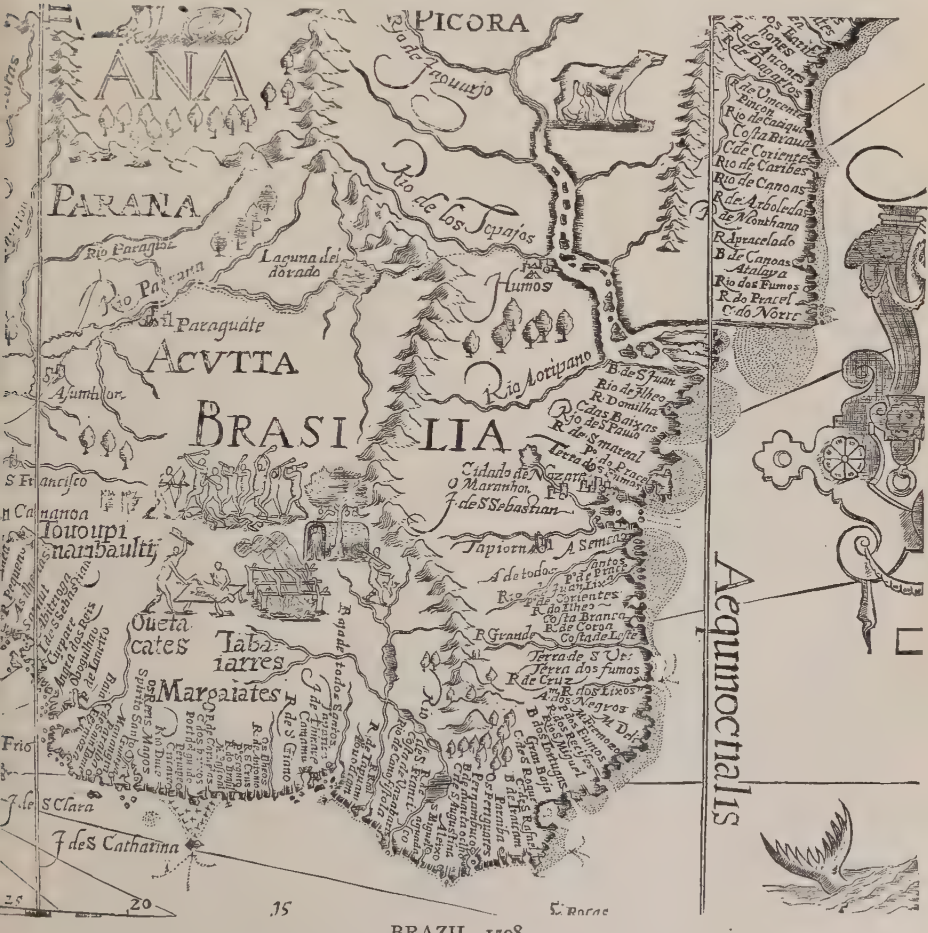
[1] After a copy in Harvard College Library. It is Kohl's no. 360.



DU NOORT'S FLEET AT ROTTERDAM, 1598.

From Olivier du Noort's *Description du penible Voyage, . . . pour traversant le destroict de Magellanes, descouvrir les Costes de Cica, Chili & Peru* (Amsterdam, 1602).

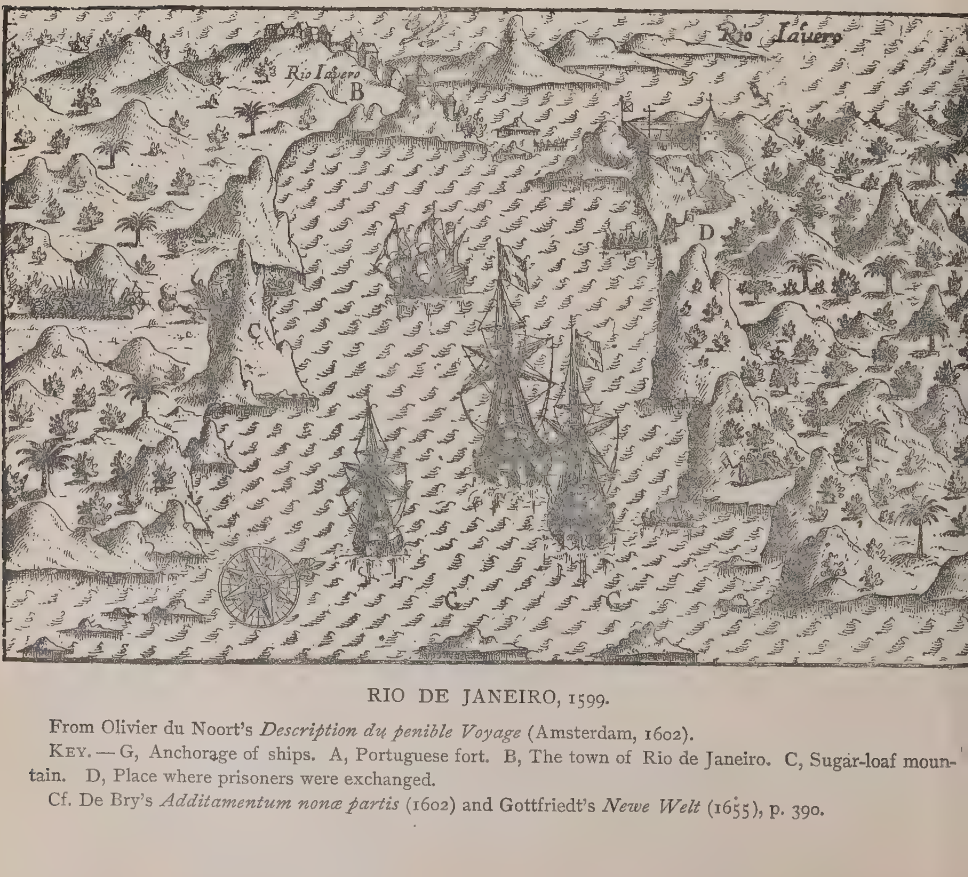


BRAZIL, 1598.

A part of the map in Wolfe's English edition of Linschoten.

OLIVERIVS A NORT VLTRAIECTENSIS ÆTAT. SV
42
1601
AMERI
CA
EVRO
PA
ASIA
AFRI
CA

From the title of *Additamentum nonæ partis Americæ* of De Bry (Frankfort, 1602).

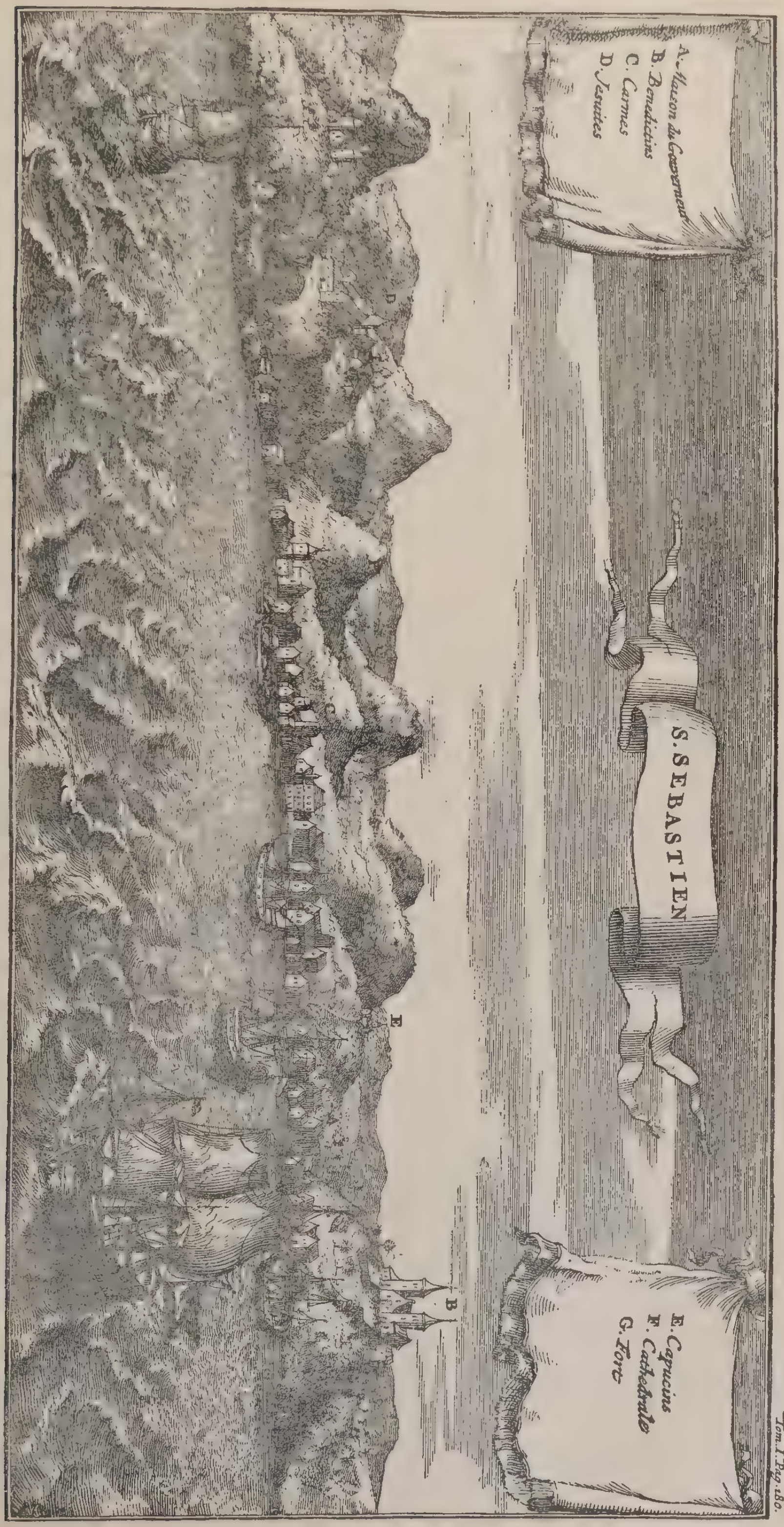


RIO DE JANEIRO, 1599.

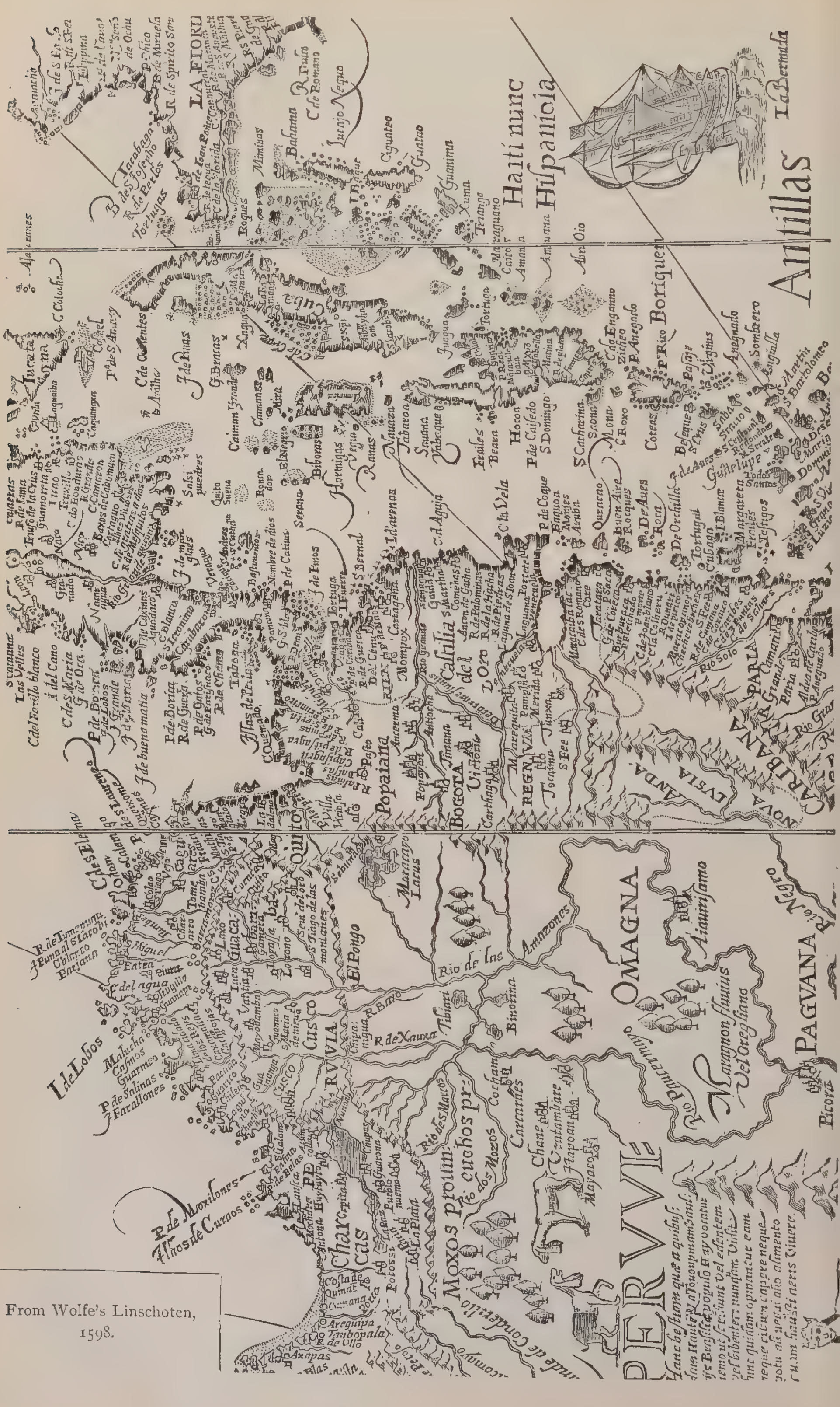
From Olivier du Noort's *Description du penible Voyage* (Amsterdam, 1602).

KEY. — G, Anchorage of ships. A, Portuguese fort. B, The town of Rio de Janeiro. C, Sugar-loaf mountain. D, Place where prisoners were exchanged.

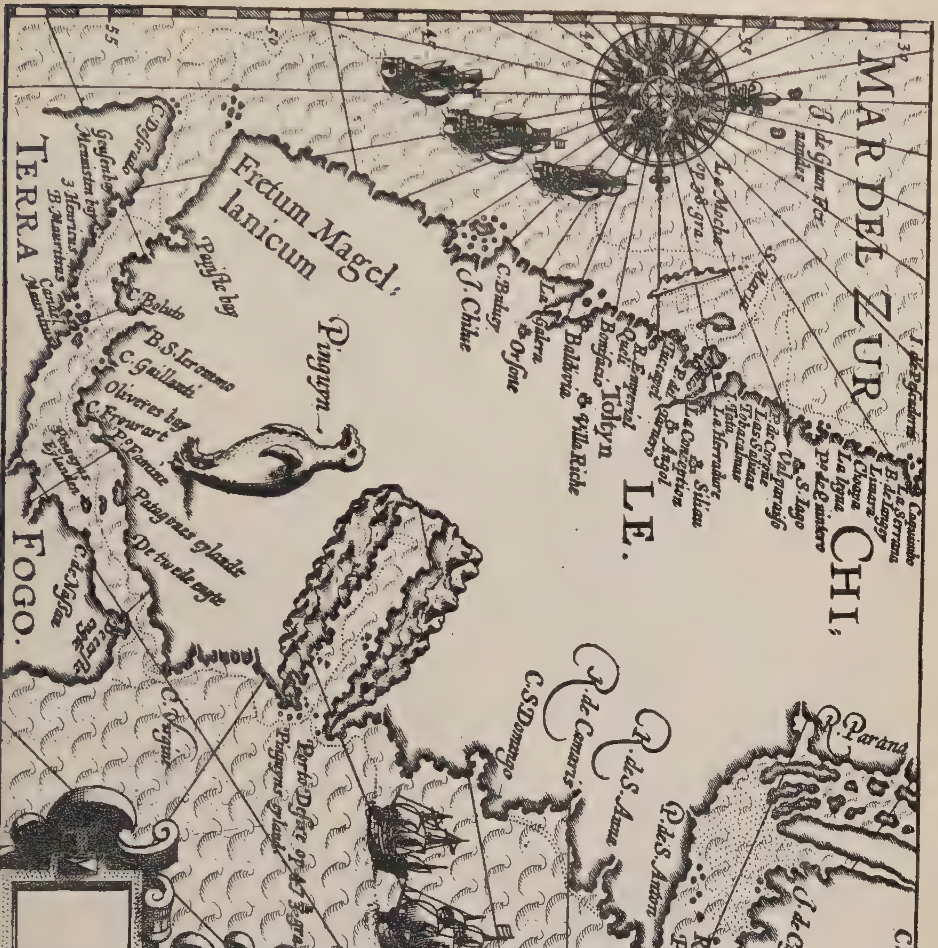
Cf. De Bry's *Additamentum nonæ partis* (1602) and Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (1655), p. 390.



SÃO SEBASTIÃO DO RIO DE JANEIRO.
From Coreal's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1722), vol. i.

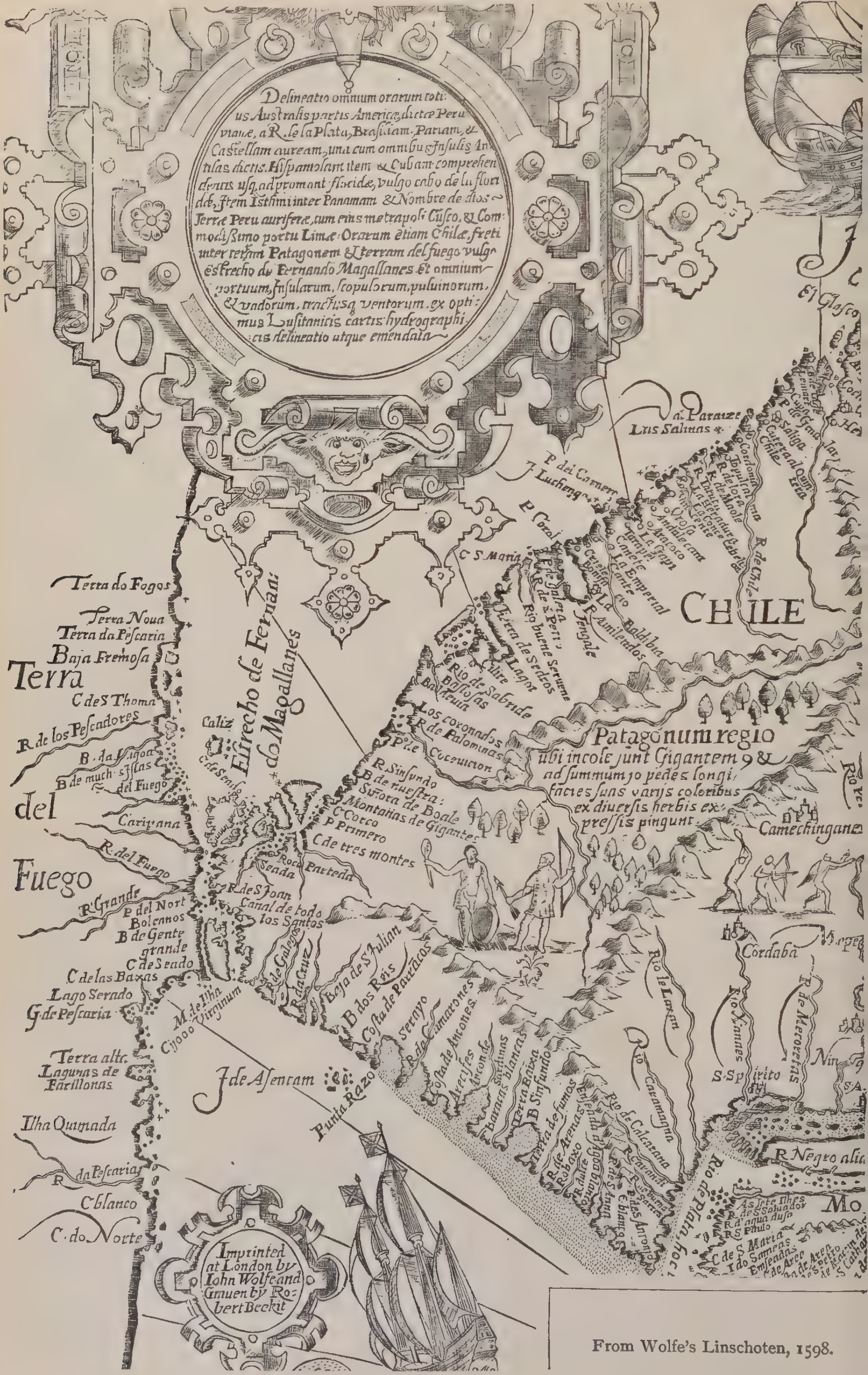


From Wolfe's Linschoten,
1598.



PATAGONIA, 1599.

From Olivier du Noort's *Description du penible Voyage* (Amsterdam, 1602). A view of the harbor of Porto Desire is given in the same book, p. 12.



From Wolfe's Linschoten, 1598.

Martyr[1] the same year (1587), we find Tierra del Fuego broken up, unprecedentedly, into a number of islands, though its maker could not as yet have got Cavendish's reports of his passage of the Straits in 1586–1588.

Other maps of the Ortelius type, like those of Maffeius and Judæus,[2] both of 1593, those of De Bry in 1592 and 1596, those in the Ptolemy of 1597, variations upon the same contour, the Wytfliet map of the same year,[3] that in the Basle edition of Munster's *Cosmographia* (1598), the mappemonde of Wolfe's Linschoten (1598) and that in Botero's *Relaciones* (1603), indicate how stable the view had become at this time of the greatly broadened shape of South America and of the wide circumpolar continent to the south.

In 1598–1599 a fleet of five Rotterdam ships, the first Dutch vessels to enter the waters of Magellan's Straits, sailed under the direction of Mahn and Cordes. Sebald van Weert, one of the commanders, did not pass out of the Straits on the Pacific side, but remained a long time in them; and Kohl thinks that Van Weert brought home the drafts which made the map of the Straits published by Hondius in 1600,[4] — the amplest survey of those waters up to that time.[5] Another of the commanders, Olivier van Noort, passed into the Pacific in 1599.[6] His map, showing his track, was not published till 1646,[7] in an abridged edition of his narrative, at Amsterdam. It gives an exaggerated elongation to Porto Desire, on the east coast, under 47° 66′. Only a portion of "Terra Fogo" is shown. The west coast is much better drawn, and seems to be based on Spanish authorities. Levinus Hulsius published at Nuremberg in 1599 a *Nova et exacta delineatio Americæ partis australis*, to accompany the *Vera historia admirandæ cuiusdam nauigationis* (1534–1554), of Huldericus Schmidel. Hulsius also compiled (1602) a map of the southern parts of South America to illustrate these voyages.[8] At the beginning of the next century the distorted South America of the Ortelius type begins to disappear; and we find better proportions in the map of 1601 in Herrera,[9] in that of 1606 in the *Regimiento de navegacion* of Cespedes, in that connected with De Quir's narrative in the *Detectionis freti*, etc., 1613, and in the maps of Hondius which illustrated *Die seer heerliicke Voyagie der Capiteyn Draeck*,[10] and which appeared in the Mercator atlas of 1613.[11] The map of Joannes Oliva of 1613 in the British Museum still preserves the newer type. The map of Spilbergen (1615), as shown in De

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[1] See Vol. III. p. 42.

[2] This is Kohl's no 365.

[3] See Vol. II. p. 459, with those of Metellus (1600) based on them.

[4] This is Kohl's no. 398.

[5] Van Weert's narrative was published at Amsterdam in 1600 as *Wijdtloopigh Verhael*, etc., with a destription of the Straits by Outgheraz, which was not repeated in later editions. This first edition is extremely rare. Cf. Tiele, nos. 11^{a}, 11^{b}; Muller (1872), no. 1,976, (1877) no. 2,402; Carter-Brown, p. 466. De Bry in his part ix. (1602) abridged and inexactly translated the account, and inserted a map which seems to be based on the same material as Hondius used; and he repeated the map in part xiii. (Carter-Brown, ii. 346, 349, 352). An abridged edition of the narrative, *Begin ende Voortgangh*, etc., with Outgeresz' description, was issued at Amsterdam in 1646. Cf. Muller (1872), no. 1,977, (1877) no. 3,472. There were other issues in 1648 and 1650, and this narrative is given in English in the *Voyages by the Dutch East India Company* (London, 1703).

[6] His *Voyagie* was printed at Amsterdam in 1601, and again in 1602 with some changes in spelling. The original edition is of great rarity (Muller, 1877, no. 2,309, etc.; Tiele, no. 11). It was given in Latin by De Bry in his ninth part, but abridged; it is also in Hulsius, xi. De Bry's German appeared in 1602, and another German translation (Lenox Library) the same year; the first and second French editions in 1602, and again in 1610 (Tiele, nos. 17, 18, 19; Carter-Brown, ii. 107). Later abridged editions appeared at Amsterdam in 1646, 1648, 1650, 1663, 1764, etc., and at Utrecht in 1708 (Tiele, nos. 21, 23, 25, 29, 33 Stevens, *Historical Collection*, i. 493).

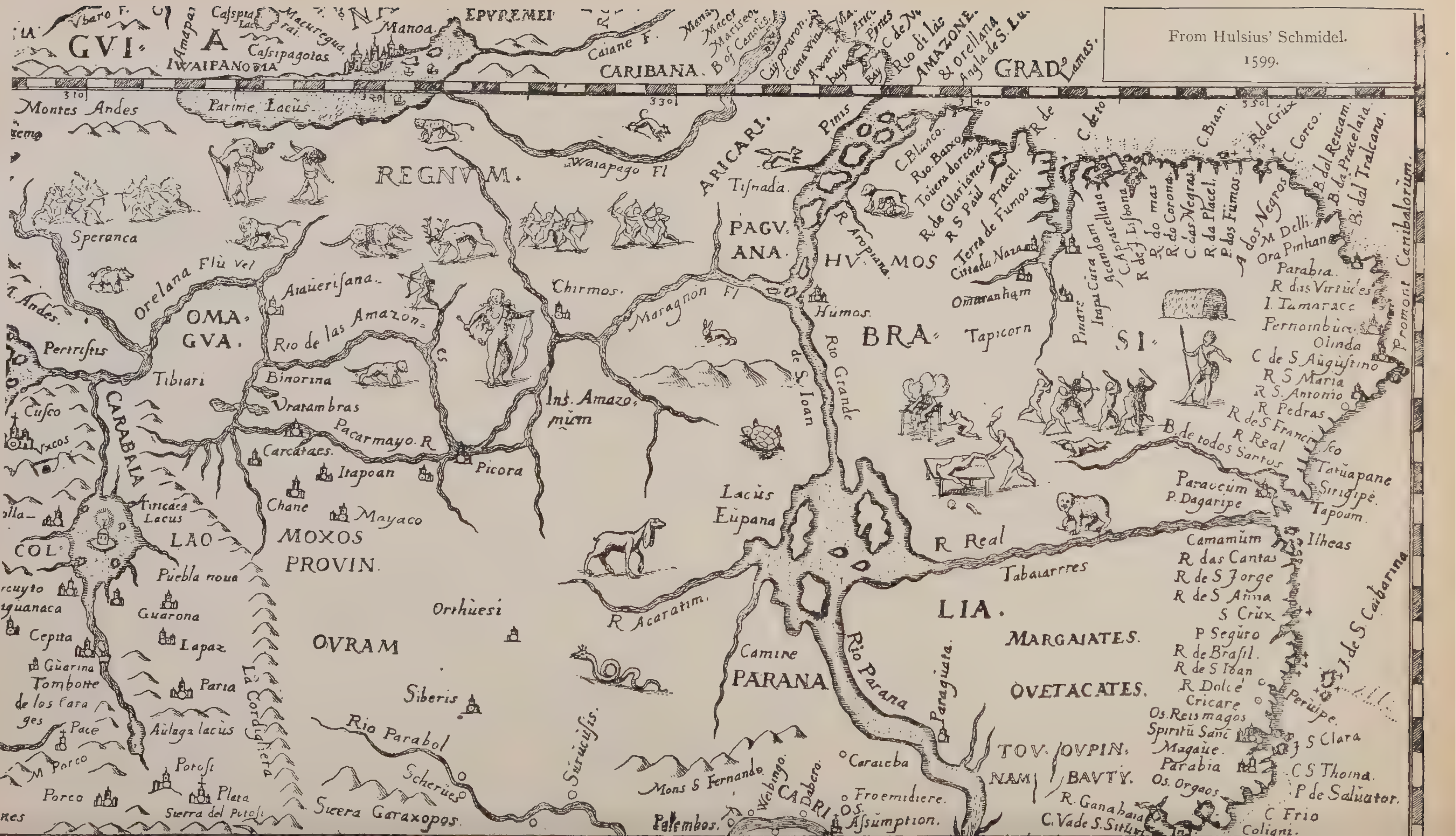
[7] Kohl's no. 399.

[8] Kohl points out his omission of the island of Juan Fernandez, discovered in 1570, and of the bay where Diego Galleyo perished (*circa* 1570). The map shows a Spaniard and a Patagonian giant in "Chica regio." It is Kohl's no. 401.

[9] Repeated in the edition of 1622 and in the early editions of Torquemada.

[10] Fac-simile in the Hakluyt Society's edition of Drake's *World Encompassed*. Hondius' map of the Straits is given in Purchas, iii. 900, and his map of South America, iii. 882.

[11] A map by Michael Mercator in the same edition restored the Ortelius type.



From Hulsius' Schmidel.
1599.

FRONTISPIECE OF HULSIUS' SCHMIDEL.[1]

Bry, part xi., is not a great improvement, in respect to the Straits themselves, over the chart of Van Weert.[2]

There was a further development in the Schouten-Lemaire voyage of 1615–1617, when the new passage between Tierra del Fuego and Staten Land was discovered, and Cape Horn was first rounded from the east by Willem Cornelisz Schouten van Hoorn.[3] In referring

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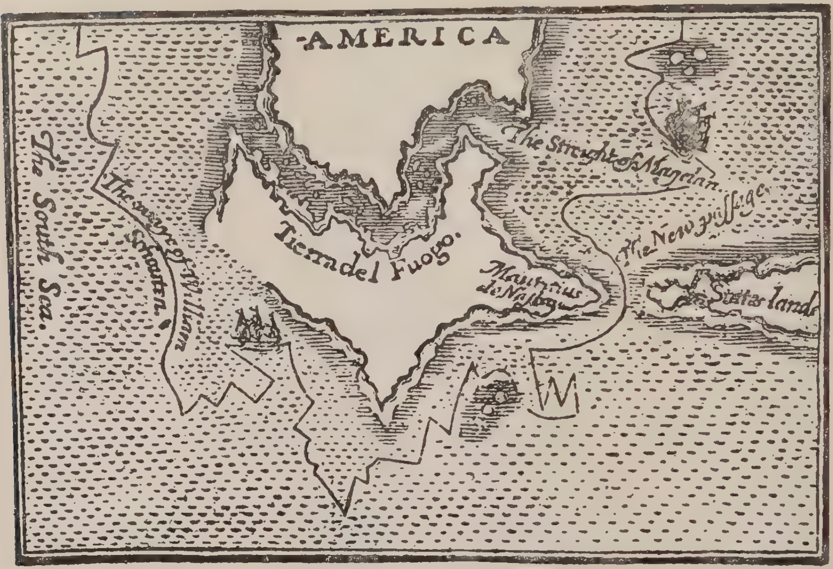
[1] This is taken from the Harvard College copy of the *Vera historia admirandæ cuiusdam nauigationis, quam Huldericus Schmidel, ab anno* 1534 *usque ad annum* 1554 *in Americam vel nouum mundum, iuxta Brasiliam et Rio della Plata confecit* (Noribergæ, 1599).

[2] Cf. Spilbergen's *Speculum*, 1619 (priced by F. S. Ellis in 1884, no. 276, at £18 18*s*.), and the editions in Hulsius, 1648, etc.; Carter-Brown, ii. 195. The map is Kohl's no. 402.

[3] His original *Journael ofte Beschryvinghe* appeared at Amsterdam in 1618 in several editions,



SCHOUTEN'S TRACK.[1]

to the other contemporary authority for this voyage. Muller says that "all honor due to the skilful and learned young Lemaire is turned in Schouten's Journal to his own profit; and in this and many other circumstances Lemaire's account of this voyage differs

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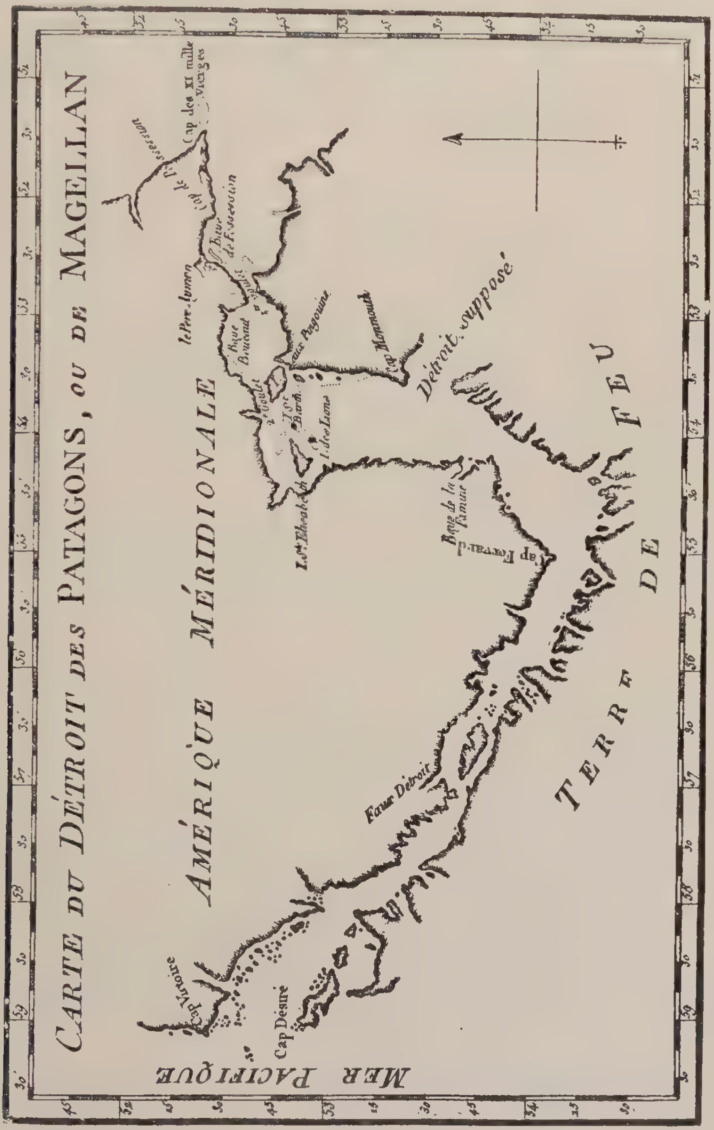
and also at Arnheim. Cf. Tiele, *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs Neerlandais*, nos. 34, 45; Muller (1877), no. 2,916; Stevens, *Historical Collection*, vol. i. no. 780; Carter-Brown, ii. 208, with fac-simile of title and of portrait of Schouten; Murphy, no. 2,234. There were other Dutch editions at Amsterdam in 1632, 1644, 1645, 1658, 1661, 1663 [1664], 1688, and as a chap-book in 1766; at Rotterdam in 1637; at Tot Hoorn in 1648 (with three different imprints, and additions to the text from the journals of Lemaire and Aris Claesz, — F. S. Ellis prices one at £6 6*s*. in 1884, no. 267), and at Dockum, 1649. Cf. Tiele, nos. 33, 48, 50, 51, 52; Muller (1872), nos. 1,955, 1,959–1,960, 1,962–1963; (1877), nos. 2,920–2,923; Carter-Brown, ii. 398, 447, 554, 655, 660, 675, 841, 896, 934, 952; Stevens, *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 785, 786, 788. It was also included in Saeghman's *Verscheyde Journalen*, etc., in 1663. French editions appeared at Amsterdam and Paris in 1618, both of which are rare and are worth from 100 to 200 francs, though F. S. Ellis prices a copy in fine binding (1884, no. 265) at £24. Both were repeated the next year, 1619. Cf. Tiele, nos. 37, 42; Muller, 1872, no. 1,956, and 1877, no. 2,917; Stevens, no. 783; Carter-Brown, ii. 209, 226, 227, 229; Maisonneuve, no. 2,952; Sunderland, vol. v. no. 11,202.

In 1619 a German text appeared in De Bry, part xi., and in Hulsius, part xvi. Latin texts were issued at Amsterdam in 1619, by Willem Jannsen and Van der Keere, independently, and in De Bry. Cf. Tiele, nos. 43, 44; Muller, 1872, nos. 1,957, 1,958, and 1877, nos. 2,918, 2,919; Carter-Brown, ii. 225, 230, 910; Stevens, no. 782; Sunderland, vol. v. no. 11,203. F. S. Ellis, 1884, no. 266, prices a Jannsen copy at £21.) A very rare Spanish text was published at Madrid in 1619 (Rich, 1832, no. 149, — £6 6*s*.), and an English edition, *Relation of a Wonderfull Voiage*, was printed at London the same year (Carter-Brown, ii. 231). Thus the book went through ten editions in eight months, and thirty-five or forty different issues are chronicled in Holland during the seventeenth century. It is also included in such English collections as Purchas, Dalrymple, etc.

[1] A fac-simile of the map in the title of the English edition of Schouten's voyage, *The Relation of a Wonderfull Voyage made by William Cornelison Schouten* (London, 1619). Cf. Carter-Brown, ii. 97. Kohl, in his *Magellan's-Strasse*, gives the map from the Amsterdam, 1619, edition. This last is Kohl's no. 403 in his Collection.

considerably." Lemaire's narrative, *Ephemerides sive descriptio navigationis australis institutæ Ao.* 1615, first appeared as the second part of the Latin edition of Herrera's *Novus orbis* at Amsterdam in 1622, and in French and German the same year. The book is commonly called the "Collection de Michel Colin."[1] The maps are De Bry's; and we now find the Tierra del Fuego taking its comparatively diminutive form at the apex of the continent, though the old plates with the exaggerated Antarctic continent went slowly out of use.[2]



BOUGAINVILLE (1766).

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[1] Cf. Tiele, pp. 56, 59, 312; Camus, pp. 147, 160; Muller (1877), no. 1,840; Leclerc, nos. 280–281; Sabin, no. 31,540. Cf. also the edition of Spilbergen's *Speculum*, no. 1,619 (Carter-Brown, ii. 232).

[2] Cf. the maps in the Amsterdam edition of Linschoten (1644), and that of Kaerius (1646) in Speed's *Prospect* (London, 1665).

Various maps of this period, showing South America as well as North, are given in Vol. II.

While Schouten's narrative was keeping the printers busy, another expedition under the brothers Nodal set sail (1618–1619). The narrative of the cruise, *Relacion del viage*, etc., appeared at Madrid in 1621.[1] The map, which on account of its rarity is supposed to have been suppressed by the Spanish Government, was made by Pedro Teixeira Falhernas, the royal cosmographer.[2] Nodal had with him some Dutch sailors and pilots who had been with Schouten, and rounded Cape Horn and returned to Spain through Magellan's Straits. His drafts of Tierra del Fuego are superior to Schouten's, and he put Cape Horn a degree nearer its correct latitude. The strait at the southeast of Tierra del Fuego, called after Lemaire before, Nodal now called St. Vincent, — a name which was retained for some time on the Spanish maps. The west coast of Patagonia is only roughly drawn. The eastern coast is one of the correctest up to this time; and he gives the proper easterly extension of the southern limb of the continent, which none of the other map-makers had recognized.

There was now little to mend in the general contour of South America on the best maps of the rest of the seventeenth century, though much error in detail still prevailed. The maps of De Laet (1630), of the Mercator atlas (1635), of Jannson's *Atlas Minor* (1651), and of Heylin in his *Cosmographie* (1663), are good examples of the better cartography. The tendency had been to place Cape Horn short of its proper latitude; but Jannson, in 1666, put it a degree too far south. In 1669 Sir John Narborough was despatched by Charles II. to survey the Patagonian waters. He applied many English names, displacing the earlier Spanish and Dutch ones, and used largely antecedent Dutch charts. The map he made is in the British Museum, and a printed copy was published, much reduced by Thornton. There is no present occasion to trace the cartography of the South American continent beyond this point.

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[1] Sabin, vol. xiii. nos. 55,394–55,395; Leclerc, nos. 1,980–1,982; Carter-Brown, ii. 250; Nodal was reprinted at Cadiz in 1769. This edition is so rare that Rich priced it in 1832 at £10 10*s*. (*Catalogue*, no. 158). The map is Kohl's no. 404.

[2] It is sketched in Kohl's *Magellan's-Strasse*, where are also a sketch from a manuscript map (1640) by the Jesuits of Chili, in the National Library at Paris, and the map to *Brouwer's Reise*, 1706.

NOTE. — This essay was plated in July, 1885. Since then a posthumous work of Henry Stevens has appeared: *Johann Schöner. A reproduction of the globe of 1523 long lost; his dedicatory letter and the "De Moluccis" of Maximilianus Transylvanus, with a new translation and notes on the globe. Edited with an introd. and bibliography by C. H. Coote* (London, 1888). The preface says that this hitherto unknown series of gores (globe) passed from Henry Stevens' hands to C. H. Kalbfleisch, of New York, in the autumn of 1885. It is held to be of importance in respect to the track of Magellan. The volume is accompanied by the following fac-similes, in addition to the gores of 1523. The Lenox globe; the Boulanger globe (Tross gores); the Schöner globes of 1515 and 1520, and the Cantino map. These have all been reproduced, or the American parts of them, in earlier volumes of the present work. The Lenox globe was taken (Vol. III., 212) from the cut used by Mr. Coote in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, acknowledgment being made to that and to the original Stevens source (Vol. III., 214.) Nordenskiöld, in his *Facsimile Atlas*, and Harrisse, in his *Discovery of North America*, have each emphatically, and with good reasons, denied the connection of Schöner with this globe.

APPENDIX.

By the Editor.

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

I. THE FEDERAL ARCHIVES.

BOTH Sparks and Bancroft inspected to a considerable degree the archives of the general government and of the original thirteen States, and examined some of the more important collections of papers amassed by prominent actors of the Revolution, and to some extent of later periods. When they began this work, something had already been done by the general government in printing certain parts of its archives; but not much had been done by any State; and scarcely any of the private papers of the participants in the Revolution had been printed in any systematic way. Previous to the time when these historians set about their studies, and Peter Force began to amass his collections,[1] now between sixty and seventy years ago, there had been no one, if we except Gordon and Ramsay, who had at all pushed their researches so as to include any considerable examination of the government archives. After both of these early writers had done their work, there was in 1800 a fire in the War Department, which destroyed some portion of the papers in its keeping; and in 1814, at the capture of the city by the British, there was similar destruction, more or less severe at the War, Navy, and Treasury offices,[2] and the Treasury again suffered in 1833. The Department of State escaped such perils, and it has been the depository of the principal government records, ever since the first Congress, by an act approved Sept. 15, 1789, made it finally responsible for the safe custody of "the acts, records, and seal of the United States."[3] The same act left it to the discretion of the President to send such papers as might be determined on to the War and Treasury Departments, which accounts for rosters and accounts of the Revolution being in those departments.

A report of the council of the American Antiquarian Society, made in October, 1882, by the Hon. George F. Hoar, senator of the United States from Massachusetts, and printed in their *Proceedings* (new series, vol. ii. p. 118, etc.), gives an "account of the material for historical study now accessible in Washington," in which he enumerates the records of the prize appeal cases (from 1777 down) as a part of the archives of the Supreme Court, which are of themselves complete from 1790 down; and the records of the postal system after its organization by Franklin in 1775, — as among the papers of the Post-Office Department. I learn from Mr. Paul Leicester Ford that a part of the Post Office papers (1775–1789) are among the papers of the Continental Congress in the Department of State. None of the papers in the Post-Office Department cover Franklin's term; the earliest being the ledger kept by Richard Bache, which in 1865 was printed in fac-simile as Franklin's ledger.

In the Indian Bureau there are materials relating to the history of the tribes before the Revolution, collected by Jedidiah Morse.

It is, however, in the library of Congress and at the Department of State that the greatest wealth of Revolutionary papers is found. In the library of Congress are over sixty bound folio volumes of military papers of the generals of the Revolutionary War; the papers of Rochambeau; thirty-two orderly books, including Washington's at Valley Forge; the Paul Jones papers, in twelve volumes (1776–1778); Georgia state papers (1775–1780); documents of New Hampshire; of Delaware (1680–1794); journal of General Bourne (1771); letter-books of General Nathanael Greene (1781, 1782), in two volumes; journal of the Baltimore Committee of Safety (1774–1776); record-books of Ephraim Blaine, commissary-general of the Revolutionary army, 1777–

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[1] These are now in the library of Congress, and include a large collection of maps.

[2] Reports regarding this loss through invasion are by P. Magruder, clerk of the House (*13th Cong., 3d sess., Sept. 22, 1814, House Doc.*); by W. Jones, on the loss at the Navy Department (*State Papers, Naval Affairs*, i. 320); on the loss of the Executive Department (*House Doc., Nov. 17, 1814*); a report on Magruder's neglect (*House Doc., Dec. 12, 1814*), and his reply (*Dec. 19*); Joseph Pearson's report on the destruction of the library (*House Doc. Jan. 16, 1815*).

[3] *Statutes at Large*, i. 29, 69.

1782; beside various journals, original or copies, of expeditions (1755–1794), — making the whole number of original pieces, relating variously to the Revolution, over five thousand. The papers in the Library of Congress lack much of the official character attaching to those in the Department of State.

The papers of the Department of State, accrued from its current business, consist in the main of the following classes: Laws, treaties, proclamations of the President, diplomatic and consular correspondence, national boundary maps, reports of surveys for boundary lines, claims of citizens against foreign governments, pardons by the President, records of commissioners appointed by the President.

The condition of the records of the Navy Department is described elsewhere by Professor Soley.[1] Theodore Roosevelt, in his *Naval War of 1812*, says that he took the official reports on the British side from published works like the *Naval Chronicle;* but those on the American side were found in the archives of the Navy Department, divided into letters, log-books (exasperatingly incomplete at crises, he says), contracts-muster-rolls, etc. The letters make several volumes for each year from captains, master-commandants, and other officers. He thinks the fire of 1837 destroyed many papers.

The former neglectful methods regarding the official papers of the Navy Department is illustrated in the papers accumulated by Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Madison's Secretary of the Navy, which now exist in the hands of his descendants. They contain the letters and reports of captains and fleet commanders of a character properly attaching them to the archives of the department.[2]

Mention has already been made of the archives of the War Department.[3] There are in the Pension Bureau of the Interior Department papers relating to the participancy of the States in the Revolutionary War, which apparently have at some time been turned over to that Bureau from the War Department.

The Land Office and the Office of Indian Affairs contain many papers necessary in the study of the settlement and development of the United States

The papers belonging to the Department of State have come to it for two reasons: first, as being the natural inheritor of the papers of the antecedent governments and administrations; and, second, as the fitting repository for such accessions as the nation has acquired from private hands, in the main by purchase. Of these two classes some account will now be given.

From the committee and department of foreign affairs of the Continental Congress came the diplomatic correspondence, conducted at first by a committee of Congress; but after August 10, 1781, by R. R. Livingston, the first Secretary of Foreign Affairs. It embraces not only the correspondence with the American agents in Europe, — to be supplemented from the papers of Franklin, Arthur Lee, John Adams, Silas Deane, and John Jay, — but the correspondence of the government held with Gérard (1778–79) and with Luzerne (1778–83). Copies of a good deal of this correspondence, made by Sparks, who latterly intended writing a history of the diplomacy of the Revolution,[4] are in the *Sparks MSS.* in Harvard College Library.[5]

Under an act of Congress in 1818, Sparks was employed to edit a selection from these diplomatic papers, and the work, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, appeared in twelve volumes, at Boston, in 1829–30.[6]

Indications of serious omissions and changes made by Sparks in his edition are contained in the Report of the Committee on Printing, Feb. 6, 1888 (*Senate Doc.*, no. 194), recommending a reprinting of the Correspondence. This report points out that Sparks omitted all letters or portions of letters tending to show the movements of French politicians in 1776 to supersede Washington by Marshal Broglie; the movements by American politicians in 1776–77 to induce Washington's withdrawal, and to have Franklin recalled from Paris; and others necessary to make plain the atrocities of British troops and of refugees in the United States, when brought forward by the American diplomatists as a claim against Great Britain and a set-off against British claims for indemnity to loyalists; and that Sparks further dropped important passages respecting the fisheries, and such other passages as showed the extent of the views prevailing among the negotiators of the treaty of 1782 that the treaty was one of partition, not of concession on Great Britain's part, which view served to strengthen the previous territorial rights of the colonies. Further than this, the report says that Sparks omitted, and gave no signs of omitting, whatever in his judgment was unnecessary or impolitic to print; and that he changed what did not satisfy his taste in style, sometimes to the detriment of the sense. The Report then goes on to cite numerous instances in support of its allegations.

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 414.

[2] I have examined them by the courtesy of Mr. B. W. Crowninshield, of Boston. Cf *Mass Hist. Soc. Proc.*, *Nov.*, 1888.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 413.

[4] *Sparks MSS.*, no. li.

[5] That with Chas. W. F. Dumas, the government agent in Holland (1778–1783), is in no. lxxiv. (cf. *ante*, VII. p. 68); that of Gérard in no. lxxiv.; that of Luzerne in no. xc.; that of Oliver Pollock, a merchant at New Orleans who kept the government informed of events there, in no. xli. Cf. H. E. Hayden's *Pollock Genealogy. A biographical sketch of Oliver Pollock, of Carlisle, Pa., United States commercial agent at New Orleans and Havana, 1776–1784; with genealogical notes of his descendants. Also, genealogical sketches of other Pollock families settled in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1883).

[6] B. P. Poore's *Descrip. Catal.*, nos. 3, 698, 746; Allibone, ii. 2191. Mr. C. F. Adams (*John Adams's Works*, vii. p. 4) says of the *Dipl. Corresp. of the Rev.*, that it is "a valuable work, but unfortunately disfigured by numerous typographical errors, especially in proper names, and wanting in a thorough index." The letters in foreign languages are translated into English. He also (*John Adams's Works*, vii. p. 190) points out how inadequately this is done in some instances. Sparks has not escaped criticism for exceeding the ordinary limits of annotation in editing such works, and expressing party views upon mooted questions. John Jay's *Address on the Peace Negotiations of 1782–83* (1884), p. 43.

Congress voted, 1830, $31,300 to carry out Sparks's contract with Henry Clay, Secretary of State, to print the series 1778–1783; and, 1832, $12,000 for the series 1783–1789, with additional series in 1833, 1834. The legislation will be found in *Statutes at Large*, iv. 382, 513, 620, 669, 689, 743; v. 170, 171.

The report was probably written or arranged by Dr. Francis Wharton, then an officer of the State Department, who was finally, by a joint resolution of Congress, approved Aug. 13, 1888, entrusted with the editorship of a new collection of the diplomatic correspondence, in which the papers used by Sparks should be given "in their integrity," and others obtained from abroad and from private hands should be added to double the extent of the publication, — the whole to be annotated with historical and legal notes. Dr. Wharton had got well on in the preparation of copy, and some part had been put into type, when he died. It is understood that the work will be carried to completion under other supervision.

Further, among the papers transmitted from the Continental Congress are its domestic correspondence, the memorials and petitions presented to it, the reports of its committees, the original motions made in its sessions, and its journals. These last daily records are almost wholly in the handwriting of Charles Thompson,[1] the Secretary of Congress through all its years.[2]

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[1] He had begun his observations on passing events at the time of the Stamp Act Congress, and wrote a record of its doings, which Wm. B. Reed, in a discourse before the N. Y. Hist. Soc., Dec. 19, 1839 (p. 35), says was in his possession. It is printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Fund Publ.*, 1878. The papers of the Continental Congress passed from Thompson's hands into those of Roger Alden, for safekeeping, by order of Washington, July 24, 1789 (Sparks's *Washington*, x. 16. Cf. *Corresp. of the Rev.*, iv. 99).

[2] They are described by Theodore F. Dwight in a letter printed by Mellen Chamberlain in his paper on the *Authentication of the Declaration of Independence* (Cambridge, 1885, p. 19). The "Rough Journals" (Sept. 5. 1774–Mar. 2, 1789) are the original minutes, contained in thirty-nine foolscap volumes. Of this, for the interval Sept. 5, 1775–Jan. 20, 1779, there is a fair copy in ten volumes, and the published journals are said to have been printed from this copy, a committee of Congress marking out what was not to be transcribed for the printer. A third journal is the "Secret Domestic Journal," May 10, 1775–Oct. 26, 1787. A fourth is a "Secret Journal, foreign and domestic," Oct. 18, 1780–Mar. 29, 1786. A fifth is a "Secret Journal of Foreign Affairs," Nov. 29, 1775–Sept. 16, 1788, in three volumes. A sixth is an "Imperfect Secret Journal," Sept. 17, 1776–Sept. 16, 1788. A seventh is the "More Secret Journal," in which there are few entries. An eighth, a "Secret Journal A, 1776–1783," being minutes afterwards entered in the public Journals. Cf. *Amer. Quart. Review*, March, 1827.

The earliest publication of these *Journals* was that of the Congress beginning Sept. 5, 1774 (Philad., 1774, — Hildeburn's *Century of Printing . . . in Penna.*, ii. no. 3036). That of the session opening May 10, 1775, was printed in Philadelphia, Wilmington, and New York in 1775, and in London in 1776 (Sabin, iv. 15,543; Hildeburn, ii. 3229, 3410). What is known in the collected series of the *Journals* as vol. i. (Sept. 5, 1774–Jan. 1, 1776) was printed in Philadelphia, and reprinted in 1777, and also by Almon in London. The successive volumes were thirteen in all, but they went beyond the peace to 1788. Vol. ii. covered 1776 (Philad., 1777, and Yorktown, Pa., 1778, — Hildeburn, ii. 3577, 3727). There were issues in monthly parts, and such copies as were left over were used to make cartridges (Hildeburn, ii. 3409). Vol. iii. covered 1777 (Philad., 1778, — Hildeburn, ii. 3728). Vol. iv. covered 1778 (Philad., 1779, — Hildeburn, ii. 3900). For this year there were also monthly, and, later in the year, weekly parts (Hildeburn, ii. 3898, 3899). Vol. v. covered 1779 (Philad., 1782, — Hildeburn, ii. 4206). Vol. vi. covered 1780 (Philad., 1780, 1781, in monthly parts, — Hildeburn, ii. 4014, 4016). Vol. vii. covered 1781 and part of 1782 (Philad., 1781, — Hildeburn, ii. 4117). Vol. viii. covered Nov., 1782–Nov., 1783 (Philad., 1783, — Hildeburn, ii. 4311).

Mr. Paul Leicester Ford tells me that he finds the monthly issues much fuller than the collected volumes, and being intended for members only, less precaution was taken to keep secret information out of them. Mr. Ford is printing a bibliography of the Continental Congress in the *Boston Public Library Bulletin.*

In 1790 it was ordered that the whole series, Sept. 5, 1774–Nov. 3, 1788, should be reprinted, and they appeared in Philad. in 13 vols. in 1800, 1801. They were again reprinted at Washington in 1823 as *The Public Journals of the Continental Congress*, divided as follows: Vol. i., Sept. 5, 1774–Dec. 31, 1776; ii., Jan. 1, 1777–July 1, 1778; iii., Aug. 1, 1778–March 31, 1782; iv., April 1, 1782–March 3, 1789. This edition makes considerable omissions.

The Committee of Secret Correspondence and (after April 17, 1777) the Committee on Foreign Affairs kept records which were not included in the ordinary journals, nor printed in the series just described; but they do appear, in part, in *The Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress* (Boston, 1821–23), in four vols.: Vol. i., Domestic Affairs, 1774–78; ii., Foreign Affairs, 1774–Aug. 16, 1781; iii., July 1, 1781–May 15, 1786; iv., May 17, 1786–Sept. 16, 1788.

Neither of these printed series gives the record in full. Peter Force, in what he printed in the *American Archives*, seems to have collated the printed record with the originals; but, as it is presented by him, it is not altogether correct. G. T. Curtis (*Hist. of the Const.*, i. p. ix) urged the printing of a new revised edition, but a committee of Congress reported adversely.

G. W. Greene, in his *Hist. View of the American Revolution*, suggests that the full record should be printed, eked out for the debates, from as much as is preserved for us in the works of Adams, Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, and others. Perhaps the best account of the doings of Congress after 1780 is to be found in Rives's *Madison*, vol. i. The *Madison Papers* (1841), vol. i., contain the debates from Nov. 4, 1782, to Jan. 21, 1783. Cf. Madison's views (*Letters*, iii. 362) on the proposed publication (1824) of the archives of the Confederation. The proceedings, from Thomson's papers as copied for Sparks, are in the *Sparks MSS.*, lxii. See *ante*, Vol. VII.

The members of the successive Congresses are enumerated in Ben: Perley Poore's *Polit. Register and Congressional Directory, 1776–1878* (Boston, 1878). The fullest and most accurate of lists of members, however, is in *The Collector*, i., No. 8. The best key to the journals and other Revolutionary publications is in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the government publications of the United States, Sept. 5, 1774, to March 4, 1881. Compiled by order of Congress by Ben: Perley Poore, Clerk of Printing Records* (Washington, 1885). The work is a large quarto, double column, fine print, and is supplied with an index of names of subjects. After much blundering, a system was reached which, followed for two years, produced this record of 63,063 publications. Mr. Poore's preface is a bold exposure of the unintelligent ways in which Congress undertook to have the work proceed, and of the makeshift manner in which it was finally done. Only 14 of

Of the second or acquired class of papers, which have been gathered in the archives of the Department of State, the manuscripts of Washington were the earliest committed to its care, and of the most importance and interest. The documents relative to their purchase at different times are printed in the *U. S. Public Documents.*[1]

The contributions of Jared Sparks to the history of the Revolution are the most considerable that any one has made, and the personal associations of no other historian are so closely linked with the name and fame of Washington. Born (May 10, 1789) but a short time after Washington assumed the presidency, he was the first to form any systematic scheme for the publication of Washington's papers.

The manuscripts had not been, indeed, neglected by earlier writers. Gordon and Ramsay had drawn from them, but it was at the hands of Marshall that the most conspicuous use had been made of them.

The earliest publication of letters ascribed to Washington was made in London in 1777, in a volume called *Letters from General Washington to several of his friends in the year 1776*. It was pretended that the letters thus published had been captured while in the keeping of a servant of Washington, who fell into the hands of the British at the evacuation of Fort Lee. The letters were meant to represent Washington as at variance with Congress, and in opposition to the spirit of independence.[2] They are said to have been written by John Randolph, a Virginia loyalist.

Some years later the official letters of Washington, addressed to Congress, were copied from the archives of the Secretary of State, and the copies being taken to London by Mr. John Carey, they were printed there, in 1795, as *Official Letters to the Honorable American Congress, written during the War between the United Colonies and Great Britain.*[3] The occasion was now taken to impose once more upon the public the spurious letters, by representing that they were necessary to complete this collection, which was genuine; and accordingly, still further to confuse the public mind, other official and genuine letters, which the recent publication had omitted, were appended to them, and the whole was published in 1796, at first in New York and then in London, as *Epistles, domestic, confidential, and official, from General Washington, written about the commencement of the American contest, when he entered on the command of the army of the United States, . . . none of which have been printed in the two volumes published a few months ago.*[4] Washington never publicly disowned the forged letters till just on the eve of his retiring from the presidency in 1797. At this time he wrote a letter to the Secretary of State (March 3, 1797) which he desired might be preserved in the archives of the Department. He says of the letters, referring to the period of their first publication: "It was then supposed to be of some consequence to strike at the integrity of the motives of the American commander-in-chief, and to paint his inclinations as at variance with his professions and duty. Another crisis in the affairs of America having occurred, the same weapon has been resorted to, to wound my character and deceive the people."[5]

Except the life of Washington by Marshall, already referred to, there had been no considerable or authorita-

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its 1241 pages were required to give the publications during the Revolution. The work is more useful than might have been supposed would be the case from the perplexing environments of the editor; and E. E. Hale, in his preface to his *Franklin in France*, has said of it all that the circumstances permit. The misfortune is that it has precluded the probability of a better key.

These records of the acts of the government may be conveniently supplemented by the following records and publications: —

Records of the Revolutionary War, containing the Military and Financial Correspondence of Officers, Names of Officers and Privates of Regiments, Companies, and Corps, with dates of their commission and enlistment, General Orders of Washington, Lee, and Greene, etc., by W. T. R. Saffell (New York, 1858).

Almon's *Charters of the British Colonies in America*, (London, 1775).

Anthony Stokes's *Constitutions of the British Colonies* (London, 1783).

Israel Mauduit's *Short view of the history of the New England Colonies with respect to their charters and constitution* (London, 1776, — 4th ed.).

William Griffith's *Historical Notes of the American Colonies and the Revolution, 1754–1775* (Burlington, N. J., 1843).

The records of the councils of war, 1775–1781, from Washington's papers, are in no. lii., part 2, of the *Sparks MSS.*

A list of the general officers appointed by Congress, June 17, 1775, to Sept. 30, 1783, is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1866, p. 37, compiled by J. Colburn. Cf. Greene's *Historical View*, p. 452.)

Thomas H. S. Hamersly's *Complete regular army register of the United States, 1779–1879. With the official military record of each officer. Also, A military history of the Department of War* (Washington, 1880).

Proclamations for Thanksgiving in the United States of America, 1777–1858, with historical introduction and notes [by F. B. Hough], (Albany, 1858).

Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Revolution* (1822), a gathering of contemporary records, without chronological arrangement, but having an index. It was reprinted in 1876.

[1] *The Report of the Committee recommending an appropriation to buy the books and papers of Washington*, in *Reports of Committees, no. 381, 23d Cong., 1st sess., iii.;* John C. Calhoun's *Report on the papers of the Confederation and Washington, Jan. 8, 1845*, in *House Documents, no. 63, 28th Cong., 2d sess., ii.;* and *Acts, 30th Cong., 2d sess. (1849), ch. 100*, with *Statutes at Large*, iv. 712; v. 528, 691, 695, 760; ix. 162, 168, 370, 560.

[2] They were reprinted in New York in Rivington's *Royal Gazette* in Feb., 1778, and subsequently in a separate issue, as well as in other editions in London. Sparks's *Washington*, i. 265; v. 376, 391; *Sparks's Catal.*, nos. 2777, 2778. Irving (*Washington*, iii. 332) says they were printed in New York in a handbill, and extracts were published in Philadelphia. Cf. Hildeburn's *Bibliography* (1778), ii. 3649. They were again printed in Philad., by Wm. Duane, in 1795.

[3] They were published as vols. i. and ii. of *American State Papers.* They were reprinted in Boston and New York in 1796.

[4] Sparks's *Washington*, xi. 184; *Sparks's Catal.*, no. 2772; Allibone, p. 2596.

[5] Sparks's *Washington*, xi. 192.

tive memoir of him published before Sparks began his labors on these Washington papers.[1] Some time before 1824 Sparks had begun to think of collecting material relating to Washington, and finally, with the friendly coöperation of Judge Story, he succeeded, after one failure, in gaining the assent of Judge Bushrod Washington, nephew of the General, and at that time the owner of Mount Vernon and guardian of the papers,[2] to examine them and make selections for publication. His contract with the Judge was signed June 18, 1827, and the friendly patronage of Marshall was also secured for the undertaking. From March to May of that year Sparks was at Mount Vernon making his researches, and from that mansion he wrote two letters to Story (May 4 and 7), the first of which was published in the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, May 19th, and both were printed in a tract entitled *An account of the Manuscript Papers of George Washington, which were left by him at Mount Vernon, with a plan for their publication* (Boston, 1827).[3]

The papers were removed from Mount Vernon to Cambridge, Mass., and here, with clerical assistance and some interruptions, Sparks spent ten years[4] upon his task of selecting and annotating such parts as best suited his purpose of furnishing, according to his view, a complete memorial of Washington's character and actions. These interruptions consisted of visits to various state and family archives, and to battlefields, and covered a trip to Europe, whither he went to procure from the English and French archives such documents as he was privileged to copy, and which might aid in the elucidation of Washington's text, or furnish the material for later labors. He was particularly supplied by Lafayette with his own papers, and copies of his letters to the French government. It was while thus engaged in Cambridge that he delivered an address[5] before the Phi Beta Kappa Society on the study of American history, in which, referring to the stores of material on our Revolutionary history at that time unexplored in this country and in Europe, he said, "No Rymers have yet appeared among us who were willing to spend a life in gathering up and embodying these memorials;" and he refers to the period from the close of the French war to the peace of Paris as one "rounded with epic exactness, having a beginning, a middle, and an end; a time for causes to operate, for the stir of action, and for the final results."

The second but first-published volume of the *Washington* was ready for the public in 1833, and in July, 1837, Sparks finished the life of Washington, which constituted the first volume of the twelve.[6] He had fairly and with clearness announced in his preface the principles and limitations of his editorial method. He had explained that in most instances he had been forced to follow the letter-books, and had shown that these transcriptions differed from the rough drafts which Washington kept, and probably differed from the letters actually sent. In cases where he could procure the letters as received by Washington's correspondents, he had followed them, instead of the letter-books; but of these he says, "The discrepancies are of little moment, relating to the style and not to the substance;" and he further said that these variations were much greater in the letters written at Mount Vernon and before the Revolution than in those composed during his service in the field, in the later war. In the introduction given in his second volume, Sparks explained how useless it would be to print in full every letter, even those selected, when they were of the same or neighboring dates and addressed to different correspondents, and necessarily in large part repetitionary. Sparks distinctly declared his intention to omit this duplication of narrative, as well as "unimportant passages, relating chiefly to topics or facts evanescent in their nature and temporary in their design." He also announced his purpose to correct obvious blunders of transcribers, and even the awkward use of words and inaccuracies of style, though the misuse were Washington's own, "maintaining a scrupulous caution that the author's meaning and purpose should thereby in no degree be changed or affected." He so far departed from Washington's own arrangement as to throw all his selections into one chronological sequence. In the same introduction to his second volume Sparks draws out more elaborately the distinctive character of the correspondence of the Revolution, and says that the first drafts had been for the most part destroyed, of which even the letters in its files are often copies, — so that the question of immediate authorship, as between Washington and his secretaries, is one in most cases quite beyond solution. He also expresses his sense of obligation for the access which had been granted him in England and France to their respective governmental archives.[1]

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[1] Before Marshall's publication in 1804, there had been nearly 50 articles, tracts, or small volumes on Washington's life; and during the 20 years following, W. S. Baker in his *Bibliotheca Washingtoniana* (Philad., 1889) enumerates about 100 titles or editions, in English or translated. For the early lives, see *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 300.

[2] While Wm. B. Sprague was a tutor in a family near Mount Vernon in 1816, he obtained from Bushrod Washington permission to take 1500 letters from the Washington Papers, provided he left copies in their stead. This was the foundation of Dr. Sprague's famous autograph collection. (Draper's *Essay on Autograph Collections*, 14.)

[3] From this tract we learn in what condition Washington left his papers. It was his custom to make fair copies of all his letters, and to preserve these together with the original drafts. Before the Revolution, these were usually made in his own hand. Near the close of the Revolution (*Washington*, ii. p. 8) Richard Varick was employed for two years and a half (*Washington*, ix. p. 3), with two assistants, in arranging and copying the correspondence of the war, and in filing and indorsing the originals, giving them index letters and figures to facilitate reference. In the form of transcripts the mass pertaining to the Revolution makes forty-four large volumes, in a chronological arrangement, with an index to each. They are divided as follows:—

1. Letters to Congress and its committees, members, and foreign representatives (seven vols.).
2. To military officers (sixteen vols.).
3. To conventions, governors, etc. (five vols.).
4. To foreign ministers (two vols.).
5. To British officers and subjects (one vol.).
6. Minutes of Councils of War (three vols.).
7. Private letters (three vols.).
8. Military orders (seven vols.). (Cf. also introduction to Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii.) One volume is said to have disappeared.

In this condition the papers were left by Washington, in a fireproof safe which he had built for them. Washington's orderly book during Braddock's expedition is in the Library of Congress. The widow of Washington is said to have destroyed before her death all the letters which had passed between her and her husband.

[4] He lived at this time in the house which Washington had occupied as headquarters in 1775-76, later known as the "Craigie House," and the home for many years of Longfellow.

[5] It was subsequently printed in part in *The Boston Book* (1837), and *American Museum* (1839), and separately from the type of the former publication.

[6] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. 302.

LORD MAHON.*

These statements of Mr. Sparks had clearly defined his method of editing; but it was left for the student subsequently to learn from the text of the book itself, as he might have opportunity for comparison of originals, the character and extent of the changes or rectifications which Sparks had felt to be necessary in preparing the letters for the public eye. In the same way the student might, as occasion offered, discover how far Sparks had made omissions, for he unfortunately had failed to employ in the printed page the customary signs of such omissions;[2] and how he had patched together letters written at different times. It was not till 1851 and 1852 that his editorial method, and his use of it, were questioned;[3] and when Lord Mahon (later Earl Stanhope) reached the sixth volume of his *History of England*, he joined the assailants and charged Sparks with greatly altering, in order to embellish, the language of Washington, and with modifying the expressions of the commander-in-chief so as not to wound the sensibilities of New Englanders. The charge, as put, was inconsiderate, and was in part retracted, though not so completely as Sparks could have wished.[4] The vindication, as far as it affected the integrity of the editor, was complete; for it was made clear that the differences were in most cases due to the fact that the letter-books which Sparks followed differed from the letter actually sent; and that some of the serious omissions were simply passages repetitionary of others, where reiteration was needless. The result of the whole controversy was, that, while Sparks had completely vindicated himself from charges that affected his integrity, he had not convinced historical students that it was an editor's proper function to rectify language that better expressed the environments of the man and the occasion,[5] and that failing to indicate omissions in a letter, though he might have had the example of Chief Justice Marshall, was not justifiable when the appearance of the printed page was such that one might naturally infer that the text was complete. Sparks never felt that the final amends made by Mahon were adequate, though, as Dr. Ellis[1] shows, social courtesies were later somewhat laboriously cultivated between these two American and English historians.

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[1] Cf. also the *Sparks Catalogue*, p. 229.

[2] Van Buren (*Political Parties*, p. 104) points out a significant instance of omission of passages which affect the judgment of events.

[3] *New York Evening Post*; *International Mag.*; *Westminster Review*. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, x. 263.

[4] Mahon found, as he thought, ground for his charges in the comparison of Sparks's text with the same letters as printed in Wm. B. Reed's *Life of Joseph Reed*, and in Force's *Amer. Archives*. Sparks answered the charges in *A Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and others, on the mode of editing the Writings of Washington* (Cambridge, 1852, — originally in the *N. Y. Evening Post*). This tract was reprinted in London (1852) with an appendix containing John G. Palfrey's review of Mahon's history, taken from the *North American Review* (July, 1852), in which the dispute in question is examined; and while in the main he vindicates Sparks, he still questions that editor's austere repression of sympathy with human levities. Mahon withdrew his most serious charges when he responded in a *Letter to Jared Sparks: a rejoinder to his Reply*, etc. (London, 1852). In later editions of his *History* (vol. vi., App.), Mahon substituted this letter for the detailed charges which he had earlier made. Sparks made a rejoinder in a *Letter to Lord Mahon, being an answer to his Letter*, etc. (Boston, 1852), — originally published in the *National Intelligencer*.

Mr. W. B. Reed had furnished Sparks with copies of some of Washington's letters to Reed, which had also since been printed in the *Life of Jos. Reed*, and had thus given part of the ground for the charges against Sparks. Sparks, relying upon Reed's copies, would seem to have had some fear lest, in case Reed should ever print from the originals, some variations should appear in their texts. Cf. *Cooke Catal.*, p. 341. Sparks further said of these particular letters, that they seemed to him in style and construction the most imperfect that he had ever seen from Washington's pen. "They were evidently written in great haste, in perfect confidence, and without any thought that they would ever be published" (*Ibid.* p. 342).

Mr. W. B. Reed now published a *Reprint of Original Letters from Washington to Joseph Reed during the American Revolution, referred to in the pamphlets of Lord Mahon and Mr. Sparks* (Philadelphia, 1852). "The result of the comparison," says Dr. Ellis, "showed that Mr. Sparks had been a more faithful editor" than Reed's grandson, and Mr. Reed acknowledged that the omission of one or two sentences, "evidently the result of oversight," and a chief occasion of a part of Mahon's charges, was due to himself.

Sparks closed the controversy with some *Remarks on a Reprint of Original Letters, etc.* (Boston, 1853). These original letters are now in the Carter-Brown library. Cf. *Cooke Catal.*, p. 340; and the present *History*, *ante*, Vol. VI.

[5] Cf. Allibone's *Dictionary*, ii. 2192; Irving's *Life and Letters*, ii. 335; iv. 130, 146; Mahon's *England*, 5th ed., vol. vi., App. p. xxiv. It may be borne in mind how Sparks admitted that, if he had anticipated what exceptions would have been taken to some of his "stilting," he might have "weighed the matter more deliberately, and perhaps have come to a different decision." There is little enough in any event in the letters of Washington to disclose to us the fleeting sensations which enable us to depict the man as influenced by his contacts. Smyth (ii. 455) complains of this absence, where we might naturally expect such sensations to occur, in the letters to Congress.

* From Doyle's *Official Baronage*, iii. 408.

Four volumes of Sparks's copies of the Correspondence of Washington, 1775–1797, are in the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, being those printed by him in his *Washington.*

There are, however, among the Sparks MSS. (no. lxv.) five volumes of Washington's letters to various persons, 1754–1789, which were copied while the originals were in Sparks's possession, and which were not

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, x. 267. Cf. also remarks of Mr. Winthrop on Stanhope's death, and a letter in which Stanhope said that Dr. Ellis's account of the controversy had been done with candor and courtesy (*Ibid.*, xiv. 192, 196).

Sparks's character as an editor has of late years been reconsidered in various ways. Mr. William H. Smith found among the Bouquet Papers (included in the Haldimand Papers in the British Museum MSS. 21,641, 21,658) the original letters which Washington wrote to that officer during the French war, and unaware of the existence of copies of them among the Parkman MSS. in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the synopsis of them made by Brymner, the Dominion archivist, in 1873, and supposing them new to students, he communicated them to the *Mag. of Amer. History*, Feb., 1888, printing in parallel columns the genuine text with that of Sparks, as far as the latter editor printed them (11), and adding such (14) as Sparks did not print. These were accompanied with charges affecting the integrity of Sparks, in utter disregard of the natural inference to be drawn from Sparks's preface to his second volume,—whence Smith had drawn Sparks's text,—that Sparks was obliged to use the letter-book copies, as subsequently worked over by Washington himself, since at that time the existence of the originals sent to Bouquet was not known. Sparks was doubtless responsible for some of the changes which he had made, but the bulk of the divergences pointed out by Smith was due to Washington himself. Hence the attack on Sparks was unwarranted in its extent. It was subsequently denied by officers of the Department of State that any evidence existed in the Washington Papers to show that Washington had ever at a late day rewritten his letters. It was represented in reply, that, whatever Sparks's shortcomings as an editor might be, his veracity was unquestioned. Upon further search being made, the identical volumes used by Sparks, and proving his statements, were found, as is acknowledged in Worthington C. Ford's preface to his edition of Washington's writings.

Further statements regarding Sparks's editorial canons were made in an address on the *Manuscript Sources of the American Revolution*, by Justin Winsor (*Papers Amer. Hist. Asso., 4th meeting*, and *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, July, 887); in a paper by Mellen Chamberlain (*Papers Amer. Hist. Asso.*, iii. 35); and by Herbert B. Adams on the " Pioneer Work of Jared Sparks" in the *Mag. of Amer. History*, July, 1888. The project of Secretary Bayard to rint the Washington Papers, as well as others in the Deartment of State, seemed again to draw attention to the ubject, as did the late Francis Wharton's proposed edition f the Diplomatic Correspondence, and the edition of *Washington's Writings* now in progress, as edited by Mr. Ford. This last gentleman makes in his prospectus the following statements: —

JARED SPARKS.*

"Since Mr. Sparks issued his edition of Washington's writings in 1834–37, an immense mass of new material, illustrating the history of the Revolution and the first years of the nation's existence, has been discovered. Manuscript collections, which in his day were jealously guarded in private hands, have been dispersed or deposited in public institutions, and so in a greater measure become accessible to the students of American history. The purchase of the papers of Washington by the national government, as well as the acquisition of the private correspondence of other leading spirits of that time, have preserved from dispersion and destruction historical material, the value of which can hardly be estimated, and of which little study and use have as yet been made. In addition to these rich stores of historical manuscripts, the close and minute study of American biography and local history has rescued from oblivion much valuable information, and so prepared the way to a more complete collection of Washington's correspondence, public and private, than could have been thought possible at the time Mr. Sparks compiled his volumes. Where he was obliged to be content with a rough draft or transcript, often imperfect and intended as a mere memorandum, the original may now be seen; where he was unable to find an explanation of the subject-matter of one of Washington's letters, the proper understanding of which depended more upon a letter written to Washington than upon the reply, we are now in the possession of such letter; many private papers of Washington, supposed to have been lost, have been brought to light, while it is within easy bounds of truth to assert that for every letter that Mr. Sparks printed, ten are available, throwing new and valuable light upon the military and political history of the day, and furnishing the means for deciding finally many questions that are in disprinted by Sparks; and during the last fifty years a very great number of Washington's letters have been printed which Sparks either did not know of, or could not include in his scheme.[1]

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* A reproduction of Andrews' engraving (1855) of Stuart's unfinished portrait painted in 1828. There is a half-length ainted by T. Sully and engraved by S. A. Schoff, which accompanies a memoir in the *National Port. Gallery.* There s an engraving of a bust by Powers, owned by the family, of which casts exist in Harvard College library and in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library.

As a necessary complement to the body of Washington letters, Sparks had selected, while the papers were in his hands, a body of letters addressed to Washington, and from copies of them then made he arranged and published in four volumes at a later day, *Correspondence of the American Revolution, being letters of eminent men to George Washington from the time of his taking command of the army to the end of his Presidency* (Boston, 1853). He printed all letters entire, and corrected "errors of grammar and obvious blunders, the result of hasty composition."[2] He points out the necessity of this in respect to some of the English letters of Rochambeau and Lafayette.[3]

Beside the letter-books bound in Washington's time, there came into Sparks's hands a considerable mass of loose papers in bundles, and while they were at Cambridge, Sparks had these last arranged in a chronological order and bound, and added an index. The entire collection as it now stands in the library of the Department of State has an extent of more than two hundred bound volumes, including 62 volumes of letters written by Washington, and 119 of letters addressed to him.

The second and third manuscript accessions to the collections in the Department of State were successive parts of the *Madison Papers* bought in 1837 and 1845.[4]

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pute through lack of the historical information needed to determine them. . . .

"Of the immense official correspondence which Washington conducted during the Revolution, only a very small part was printed by Mr. Sparks; and a large number of letters throwing important light upon military movements, the motives and the consequences, were rejected. . . .

"The charge has often been made that the misdirected zeal of Mr. Sparks led him into taking strange liberties with the written text of Washington, and there is much in his volumes to support the charge. In some instances parts of two letters are found joined as one, without any note of explanation; in others, a change of words, of punctuation, or grammatical construction, the omission or insertion of phrases, and the passing over of entire paragraphs, have lent a misleading tone to the printed text, and given occasion to disputes that a stricter adherence to the written page would have prevented."

[1] Some of the main sources of this kind may be indicated: — Lives of such of his officers as Reed, Greene, etc.; collections like the Mount Vernon letters in the Long Island Historical Society (cf. M. D. Conway in *Harper's Monthly*, April, 1889); the Letters from Washington to Heath, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.*, xliv.; the *Letters by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and others, written during and after the Revolution, to J. Langdon, New Hampshire* [edited by A. L. Elwyn] (Philadelphia, 1880); the correspondence of Washington and R. H. Lee, given in the *Life* of the latter (vol. ii. pp. 1–36); C W. Butterfield's *Washington-Crawford Correspondence* (Cincinnati, 1877); letters to Chastellux in the *Catholic World*, Nov., 1867; numerous letters in the *Mag. of American History*, particularly Feb. and Aug., 1879, and Feb., 1880; others in the *No. Amer. Review*, Nov., 1886. In the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. p. 150, there is a list of Washington's letters printed since Sparks's edition.

The letters above noted as in the Long Island Historical Society, 150 in number, dated 1793–99, are announced for publication under the editing of M. D. Conway. Cf. Edw. Everett's *Orations*, iv. 446, for comments on this record of Washington's last years at Mount Vernon.

In addition to those in print, there are large numbers of Washington's letters never printed. These may be found in archives of the States, in the cabinets of the Massachusetts and other historical societies, and in all the principal collections of papers amassed by Washington's officers, — to say nothing of the stray examples in numerous autograph collections.

There are also other writings of Washington, now in print, which Sparks did not include in his volumes. Such is his Journal, the original of which is now among the Washington Papers. Parts of it, Aug. 1, 1781, to Nov. 5, 1781, are printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1881. From this point (1781) Washington did not resume his journal till Sept., 1784. His diary in 1789–90 has been printed. Another important paper is one giving Washington's characterization of his old companions-in-arms, written in 1791, when it was necessary to consider their fitness anew for service in case of a war with France. Sparks knew it, and there is a copy in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii., vol. ii. The original is now in the State Library at Albany, and it has been printed (1879) by Dr. Henry A. Homes, the librarian, and less perfectly in the *Magazine of American History*, iii. 81.

There is also among the Washington Papers the final draft of Washington's expenses during the Revolutionary war, all in his own hand, rendered as his only claim of a pecuniary nature upon the country, since he declined to receive any compensation for his services. They extend from June, 1775, to June, 1783. This document has been published as *Monuments of Washington's Patriotism, a fac-simile of his public accounts kept during the Revolutionary War, and some of the most interesting documents connected with his military command and Civil Administration* (Washington, 1841). A copy of Monroe's *View of the Conduct of the Executive*, with Washington's marginal annotations, was given by him to Judge Bushrod Washington, and by the latter to Judge Story, and while in the latter's hands Sparks copied the annotations. (Cf. *ante*, VII. 514.) These he printed, so far as they touched the body of that book, but with the same license of amendment and expurgation which he was accustomed to allow to himself; and only indicated indebtedness by saying that he was under obligation to "an eminent jurist." The book was left by Judge Story to Harvard College, and being, for no apparent reason, sealed up by its late president, Edward Everett, it was only lately brought to light.

[2] The work contains about 1000 letters from nearly 200 writers. He added in appendixes various letters, mostly from the papers of Schuyler, Gates, Lee, Lincoln, Sullivan, and Stark, illustrating the invasion of Canada in 1775–76; movements in Virginia and South Carolina in 1776; the campaign against Burgoyne (1777), and the movements on the Hudson (1777).

The letters of Col. Armand (1777–1791) in their imperfect English, copied from those among the Washington Papers, are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878.

[3] Sparks explains that, after Washington's death, Lafayette's letters to him were returned to their writer, and that he had printed those which he gave from copies furnished by Lafayette or by his son. The files of these copies are noted in the *Sparks Catalogue*, p. 226, nos. 84–89.

[4] *Statutes at Large*, v. 171, 309; ix. 235; xi. 117; xiii. 573; xiv. 348. $30,000 and $25,000 were paid for these lots respectively. Cf. advertisement to vol. i. of *Letters and other Writings of Madison.*

The papers consist of both originals and copies, and J. C. Hamilton says the copies omit parts of the originals, and that in his *Republic of the United States* he had made use of these omitted parts. When Madison was known to be preparing his papers for transmission, he was often supposed to be preparing an historical review of his times; but he seems never to have intended such a work.[1]

The fourth purchase was the *Monroe Papers*, in 1849, for which $20,000 were paid.[2]

The fifth included, beside the second part of the *Madison Papers* as already mentioned, the papers of Thomas Jefferson and of Alexander Hamilton.[3]

Respectfully & truly
yours
Jared Sparks

The Jefferson Papers were found after his death to embrace 26,000 letters written to him, and the drafts of 16,000 written by him.[4] They were in the hands of his grandson, Randolph, when he published his edition in 1829; and Tucker in 1837 made further use of them. When the government acquired them[5] they made 137 quarto volumes as bound. Randall found material still in the possession of the family, which formed an addition to the assistance he got from those in the government's hands, a large part of which had never appeared in any edition of Jefferson's works.[6]

The papers of Hamilton, embraced in 65 folio volumes, and costing the government $25,000, had been used by Mr. John C. Hamilton in his Life of his father in 1840, and were drawn upon by him again in 1850 in editing for the government an edition of Hamilton's writings.[7]

The last mass of historical papers acquired (1882) by the Department of State is what is known as the Stevens Collection of the Papers of Franklin.

It is first necessary to trace their relations to what we know of the manuscripts of Franklin. No publication of the works of Franklin, of any historical importance, appeared before the Collection edited by Benjamin Vaughan in 1779.[8] What is known as the Robinson edition of the *Works of Franklin* appeared in 1793, and included the re-Englished version of the Autobiography, with a continuation, mainly by Dr. Stuber, taken from the *Columbian Magazine*.[9] Then came Castéra's edition in French in 1797 or 1798 ("an VI de la République") in two volumes.

The London trade edition of 1806 was edited by Marshall, with the assistance of Benjamin Vaughan, and in the preface there was a charge that an authoritative edition of Franklin's writings from material in the hands of his grandson, Wm. Temple Franklin, had been kept back by the interference of the British government, who had paid for the suppression of the papers. There is no evidence to support such a charge, and W. T. Franklin indignantly denied it, though it is not improbable that his father, Gov. William Franklin, who lived till 1813, a pensioner of the crown for services rendered in America, may have been adverse to the publication of the family material. It is also not unlikely that the interests of the London publishers were so centred in the successive trade editions that no one would give sufficient encouragement to a new venture. The charge of bribery was sifted and found without warrant in the *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1806), but there was nevertheless a certain uneasy suspicion not wholly allayed, and shared in some degree by Jefferson,[10] that found some ground in the comparative scarcity of the diplomatic papers, which W. T. Franklin finally included in his *Memoirs of the life and writings of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself to a late period, and con-*

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[1] *Letters and other Writings*, iii. 293, 308, 448, 549, 603; iv. 45, 182. I am informed by Mr. W. C. Ford, that a mass of letters to Madison from Washington, E. Randolph, E. Pendleton, Jos. Jones, Jonathan Drayton and others, beside several hundred drafts of his own letters, were retained by Mrs. Madison, and passed into the hands of Mr. F. B. McGuire of Washington, who now owns them.

[2] *Statutes at Large*, ix. 370. There are also Monroe papers in the keeping of Mrs. S. L. Gouverneur, jr. I am informed that they have latterly been deposited in the Department of State, and a Calendar of them printed. Schouler (*United States*, ii., preface) speaks (1882) of the unassorted mass of the Monroe papers in the State Department, and further says (iii., preface) that he examined the entire mass. These papers are at present classified in boxes and roughly calendared.

[3] *Act making appropriations for the civil and diplomatic expenses, approved Aug. 12, 1848.* $20,000 were voted by Congress for the purchase, and $6,000 for the printing. *Statutes at Large*, ix. 284, 594.

[4] Parton, p. 689.

[5] *Reports* on the purchase. Cf. Tompkin's *Bibl. Jeffersoniana* (N. Y., 1887), and Poore's *Descriptive Catalogue*.

[6] Cf., on the lives of Jefferson and the material used in them, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 303, etc. An additional collection is described in a *Classified List of manuscripts, books, correspondence, etc., of Thomas Jefferson, offered by purchase to the United States by Sarah N. Randolph* (Washington, 1889). This collection consists of 3660 letters written by, and 5000 to, Jefferson; beside farm, garden, pocket, law memorandum, diary and account books, with other papers.

[7] *Statutes at Large*, ix. 284, 646. The originals were also examined, and such as had been printed were collated with J. C. Hamilton's text for Henry Cabot Lodge's edition of *The Writings of Hamilton.*

[8] A supplemental collection, which contained some of the political papers, appeared in 1787.

[9] Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 170.

[10] Bigelow's ed., introd.; and *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1830.

tinued to the time of his death by his grandson, William Temple Franklin, now first published from the original manuscripts, comprising the private correspondence and public negotiations of Dr. Franklin, and a selection from his political, philosophical, and miscellaneous works (London, 1818, 1817, 1819, — 3 vols. in this order of date). This was published in three quarto volumes, and in six octavos. William Duane had already entered upon the publication of an edition in Philadelphia (first volume issued in 1809) when W. T. Franklin's was announced, and by a later agreement the two editors finally worked in unison, one preparing the edition for the London market and the other that for the American, which last was issued in six octavo volumes and contains considerable matter not in the London edition.

The first volume of Duane's edition (the last issued) is called *Memoirs of the life and writings of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself and continued by his grandson, W. Temple Franklin; together with the whole of his political, philosophical, and miscellaneous works* (Philad., 1818).[1]

The other volumes are called *Works on philosophy, politics, and morals, beside all the writings published in former collections, his diplomatic correspondence, a variety of literary articles and epistolary correspondence, never before published, with memoirs and anecdotes of his life.*

Colburn, in London, also published in 1817 Franklin's *Private Correspondence, comprising a series of letters written between 1753 and 1790, . . . from the originals, by his grandson, William Temple Franklin,* which in a second edition (1817) contained a supplement not in the large work. This was only a separate issue of vol. ii. of the *Memoirs.*

This was the condition of affairs when Sparks, having finished his *Washington*, turned his attention to Franklin. His first venture was to annotate what he called *A Collection of familiar letters and miscellaneous papers of Benjamin Franklin, now for the first time published* (Boston, 1833; and beginning *Familiar Letters*, etc., London, 1833). It was between 1836 and 1840 that he published at Boston, in ten volumes, what remained for fifty years the standard edition of Franklin's works: *The Works of Benjamin Franklin, with notes and a life of the author.*[2] In the first volume Sparks gave the autobiography, following the text of W. T. Franklin, to which he added a continuation to Franklin's death.[3]

[1] There were reissues of this edition in Philadelphia, 1834, 1840, 1858. Vols. v. and vi. of Duane's edition were translated badly in French by Charles Malo, and published at Paris, 1817, as *Correspondence inédite et secrète du Docteur B. Franklin.* Cf. Ford's *Bibliog. of Franklin*, with some parts of which that gentleman has favored me in advance of publication.

[2] Reissued, Boston, 1844–56; Chicago, 1882. The plates were at one time in the hands of Henry Stevens, who intended to issue a new edition with the aid of the MSS. in his keeping; but because these MSS. became pledged, or for some other reason, the project was added to the numerous unperfected ventures of that gentleman (Sabin, vii. p. 27). The plates are now, or were recently, owned by W. F. Poole, of Chicago.

[3] This volume was issued separately in 1844, 1856, 1857, 1859, etc.; reprinted in London in 1850, and in Dessau, Germany, in 1854.

The autobiography has a distinct story of itself, which may well be told here. It was written in parts successively in 1771, 1784, and 1788. It is known that Franklin gave or perhaps lent a copy, before the final pages were written, to M. le Veillard, mayor of Passy, and it is probable that at some period copies were intrusted to Dr. Price and Benjamin Vaughan in London. It was first made public early in 1791 in a French version, *Mémoires de la vie privée de Benjamin Franklin, écrits par lui-même*, published in Paris by Buisson, usually attributed to Jacques Gibelin; but this version was only of the part first written. It is not certainly known what copy of the original the translator used, though Le Veillard, to vindicate himself against the charge of injuring W. T. Franklin's interest, published a protest against the publication. It was from this French rendering that a German version was published in Berlin in 1792; and an English version was printed in London in 1793 by Robinson, in an issue of the works of Franklin edited by Vaughan, after the publication had been delayed for nearly two years in hopes that W. T. Franklin's edition would appear. This book, the *Works of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, consisting of his life written by himself, together with essays*, etc., was the same year reprinted in Dublin, and has since been often reproduced in Great Britain and in America, and the text of the autobiography was followed in the main in an improved French translation by Castéra, published in 1798. Another English retranslation appeared also in 1793 in London, published by Parsons, and called *The private life of the late Benjamin Franklin, . . . originally written by himself, and now translated from the French, to which are added some account of his public life, a variety of anecdotes concerning him, by MM. Brissot, Condorcet, Rochefoucault, Le Roy, etc., and the Eulogium of M. Fauchet.* This was the first English edition.

It is not known that this last London translation has ever been reprinted; and the publisher announced that he had withheld it from earlier issue for the same reasons as influenced Robinson.

The first authentic English text was that included by William Temple Franklin in his *Memoirs, correspondence, and selections from the Works of Benjamin Franklin*, London, 1817–18. The editor, to secure a fair copy of the autobiography for the printer, gave the original MS. to the then representative of Le Veillard, in exchange for the clean copy which Franklin had given to that friend, — the grandson not observing, at the time, that Franklin had added some pages to the original after the copy had been made for Le Veillard, and so accordingly the 1817 edition was deficient in these final pages. It long remained, however, the accepted English text, and is followed by Sparks. A third French version was made from this 1817 text, and appeared the next year in Paris, without name of translator, though it is attributed to M. de la Mardelle. It is called *Mémoires sur la vie et les écrits de Benjamin Franklin, publiés sur le manuscrit original rédigé par lui-même en grande partie, et continué jusqu'à sa mort par W. T. Franklin* (Paris, 1818). It made part of a translation of the entire work; but only 3 volumes, of which this was the first, were printed.

A fourth French version, *Mémoires sur la vie de Benjamin Franklin*, was published by Mons. A. C. Renouard in 1828. He seems to have had access to the original then in France, and the final pages omitted in the 1818 edition were given. Sparks does not seem to have been aware of these additional pages being known when, twenty years later, he published the 1818 text. In 1852 Henry Stevens examined the original manuscript at Amiens, but declined to pay the £600 for it which the owners then asked. These final pages seem to have escaped Laboulaye's notice, when

To render his edition as complete as possible, Sparks made special efforts to ferret out what unpublished material there was. He found various letters among the papers of Cadwallader Colden; others in the Logan MSS.; a few addressed to John Bartram the botanist; others sent to Jared Eliot, James Bowdoin, Mary Stevenson, Jonathan Williams, Samuel Franklin, Catharine Ray, Charles Thomson, and his sister, Jane Mecom. He also included for the first time a few letters to Lord Kames and David Hume, and the letters written from London by Franklin when the agent of Massachusetts.

A mass of correspondence between Franklin, Dr. Cooper, and Gov. Pownall, about the political symptoms which preceded the outbreak of the Revolution, was left in Boston by Dr. Cooper, and taken to England by Dr. Jeffries after the siege, and so found its way into the King's library, — a copy of which Sparks procured.[1] The most important new material Sparks derived from papers which W. T. Franklin left behind in Philadelphia, when he went to England in 1790, with what he supposed to be the most valuable of his grandfather's papers. After being for fifty years undisturbed in the Fox mansion in Philadelphia, these papers were submitted to Sparks. They include what was saved of a mass of papers which Franklin left with Galloway when he went to France in 1776. These papers were either carried off or scattered about Galloway's house when the British evacuated Philadelphia in 1778, and those that could be gathered together were preserved by Bache and were finally added to the Fox collection. Thus it was that Sparks added about 650 pieces to the papers which had before constituted editions of Franklin's writings, and of these 460 had never before been printed. He adds that "many papers known to have once existed he had not been able to find." This was in 1840. It was not then known how large a proportion of the papers, which W. T. Franklin had taken to London, he had failed to embody in his edition of Franklin's works. There seems to have been some disagreement between Franklin's grandson and Colburn, his publisher, respecting the desired extent of the *Works*, and it was finally agreed that the venture should be made with three quarto volumes, and that it should rest dependent on the commercial success of the venture whether supplemental volumes should be issued. The public meanwhile was kept ignorant of any such contingent intention. When the grandson died in Paris in 1823, the rest of the manuscripts was locked in a chest and put on deposit in a banker's vault in London, and from thence his widow removed them, Sept. 27 of that same year. Sparks searched for them in vain in 1834, and was forced to supply their places as best he could from the French archives. The papers meanwhile were lying on the top shelf of an old tailor's shop in St. James's, in loose bundles, which included those which had already been in the printer's hands and those which had not. Just at the time Sparks finished his edition (1840), a gentleman in office under government recovered them and brought them to light, and from time to time offered them for sale in bulk to the British Museum, to Lord Palmerston, and to successive American ministers; but it was supposed that they had all been printed, and negotiations lagged. In 1851 they were offered to Abbott Lawrence, then the American minister, and the owner of them was referred to Henry Stevens, who soon bought the collection, and seeking Colburn, the publisher of the 1817 edition, who was then living, he learned the facts regarding the intended second instalment which the moderate success of the first had never prompted him to undertake, though there had been inducements to reissue, by substituting new titles, the edition of 1817 in 1833; and up to that time Colburn had not been able to trace the remaining manuscripts. The papers finally passed out of Henry Stevens' hands as security for a debt, and at this time his brother B. F. Stevens arranged them, undoing some arbitrary disarrangements of W. T. Franklin, and found the entire mass — including a few added from other sources — to consist of 2938 documents, of which 2310 had never been printed. The 628 which had been printed were found to vary considerably from the print, and to be in some portions defective, particularly those which W. T. Franklin had edited, as he had worked with considerable license in his editing, and Franklin himself had the habit of altering his successive drafts before he gave his papers final shape in his press copies. Henry Stevens, who regained possession of them in 1881, reports that the collec-

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in 1866 he translated the text in Sparks's edition, and published his version in Paris. The latest issue is called *Autobiographie: Traduction française par Ed. Laboulaye* (Paris, 1887).

The next year the Hon. John Bigelow secured by purchase, for 25,000 francs, the original manuscript from its then owner, the representative of the widow Le Veillard, and, collating it with the 1818 edition, found numerous differences — mostly of minor character — and observed the addition of the final pages. He printed the manuscript with close accuracy in 1868 at Philadelphia — thus giving the whole for the first time as Franklin wrote it — under the title of the *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, edited from his manuscript, with notes and an introduction,* — the last tracing elaborately the history of its composition and the vicissitudes of its published form. (Cf. Dr. S. A. Green's *Story of a famous book*, Boston, 1871, originally in *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 1871, and H. Stevens's *Franklin Collection.*) Bigelow did not attempt to complete the story of Franklin's life, as Sparks and others had done; but later in 1874 (second ed. revised, 1879) he reissued the autobiography, together with a continuation, produced by connecting together, in a chronological order, extracts from Franklin's letters and other writings to justify the title, *Life of Franklin, written by himself, now first edited from original manuscripts and from his printed correspondence and other writings.* In his third volume Bigelow gives a bibliography, based apparently upon Sabin, and there is an enumeration of the editions of the autobiography in the *Catal. of works relating to Benj. Franklin in the Boston Public Library*, p. 9. (Cf. Derby's *Fifty Years among Authors*, p. 676; Duyckinck, *Cyclop. of Am. Lit.*, supplement, p. 142.) Bigelow has again reprinted the autobiography in the first volume of his *Works of Franklin* (1887). The most considerable life of Franklin, using the autobiography and other works as material, was *The Life and Times of Benj. Franklin* (1864) by James Parton. References to lesser characterizations will be found in Allibone (under Sparks and Franklin), *Poole's Index*, the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, ii. 295, etc.

[1] Cf. Sparks's ed. *Franklin's Works* (Boston edition), vii. 440, 475.

tion contains 2430 pages which had never been printed; 1195 which only Sparks in his edition had given; 246 which had made part of the *Diplomatic Correspondence*, and were not to be found elsewhere; and 300 which were in both of these publications. Stevens computed that the unprinted mass would fill five of Sparks's volumes. The collection, thus arranged by Stevens, was in 1882 bought for £7000 by Congress, and deposited in the Department of State.[1]

The acquisition of these Franklin papers by the government has led to a new edition of the *Complete works of Benjamin Franklin, including his private as well as his official and scientific correspondence, and numerous letters and documents now for the first time printed, with many others not included in any former collection; also the unmutilated and correct version of his autobiography. Compiled and edited by John Bigelow* (New York, 1887–88). The edition is restricted to 600 copies. Its editor includes in a strictly chronological order such of Franklin's writings in this Stevens collection as appears to be of permanent value, and such other material as has been brought to light since Sparks's edition, making between 350 and 400 pieces not before collected. Bigelow says that he has compared Sparks's text with the original papers where he could, and that, though some faults are discernible (vol. i. p. xxvi), the examination showed Sparks's collations to be reasonably correct. Another fruit of this Franklin acquisition was a book by Edward E. Hale, father and son of the same name, *Franklin in France* (Boston, 1887–88), in two volumes, in which, however, the use of the papers was not confined to those from Franklin's pen, but such other papers among them as elucidated the career of the commissioners in France under the lead of Franklin, were also used. The judgment of these writers is, that, while the Stevens papers throw some light in details upon the historical events of the Revolution, they make necessary "no revision of judgment in important matters" (p. xii).

Other use of the new material was made by Dr. Francis Wharton in the appendix to the third volume of his *Digest of International Law* (Washington, 1887). Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 165, 169.

The Department of State has also in its custody a large collection of copies (nearly 500) of maps, manuscript and printed, illustrating the progress of geographical discovery on the coasts of America from the earliest times, which were made under the direction of Dr. John G. Kohl while he was in the employ of the U. S. Coast Survey in studying the development of American cartography as respects the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts of the United States, memoirs on which he left behind him in this country when, disappointed in the support which he had hoped from Congress, he returned to Europe in 1859. One of these memoirs on the progress of discovery on the Pacific coast exists in duplicate in the office of the Coast Survey and in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. This was the earliest of these papers which he prepared for the survey, and it was useful at the time as establishing an historical basis for the hydrographical work on the Pacific coast begun soon after the acquisition of California. Later he prepared other memoirs of a similar kind, concerning the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and these are now in the office of the Coast Survey.[2] In the *Report* of that survey for 1884 (Washington, 1885), the historical part of his work was for the first time printed as a *History of Discovery and Exploration on the Coasts of the United States*. It was unfortunate to have printed without annotation these results of Kohl's labors thirty years after they were written out, and in neglect of the great advance of knowledge which had been made in the interval. Still the paper stands as the embodiment of the best knowledge which existed in Kohl's time. These studies of his were based on material which he at the same time was endeavoring to arrange in the collection of copies of maps already referred to. This collection was sent by the Department to the editor of this *History* a few years ago, and the indexes of Vols. II., III., and IV. will show what use he has made of it. He rearranged the collection, and printed, as one of the *Bibliographical Contributions of Harvard College Library*, a classified and descriptive account of it, called *The Kohl Collection of maps relating to America* (Cambridge, 1886). While many of the maps, at the time Kohl formed the collection, were only known in this country in the copies of some of the rarer printed and manuscript ones which he had brought from Europe, where he had found them in public and private repositories, the thirty years since elapsed have seen many others brought to light, and still others rendered accessible to the student by some of the current reduplicating processes. For this reason the collection has ceased to have for the student the unique value, as a whole, which it formerly possessed; but at the same time there are some maps contained in it for which one would even now look in vain elsewhere, if his studies were confined to the facilities afforded in this country.

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[1] The history of the collection was first set forth by Mr. Stevens as lot 1269 in his *Historical Collections*, i. p. 159, etc.,— a body of Americana, sold by him at auction in London in July, 1881. This lot was denominated "Mr. Henry Stevens's Franklin collection of manuscripts and printed books, all written by or in some way relating to Benjamin Franklin, . . . the whole to be offered in one lot, if not previously disposed of, at the upset price of seven thousand pounds." The statements of Stevens largely enter into the documents which chronicle the progress of the negotiations which led to the purchase: and these documents include letters of the successive Secretaries of State, Evarts and Blaine; the Report of Theodore F. Dwight, who was sent to England to examine the collection, and who appended to his report a chronological list of the MSS., showing where such as had been printed could be found; a report of Geo. F. Hoar for the Committee on the Library, and a letter of Edward E. Hale. The first attempt at a bill failed in the Committee. (*46th Cong., 3d session, Senate, Ex. Doc. 25; 46th Cong., 1st session, Senate, Misc. Doc. 21; and Report, no. 504.*) The measure later succeeded (*Act of Forty-seventh Cong , 1st sess., chap. 433,— approved Aug. 7, 1882*). Cf. also Theo. F. Dwight in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1882, p. 133; in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, June, 1883; R. Meade Bache in *Penn. Monthly*. May, 1882; and McMaster's *Franklin*, ch. 9.

There are other collections of Franklin's letters, of much less importance, such as the volume edited by William Duane, *Letters to Benjamin Franklin from his family and friends* (N. Y., 250 copies, dated 1858 and 1859). The *Sparks MSS.* (no. xvi.) contain collections of letters written by and to Franklin, copied while the originals were in Sparks's hands, besides various other memorials, and notes used by Sparks in his edition. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1873, p. 246. Small lots of Franklin's letters are occasionally thrown on the market. (Cf., for instance, Puttick and Simpson's, London, *Catalogue of Autographs*, July 16, 1888, pp. 12, 13.)

The best bibliographical records of printed and MS. Frankliniana are the following: —

Catal. of works relating to Franklin in the Boston Public Library; Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i.; Sabin, vol. vii.; Allibone's *Dictionary*, vol. i.; and the preface to Bigelow's *Works of B. Franklin* (N. Y., 1887, vol. i.). An exhaustive Franklin Bibliography by Mr. Paul Leicester Ford is soon to be published.

[2] A letter from Kohl to Jomard, dated Washington, Sept. 6, 1856, and describing his work at that time, is printed in Jomard's *Fragments sur divers sujets de Géographie* (Paris, 1857).

A committee of Congress, March 2, 1889 (*Ho. Rep. Repts., no. 4159, 50th Cong., 2d session*), recommended the purchase of the papers of William Vans Murray. The papers of Timothy Pickering, as quartermaster-general of the Revolutionary army, are now, as described later, in the Department of State.

The most extensive garnering in print of documentary material respecting the Revolution, which the government has authorized, is contained in the nine volumes usually cited as *Force's American Archives.*[1] Peter Force, who was born in New Jersey in 1790, had removed to Washington in 1815, and engaged in journalism. In 1833 he was the principal party to a contract with the government of the United States looking to the publication of an extensive series of large volumes, in double column, to include all available papers relating to American history from the earliest Spanish discovery. It was intended to form six series, — i., to 1688; ii., to 1763; iii., to 1774; iv., to 1776; v., to 1783; vi., to 1787. Force, who was the responsible editor, with great assiduity gathered his material from every public and private source within reach, from the archives of the government and of the several States, and from newspapers and from private papers, including also many printed books. He sought material also abroad, but was not allowed access to the State-Paper Office in London, though an application was made for him by the American Secretary of State.[2] The *Report made to John Forsyth, Secretary of State, on the Documentary History of the United States now publishing under an act of Congress, by Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force* (Washington, 1834), gives the contract of these gentlemen, dated March 19, 1833, for the work.[3] They also enumerate what had been done up to that time by Georgia and the Carolinas to secure copies of documents from England, and give an account of their own examinations in the older States, and of what they had ordered from England. The publication began with the first volume of the fourth series: *American Archives: Consisting of a collection of authentic records, state papers, debates, letters, and other notices of public affairs, the whole forming a Documentary History of the origin and progress of the North American colonies; of the causes and accomplishment of the American Revolution; and of the Constitution of Government for the United States to the final ratification thereof. Edited by Peter Force. Fourth series, vol. 1st, 1774 and 1775* (Washington, 1837), — opening with the king's message of March 7, 1774, and proceeding to the Declaration of Independence. There soon appeared to be agencies at work to stay the progress of the publication, notwithstanding the contract which had been made.[4] In 1838 Bancroft, in the *North Amer. Review* (vol. xlvi. p. 486), had uttered imprecations upon any who dared place obstacles in the way, and in 1840 the obstructive efforts seem to have been abandoned. In 1846 the six volumes which constitute the fourth series were completed. In 1848 the first volume of the fifth series appeared, and the third was issued in 1853, when, the appropriation being exhausted, no persuasion to be brought to bear upon Congress could induce that body to grant the appropriation called for under the contract, — so that the work at present consists of these nine volumes, which include papers between March, 1774, and Dec., 1776.[5]

Colonel Force, financially embarrassed by his outlay and debarred his legitimate return, finally negotiated with the government for the transfer of his library and vast collections of manuscript copies, intended for use in other volumes of the *Archives*, and in February, 1867, they were bought by the United States for $100,000 and transferred to the library of Congress.[6] Force died the next year.

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[1] *American Archives. Consisting of a Collection of Authentic Records, State Papers, Debates, and Letters and other notices of public affairs, the whole forming a Documentary History of the Origin and Progress of the North American Colonies; of the Causes and Accomplishment of the American Revolution; and of the Constitution of Government for the United States, to the final ratification thereof. Edited by Peter Force and published by Act of Congress* (Washington, 1833–53). Nine vols. folio.

[2] Geo. W. Greene in *N. American Review*, xcii. 377. Beside the papers above cited, Mr. Greene furnished an account of Force, which, with a portrait of him, appeared in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, April, 1878 (vol. ii. 221). Cf. further Duyckinck's *Amer. Lit. Supplement*, p. 82; *Amer. Hist. Record*, Jan., 1874.

[3] This was made on the part of the government by Edw. Livingston. Cf. *Exec. Doc. no. 36, Twenty-third Cong., second session, ii.*; *Rept. of Com. no. 849, Twenty-fourth Congress, 1st session, iii.*; *Senate Doc. no. 313, Twenty-fifth Congress, 2d session, iv.*

[4] *Letter from the Secretary of State on the contract with M. St. C. Clarke and Peter Force* (Washington, 1834).

[5] Unfortunately the indexes of the several volumes are inconsistent and greatly inadequate; and still more unfortunate was Force's habit of omitting the history of such of his documents as might need at any time authentication.

[6] See, on his library, *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 339, and on his papers, *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1882. Cf. *Report* of A. R. Spofford on Col. Force's library (Washington, 1867).

G. W. Greene, in 1865, in the preface to his *Historical View of the American Revolution*, had said, "What a disgrace to the administration of 1853 and its immediate successor, that such a work should have been suspended, and the exhaustive researches and wonderful critical sagacity of such a man lost to historical literature, by the arbitrary violation of a solemn contract!"

An effort to repair the wrong has since been made. In May, 1879, the Senate took action which required a report [1] from the librarian of Congress, who reviewed Force's labors of forty years, setting forth the composition of the remaining papers which he had gathered, of a date subsequent to 1776, and coming down to 1789. It was estimated that this mass comprised 230,000 foolscap pages, and would make thirty volumes of the size of those already printed, but there might be some judgment exercised in omissions, as there was certainly need of large additions from material made available since Force ceased to collect. The *Report* represented that the collection contained large selections from the papers of most of the prominent officers of the Revolution, the reports of the Board of War and the Treasury, and of committees of Congress; the correspondence of Congress and the States; much of other correspondence, private and official, as well as copies of the MS. Journals of Congress, now in the archives of the Department of State. The final result of this new movement was the authorization by Congress of its librarian to complete the publication of the material referring to the Revolution.

A new scheme [2] of printing the historical papers in the possession of the Department of State was recently arranged by the Hon. T. F. Bayard, Secretary of State, but Congress has failed to make the necessary appropriation for carrying it out.[3]

II. STATE AND PERSONAL ARCHIVES.

WHAT has been done by the several States to preserve their Revolutionary and other records, and by residents of the States to collect and transmit documentary illustration, may be best considered in the order of their geographical succession, from the north to the south, beginning with Massachusetts, which formerly held the extreme northeastern frontier. Cf. a paper on public archives, state and national, in the *New Hampshire Hist. Coll.*, v. 7, etc. Lyman C. Draper's *Essay on the Autograph Collections of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, revised and enlarged from the Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Coll.*, x. (New York, 1889), indicates what the autograph collectors in the United States have done towards preserving much valuable historical material, as shown in the enumerations which he gives in brief of some of the most famous collections, like those of Dr. Thomas A. Emmet of New York; Simon Gratz of Philadelphia; Ferdinand J. Dreer of Philadelphia; that of the late Prof. E. H. Leffingwell of Boston and other places; Dr. John S. H. Fogg of Boston; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Charles Roberts of Philadelphia; Col. C. C. Jones of Augusta, Geo.; Mrs. David J. Cohen of Baltimore; John Boyd Thacher of Albany; the Pennsylvania Historical Society; Col. Theodorus Bailey Myers of New York; the late Jos. W. Drexel of New York; the State Library of Albany; the late Mrs. Wm. D. Ely of Providence; T. Stamford Raffles of Liverpool, Eng.; Mellen Chamberlain of Boston, etc.

MASSACHUSETTS. — A synopsis of the archives of Massachusetts is given in the *Report of Commissioners upon the condition of the Records, etc., in the Secretary's Department*,[4] made in Jan., 1885, and printed by the State. Under the recommendations of this report, work has begun to prepare the archives for printing, but the State has to the present day done very little toward putting in permanent print any but its earliest records, like those of the Colony of New Plymouth and those of the later government of Massachusetts Bay.[5]

A large part of the bound MS. volumes, known as the *Massachusetts Archives*, pertain to the Revolution, to which may be added the usual executive and legislative records. Of such of these as were printed at the time, the *Journals of the House* cover that period, except between June 17, 1774, and July 19, 1775, and after May, 1780. In addition to these more general groupings, the Revolutionary War is represented in sixty large volumes, mostly relating to personal service on sea and land; in twenty-one regimental record books; and in a great mass of other papers referring to different departments of service and supervision.[6] Ben: Perley Poore in 1845 was authorized by the State of Massachusetts to examine the French archives and make copies or extracts of papers touching the history of Massachusetts, and ten volumes of these copies are now in the archives. They have been copied for the government at Quebec, and printed as a *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1883), in four volumes.[7]

We have also in print the annual *Acts and Laws*,[8] and the *Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massa-*

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[1] *Forty-sixth Congress, first session, Misc. Doc. no. 34.*

[2] *Senate Ex. Doc. 50th Cong. 2d sess., no. 142.*

[3] Messrs. Gales and Seaton at one time proposed a Legislative History of the U. S. (*Madison Letters*, iii. 59), and in 1883 Dr. Franklin B. Hough prepared a bill to authorize the publication of a documentary work to be called *The Centennial Hist. of the Government of the U. S.*; but it failed to become a law (*47th Cong., 2d sess., Report no. 1025*).

[4] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 617.

[5] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. pp. 343, 359.

[6] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. p. 164.

[7] See *ante*, Vol. II. 308; IV. 367; V. 617.

[8] The reprint of the Province Laws, as edited by Ames and Goodell, is not yet complete. Cf. *ante*, V. 167; and Abner Cheney Goodell, jr.'s *Chronological Sketch of the legislation from 1752 to 1884 on the subject of printing the Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. With a table showing the progress of the work done by the present commission, etc.* (Boston, 1889).

chusetts in 1774 and 1775, and of the Committee of Safety, with an Appendix, containing the Proceedings of the County Conventions, Narratives of the Events of the Nineteenth of April, 1775, Papers relating to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and other documents illustrative of the early history of the American Revolution. Edited by W. Lincoln (Boston, 1838).[1] The letter-books of Governor Belcher are in the Mass. Historical Society (cf. *ante*, V. 166, and the printed *Belknap Papers*, ii. 169). Other letters of his are in the English *Historical MSS. Com. Report*, xi. The records of the Committee of Safety after the British evacuated Boston are in the Boston City Hall.

Various public papers of the period 1765–1774, having been printed as *Papers relating to public events in Massachusetts preceding the American Revolution* (Philad., Seventy-Six Society, 1856), were in 1878 placed in the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[2]

Dennis De Berdt was made the London agent of Massachusetts, Nov. 7, 1765,[3] and there are in *Letters and Papers, 1701–1770* (MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc.), various letters to and from him, beside a paper "Concerning Mr. De Berdt," and his memorial to Parliament, etc.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii. vol. i.) copies, made in the State-Paper Office in 1840, of the correspondence between the royal governors of Massachusetts and the home government (1764–1774); and (vol. iv.) the correspondence and minutes of the Board of Trade (1765–1773).

"New England people, especially those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, have always been a documentary people," wrote Mr. Bancroft in 1838,[4] and by the aid of the State archives and the private possessions of papers, a local historical literature has been produced in rich abundance.[5]

The publications of the Massachusetts Hist. Soc. and of the N. E. Historic Genealogical Soc.[6] add to such resources.

The legislature has lately begun a movement to secure a better enumeration and to provide better security for the public records of parishes, towns, and counties in the commonwealth, and a preliminary *Report*, with extensive tabulations of the results of inquiries, has been made and published by the Commissioner Carroll D. Wright (Boston, 1889).

Outside of the State archives it seems probable that the most important collection of papers for historical purposes is that of the files of the Superior and Supreme courts, from 1629 to 1799, which are now undergoing arrangement with great care under the direction of Mr. John Noble, clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, and with the immediate supervision of Mr. William P. Upham. These papers consist of about 18,000 documents or pieces before 1700, and about 135,000 for the eighteenth century (Wright's *Report*, p. xxxviii). For the early period of Massachusetts history the records of Boston have much more than local interest. Many of them prior to 1778 have already been put in print by the Record Commissioners of the city, and it is intended to continue the several series to the incorporation of Boston as a city in 1822. There is, however, a large mass of illustrative papers still in bundles and in perilous condition.

The enumeration of personal papers belonging to prominent people in Massachusetts is an extensive one, and will now be given mainly in an alphabetical order, as will be the rule under the other States.

The papers of John Adams have been in part represented in the *Works of John Adams, edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams* (Boston, 1850–1856), in ten volumes.[7] Adams says that he began to keep copies of his letters in 1774,[8] and his editor, referring to his duties, says that he has used of the letters the best copy attainable, though he has often been obliged to be content with the rough drafts of the copy-books;[9] and of Adams' diary he has made some omissions, but for other reasons than fear or favor.[10] In reprinting the published tracts of his grandfather, and in presenting his mass of official papers, the editor left scarcely more than the bulk of one of his volumes for the general correspondence,[11] which compelled him to make a rigid selection. "Probably," says the editor, "not a single leading actor of the Revolutionary period has left nearly so many private letters as Mr. Adams," and those not printed, as well as the letters received by Adams, are left in the hands of his descendants for future opportune use.[1] Some portions of the family letters have, however, been made public in other shapes.[2]

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[1] It was praised highly by Bancroft on its appearance. (*N. Am. Rev.*, Apr., 1838, p. 481.)

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1878.

[3] *Calendar Lee MSS.*, p. 3.

[4] *N. Amer. Rev.*, Apr., 1838, p. 476.

[5] So far as Boston and its immediate vicinity, with Lexington, Concord, and Salem, are concerned, the notes to the authorities in other parts of this *History* show the use that can be made of such, but more distant regions are not without interest in our study of the Revolution, as shown in such books as Albert A. Lovell's *Worcester in the War of the Revolution* (1876), Smith's *Pittsfield*, Bailey's *Andover*, Chase's *Haverhill*, Paige's *Hardwick*, Sawtelle's *Townshend*, — not to name others.

Medway has printed her Revolutionary papers in *The Military History of Medway, 1745–1885*, by E. O. Jameson (Millis, Mass., 1887), showing the average work and sacrifices of a New England town.

One of the most extensive collections of objects illustrating New England life is that in the Memorial Hall at Deerfield, Mass., of which the Hon. Geo. Sheldon has prepared a *Catalogue* (Deerfield, 1886). It belongs to the Pocomtuck Valley Memorial Association. It shows several Revolutionary letter-books, orderly books (West Point, 1778–1782; Cambridge, 1775, etc.), and records of the Ninth Mass. Regiment (Col. Wesson), 1778–1780.

[6] See in the *Register* of this latter society, for instance, a list of the Massachusetts Field Officers (1871, p. 187), and a paper on Nantucket in the War (1874, July).

[7] Congress assisted the publication by taking 1000 copies at $22,500. (*Statutes at Large*, ix. 541, 646.)

[8] *Works*, ix. p. 596; but there are several between 1770 and 1773 given in vol. ix. p. 331, etc.

[9] *Works*, i. p. viii.

[10] *Works*, ii. p. viii.

[11] *Works*, ix. p. 331, etc., and vol. x.

In 1840 there appeared at Boston, in two volumes, the *Letters of Mrs. Adams, the wife of John Adams, with an introductory memoir by her grandson, Charles Francis Adams.*[3]

In vol. xliv. of the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society there is a brief correspondence between John Adams and Professor John Winthrop of Cambridge, conducted while Adams was in Philadelphia as a member of Congress in 1775–1776. In the same volume is the correspondence of Adams and Mercy Warren occurring in 1807, which has been referred to on another page.

The diary or *Memoirs* (1795–1838) of John Quincy Adams has been printed,[4] but as the edition was small it has become a scarce book. His other papers are very numerous, as described by C. F. Adams in the preface to the life of J. Q. Adams.

The papers of Samuel Adams were gathered "from various sources" by Samuel Adams Wells, who began the task in 1815, and had intended to write a history of the Revolution. He had actually advanced in the printing of it when he died, and the papers not long afterwards passed into the hands of George Bancroft. By that historian's permission Mr. Wm. V. Wells was allowed access to them in preparing his *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*,[5] published at Boston in 1865, in three volumes, in which large use was made of the papers. The author tells us that a portion only remains of the manuscripts left by the patriot. Soon after his death they were placed in the keeping of Benjamin Austin, who had intended at first to prepare a life of Adams, and from him they passed to irresponsible hands and suffered detriment from autograph-hunters, and even destruction in part from ignorant servants. It is even intimated that in 1808, after the death of Adams's widow, papers among the manuscripts, which it was for the credit of John Hancock's fame to be suppressed, were surreptitiously removed.[6] The efforts of Samuel Adams Wells followed, and we owe it to his care that among what is preserved are the rough drafts of Adams's state papers. Some documents have also been added of late years to the collection as left by Mr. S. A. Wells.[7] Mr. Bancroft, in his account of the collection as given in one of his prefaces in 1854, says: "They contain the complete journals of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, draughts of the letters it sent out and the letters it received, — so far as they have been preserved." "The papers," he adds, "are very numerous; taken together, they unfold the manner in which resistance to Great Britain grew into a system, and they perfectly represent the sentiments and the reasonings of the time. They are the more to be prized as much of the correspondence was secret, and has remained so to this day."[8]

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[1] Speaking of the Adams papers at Quincy, Edward E. Hale, in the preface of his *Franklin in France*, referring to their extent, 1755–1866 (treaty of Geneva), says: "I know of no other collection in the world where the history of a great nation can be so studied in the biography of one family." These family archives, preserved in a separate building, built for the purpose, have been recently placed in the charge of Theodore F. Dwight, late of the Department of State at Washington.

[2] Mr. C. F. Adams has deposited with the Mass. Hist. Society such of the papers as are connected with John Adams's mission to negotiate a peace, 1779–1785, being duplicate in his family papers. There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii.) letters of John Adams and the Commissioners in Paris, copied from John Adams's letter-books, 1778–1783. Among the Rush papers in Philadelphia there is a series of letters by John Adams; and indeed such collections of differing extents can be found among the papers of many of his contemporaries.

[3] The book passed to a second edition at once, and a fourth edition, revised and enlarged, with an appendix containing the letters addressed by John Quincy Adams to his son on the study of the Bible, was published in Boston in 1848. As a companion work, a selection of the *Letters of John Adams addressed to his wife* was later printed, but did not prove so successful. In 1875 these two collections, so far as their letters fell within the period of the Revolution, were recast into a chronological order as one series, and with some additions appeared as *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife, Abigail Adams, during the Revolution, with a Memoir of Mrs. Adams, by Charles Francis Adams.* John Adams said of this correspondence, in directing that it be preserved: "They may exhibit to our posterity a kind of picture of the manners, opinions, and principles of these times of perplexity, danger, and distress."

[4] *Ante*, VII. 299, 346.

[5] "Written with great elaboration and unqualified energy." (Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 361.)

[6] Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 503.

[7] Wells's *Sam. Adams*, i., introduction.

[8] Bancroft, Final Revision, iii. 488. Bancroft says respecting the Secret Journal of the Committee of Correspondence, that Gordon's account of the doings of that committee is erroneous, as Gordon never had the confidence of Samuel Adams. *Orig. ed.*, iv. 428, 429. Various letters of Adams are given in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, ii. 115, etc.

John Adams, writing to William Tudor in 1817 (*Works*, x. 264), says of Sam. Adams's papers: "I have seen him at Mrs. Yard's in Philadelphia, when he was about to leave Congress, cut up with his scissors whole bundles of his letters into atoms that could never be reunited, and throw them out of the window to be scattered by the winds. This was in summer, when he had no fire; in winter he threw whole handfuls into the fire. As we were on terms of perfect intimacy, I have joked him, perhaps rudely, upon his anxious caution. His answer was, 'Whatever becomes of me, my friends shall never suffer by my negligence.' Mr. Adams left the letters he had received and preserved in the possession of his widow. This lady lent them to a confidential friend of her husband, Mr. Avery, who then was and had been secretary of the commonwealth under the administrations of Mr. Adams and Mr. Hancock. Mr. Avery informed me that he had them, and that they were a complete history of the Revolution. I will not say into whose hands they fell after Mr. Avery's death, and I cannot say where they are now; but I have heard that a gentleman in Charlestown, Mr. Austin, undertook to write the life of Mr. Adams; but finding his papers had been so garbled that the truth could not be discovered, he abandoned his design."

The Barrell papers, in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Cabinet, derive their chief interest from a series of letters written by John Andrews of Boston, between 1772 and 1776, to William Barrell, a merchant of Philadelphia, which were discovered by Capt. Geo. Gibson in the garret of the Schuylkill Arsenal in 1859. These letters vividly picture life in Boston during the siege, and have been printed, under the editorial eye of Winthrop Sargent, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii. 316, etc.

The *Remsen Catalogue* (April, 1883, p. 92) shows some of the papers of Francis Baylies, which include a MS. History of the Revolution, with various Revolutionary documents.

The manuscripts collected by Jeremy Belknap, and now in the Mass. Historical Society, contain various papers of the Mathers, Joseph Dudley, and Jeremy Dummer.

The papers of Governor Bernard, which belonged to Chalmers, passed finally to Sparks,[1] and are now in Harvard College Library.[2] They begin in 1758 with his term as governor in New Jersey, and after 1760 pertain to his executive service in Massachusetts; and in vol. iii. (1763–1765) they begin to touch the period of the revolutionary agitation. The letters, of which he preserved copies in these letter-books, are mostly addressed to officers, agents, or servants of the home government, and report his observations on the current events in his province. He usually writes from Boston, though frequently in the summer from Castle William, and sometimes from "Jamaica Farm, near Boston." The letter-books end with vol. viii. (1769–1772), and in this last volume is a long paper, "State of the disorders, confusion, and misgovernment, which have prevailed and do still continue to prevail in his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay in America," which Sparks has dated "Jan., 1774;" and a "List of papers relative to the Province of Massachusetts Bay, selected from the papers concerning riots and tumults in North America, laid before the House of Lords, from the first day of January, 1764, to the present time" [Jan. 28, 1774?]

Vols. ix., x., xi., xii. contain original correspondence (1758–1779), consisting of letters received by Bernard, with other papers pertaining to his rule in Massachusetts. Occasionally public papers are recorded not directly his own, as for instance the resolutions of Virginia and Massachusetts in respect to the right of Parliament to impose taxes, and a report thereon of a committee of the Privy Council, 1765 (vol. x.). Various papers about Mount Desert occur in these years. Bernard's recall (vol. xii.) is dated March 23, 1769, and it is followed by his petition to be heard before the Privy Council in answer to charges made against him by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts (pp. 147–167). There are other papers in relation to the charge, and to the other troubles of the time.

The final volume (xiii.) covers his orders and instructions (1758–1761), together with the royal permission for his return to England in 1768 (p. 243).[3]

There are in the Mass. Historical Society copies of the correspondence of Bowdoin and Pownall, 1769–1784, and of Bowdoin and Lafayette, 1780–1788. The Hon. R. C. Winthrop possesses a portion of the papers of Gov. Bowdoin, which came to him from his brother, James (Winthrop) Bowdoin.[4]

George Cabot destroyed most of his papers before his death; and Mr. H. C. Lodge, in his *Life of Cabot* (1877), depended almost wholly upon the letters of his ancestor which remained in the hands of Cabot's correspondents or of their descendants.

From the papers of Thomas Cushing, a series of letters, 1767–1775, are in the Mass. Hist. Society's Cabinet, and have been printed in their *Collections*, xxxiv. p. 347, etc.[5] Others of his papers were seized in Boston by Gage.

A small remainder of the papers of Francis Dana is preserved in the family. They include some Ellery and Trowbridge papers; the correspondence of Francis Dana with Count Ostermann, the Vice-Chancellor of Russia, 1783; a copy of Jay's secret journal, with letters appertaining; three of Francis Dana's letter-books; and letters from Adams, Franklin, Jay, Livingston, Gerry, Arthur Lee, etc. There are copies from his letter-books in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii., vol. ii.

The papers of Gen. Henry Dearborn, as well as those of his son, Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, were arranged

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Wells, referring to the replies of Adams to Hutchinson in 1773, says: "His original drafts have not been preserved; perhaps they were dispersed with the bulk of his papers after his decease. The MS. copies on file in the public archives are in the handwriting of one who often acted as his amanuensis."

[1] He bought them in 1848 of a gentleman in Providence. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 363, 384.

[2] Many of the letters of Bernard and Hutchinson to Hillsborough and Dartmouth are in the Chalmers papers in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. x., vols. iii. and iv.)

[3] Cf. Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks MSS.*, no. iv.—published by Harvard College Library.

[4] The governor's papers were divided in unequal proportions between James Temple Bowdoin, of England; James (Winthrop) Bowdoin; Bowdoin College; and Mrs. George Sullivan. Some letters of Gov. Bowdoin's son-in-law, Sir John Temple, are also in Mr. Winthrop's possession. (*Note of R. C. Winthrop, Jr.*) I am informed by Professor Little, the librarian of Bowdoin College, that there are no papers of consequence by Gov. Bowdoin now there.

A miniature likeness of Gov. Bowdoin, by Copley, and in Perkins's judgment painted about 1770 (*Life and Works of Copley*, p. 37), is owned by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, and is engraved in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. p. 195. Edgar Parker twice copied this likeness in life-size, — one of which pictures belongs to Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and the other is in Independence Hall. There is a profile view in the *Mass. Mag.*, Jan., 1791, and a full-length in the *Amer. Mag.*, i. 373. For a list of the Bowdoin family portraits, see Daniel Goodwin's *Provincial Pictures* (Chicago, 1886), p. 71.

[5] A portrait of Thos. Cushing is in the Essex Institute, and is engraved in the *Mem. Hist. Boston.*

by the latter for preservation in eleven quarto volumes.[1] By some arrangement between the executors of the younger Dearborn they passed into the hands of the late John Wingate Thornton (who was a co-executor), and were broken up, and what remained in Thornton's hands at the time of his death were sold at auction in Boston, Oct. 15 and 16, 1878.[2]

HARTWELL SC.

JAMES BOWDOIN.*

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[1] Forty-five volumes, says Gen. J. S. Clark in an account in *Journals of the Mil. Exped. of Gen. Sullivan* (Auburn, N. Y., 1887), p. 62.

[2] Four lots were of distinctive value: —

No. 284. A military journal of General Henry Dearborn, beginning at West Point, June 24, 1780, and ending at Yorktown, Nov. 24, 1781. (Bought for Dr. T. A. Emmet, of New York, for $29.)

* After a cut in the *American Magazine*, vol. ii.

The papers of Elbridge Gerry were used by Austin in his *Life of Gerry*.

There are in the Essex Institute the letter-book of Gen. John Glover, and his orderly-books, beginning at Cambridge, June 29, 1775, and ending in 1781. Some of the letters are printed by Wm. P. Upham in his *Memoir of General John Glover* (Salem, 1863),[1] as taken from the *Essex Institute Hist. Collections*, v. 49, 97, 159. Copies of some of Gen. Glover's papers are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlvii.). Occasional letters of Gen. Glover are found in the Trumbull Papers (vol. ix., etc.).

It is not known that the papers of Christopher Gore exist, though his letters to others are preserved, as among the papers of Rufus King, with whom he had a voluminous correspondence.

The military papers of Capt. Moses Greenleaf (1775–1780) are in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society.

In 1817 Mrs. Dorothy (Quincy) Scott, formerly the wife of John Hancock, placed with the Massachusetts Historical Society seven volumes of *John Hancock Papers*, containing minutes of the proceedings of the Congress of 1774, Hancock's own letter-books while president of Congress and governor of Massachusetts, and letters and minutes, copied from the originals, 1775, 1776. Most, if not all, of the material has been printed in Force's *American Archives*.[2] Such of the Hancock papers as were not included in this formal collection remained in the possession of the family, stored in the coach-house of the mansion on Beacon Street, Boston, till upon the sale of that estate in 1863 they were removed, and finally in large part passed into the collections of Charles P. Greenough and Mellen Chamberlain,[3] though a portion is supposed still to be in the hands of a member of the family.

The papers of Maj.-Gen. William Heath were used by himself, but not with any skill, in the *Memoirs* of his life,[4] which he printed in 1798. They fell under Sparks's observation when he was engaged upon his *Washington;* and in 1838 were bought of the family by Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, who arranged them and caused them to be bound and indexed, so that they formed twenty-six volumes of letters and papers, with two volumes of orderly-books, in 1859, when Mr. Lawrence gave them to the Mass. Hist. Society.[5]

The Hollis Papers, 1759–1771, in the Mass. Hist. Society's cabinet, cover the correspondence of Thomas Hollis, of London, and Jonathan Mayhew from 1759 to the time of Mayhew's death in July, 1766, — particulars of whose character and death, in letters from Samuel Mather, Edmund Quincy, Harrison Gray, Mrs. Elizabeth Mayhew (the widow), and Andrew Eliot, are also among these papers.

There is among the Hollis Papers a series of letters from Andrew Eliot to Thomas Hollis, 1766–1771, which have been printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, xxxiv. p. 398, etc.

The story of the vicissitudes of Gov. Hutchinson's papers is an interesting one. When the mob sacked his town-house, Aug. 26, 1765, "all of my papers," as he says,[6] "of every kind were scattered about the street, and I never afterwards attempted to separate my mercantile papers from those of another kind, when part of what had been thus scattered had been picked up and brought to me."[7] Among these papers thus exposed was the MS. of his history, which, after lying for several hours in the street, was gathered up by "my good friend and neighbor, the Rev. Mr. Eliot," — so that after several days' search only seven or eight sheets were

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No. 441. Journal of Henry Dearborn, June 20 to Dec. 13, 1782, at Saratoga. (Bought by the Boston Public Library for $3.50.) Printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 1886.

No. 501. Journal of Henry Dearborn during the Kennebec expedition to Quebec, 1775–1776 (printed by Judge Chamberlain in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 1886), and his journal at Stillwater and Saratoga, Aug. 3 to Dec. 3, 1777. (This lot was bought by the Boston Public Library for $14.)

No. 1158. Military journal of Henry Dearborn, Dec. 5, 1777, to June 16, 1778. (Bought by the Boston Public Library for $35.) Printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 1886.

There is also a journal of the Sullivan expedition in the possession of C. P. Greenough of Boston (*Journals of the Mil. Exped. of Sullivan*, p. 63).

[1] This book has a lithographed portrait of Glover, which is better engraved in *The Campaign of 1776*. There is a statue of Glover by Martin Millmore in Commonwealth Avenue in Boston. Cf. *Harper's Monthly*, liii. p. 343; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1868, p. 284. There are also in the Essex Institute library various records of the Mass. Eighth Regiment (of the Revolution), and other papers.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 271; xiv. 184; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 45. For Hancock's library, see *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 150.

[3] Mostly of the Stamp Act time.

[4] Washington, hearing of his intention, wrote to Heath: "Having always understood that you were exact and copious in noticing occurrences at the time they happened, a work of this kind will, from the candor and ability with which I am persuaded your notes were taken, be uncommonly correct and interesting" (Sparks, xi. 200). Sparks adds: "To skill in composition and elegance of style this book cannot lay the slightest claim; but as a record of facts chronologically arranged, and of events occurring under the writer's own observations, detailed with apparent candor and accuracy, it is not without merit" (*Ibid.* p. 200).

[5] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 287, etc., where notice is made of them by Sparks and Richard Frothingham; and a few of those relating to the siege of Boston, together with a correspondence between Heath and Charles Lee in Nov. 1776, are printed. The collection is rich in letters of Washington (1775–1783) addressed to Heath, and these have been printed in the same society's *Collections*, vol. xliv.

A considerable number of the Heath papers were discovered to have been in the hands of John Wingate Thornton when his manuscript collection was sold in 1878. They relate in the main to the period when Heath commanded in Boston in 1778, and include letters of Burgoyne, Gen. Phillips, and Baron Riedesel (from Cambridge), with one or two from Washington. There are occasional letters of Heath in the *Trumbull MSS.*, vii., etc. On the scattering of the Heath papers, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1888, p. 83.

[6] *Diary and Letters*, ed. by P. O. Hutchinson, i. 67, 71.

[7] "They scattered or destroyed all the MSS. and other papers I had been collecting for thirty years together, beside a great number of public papers in my custody." (Letter to Richard Jackson in *Mass. Archives*, xxvi. 146; *Mass. Senate Doc.*, 1870, no. 187, p. 3.)

left missing.[1] This MS., being that of the second volume of his *History*, is now in the Archives of the State,[2] and bears marks in some parts of soaking in the dirty street.[3]

When Hutchinson deserted his house at Milton in 1774, he left his furniture in it. His letter-books had been brought to it from his town-house the previous year, at the season of the Tea-ship troubles, and disposed of "where he thought no person could find them;" and he adds: "When I left the province it did not occur to me where they were."[4] The day after Lexington the Committee of the Town of Milton removed the furniture, and put it in the keeping of Col. Wm. Taylor. This gentleman, going with Samuel Henshaw later to the house, discovered in a dark garret some trunks of papers, several of which were taken to Taylor's house, while Henshaw secured one of Hutchinson's letter-books. Word of this reaching Dr. Warren, the Committee of Safety directed Gen. Thomas, then commanding the nearest lines of the besieging army, to secure what he could of Hutchinson's papers.[5] He obtained what others were found in the house, and made a demand on Taylor for the trunks "suspected to contain papers."[6]

The papers thus seized were taken to Watertown, and committees were appointed to report upon them. Gordon says that one letter was suppressed because it afforded a rather awkward revelation of John Hancock's kind of patriotism; while, as Samuel Dexter says, others were carried off during the time that the papers were exposed to the inspection of everybody. Gordon, meanwhile, was directed (May 29) to receive one of the copy-books which a certain Capt. McLane, of Milton, was said to have, and others were appointed to discover what else might be "hid in or near Milton." In August, Samuel Dexter was empowered to hold such of the papers as he then had, and to receive all others; also to publish as he saw fit any among them; and Dr. Gordon was joined with him for that purpose, and Dexter's custody of them was confirmed by the legislature the next year (1776). He retained them during the war. In Oct., 1783, Samuel Dexter and William Gordon, and any others possessing such papers, were directed to give them up to be filed among the papers of the State.[7]

The State Archives now contain two collections of Hutchinson manuscripts: one lot which has never been out of the State's keeping since it acquired the governor's papers, which is called "Hutchinson's Correspondence," and is numbered 25, 26, and 27; and a lot which was a few years ago transferred to the State by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is added to the archives as "Hutchinson Papers, 1625–1771," three volumes, numbered 240, 241, and 242 of the *Archives*. This last lot has been the subject of a prolonged controversy.[8]

There are also in the cabinet of the Historical Society, among the papers of Israel Williams of Hatfield, beside some letters of Governors Pownall and Barnard, a series from Hutchinson addressed to that stanch loyalist, and to Oliver Partridge, between 1748 and 1774. We note sundry other letters of Hutchinson, as of 1769 in the *Trumbull MSS.*, vol. ii.; of 1771–1772 from the Public Record Office in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 129–140; of 1774–1777 in *Ibid.* v. 360.

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[1] See Vol. III. 344.

[2] *Mass. Archives*, no. 28.

[3] Many of the papers making up the three volumes lately in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library are also so soiled, and this as well as their general character would indicate that they were of the material gathered for his *History*.

[4] P. O. Hutchinson, i. 502, 505.

[5] This order is among the *Thomas Papers* at Kingston.

[6] Thomas' letter, May 2, 1775, and Gordon in his *History*, — not exactly agreeing.

[7] The publication of Hutchinson's diary has revealed the governor's indignation at this enforced betrayal of his private records; but he seems to have no equivalent feelings in behalf of Thomas Cushing, when he learns that that gentleman's papers had been seized by Gage in Cushing's house in Boston, "which makes great discoveries." (P. O. Hutchinson's *Gov. Hutchinson*, i. 500, 557; ii. 9.) That editor speaks of the seized letters of Gov. Hutchinson as being "made such infamous use of by Bancroft in his so-called history" (*Ibid.* i. 395).

There are stories of the letter-books being discovered in sacks of beds among Hutchinson's effects, which were sold, and that £50 were paid to recover them (*Senate Doc. no. 187 of 1870*, pp. 28, 40).

[8] In 1821 Alden Bradford, then secretary of the commonwealth, in a report on the Archives, said that he had selected some of the Hutchinson Papers, which were judged "to be no part of the files in the secretary's office," and had (Jan., 1820) with the governor's approval deposited them in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The word used in one of his communications was "deposited," in all others "presented." Two years later that society made up and bound, in three volumes, a collection consisting of these papers (with others previously in its possession, as was claimed), making 466 folios, of which 170 were letters, none, however, in Hutchinson's hand, and all but eleven were dated before 1700.

Twenty years later (1841), when the State Archives were arranged, the Hutchinson Papers still left there were bound in four volumes; one containing the MS. of the first part of the second volume of his *History*, together with copies of certain witchcraft papers and a commission, and the other three volumes containing 1500 letters, most of them by Hutchinson, and all between 1761 and 1774. In Jan., 1846, John G. Palfrey, then secretary of the commonwealth, represented to the Historical Society that the three volumes bound up by the Historical Society were the necessary correlatives of the four volumes then in the Archives, — the whole constituting the indivisible property of the State. No reply being returned, the question was again raised by Mr. Palfrey in Jan., and once more in July, 1847 (*House Doc. no. 2 of 1848*). In 1849 a committee of the Historical Society reported that only such documents as Mr. Bradford had placed with them could possibly belong to the State, and that the statute of limitations would prevent any claim being made legally for these. In 1868, Gov. Bullock, by direction of the legislature (*Senate Doc. no. 279 of 1867*), again pressed the matter, and the result in 1871 was the appointment of a referee, Robert S. Rantoul. The society having agreed to surrender such papers as had come from the State, the award of the referee was that the three volumes contained no other papers, and they were accordingly surrendered. (*Mass. Senate Doc.*, no. 187 (1870); *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 333, 365, 373, 420, 436, 438; x. 118, 321; xi. 335; xii. 249; xiii. 130, 217.)

Among the papers which are now in the possession of Hutchinson's representative in England, beside the correspondence which had accrued after the governor's expatriation, is his diary, beginning June 1, 1774;[1] an account of his life in New England; a series of original letters in bound volumes (beginning in 1741); a letter-book, beginning apparently in 1774; the domestic letters of the governor's son, Elisha Hutchinson, to his wife, while they were separated by the ocean, 1774–1777; Elisha's diary; books of instructions and other data, given to Governors Pownall and Bernard, — the one for Hutchinson is missing; the diary of Dr. Peter Oliver, son of the chief-justice; the letter-book of Lieut.-Gov. Andrew Oliver; a manuscript by the governor, entitled "The origin and progress of the American Rebellion to the year 1776, in a letter to a friend" (dated Mar. 1, 1781); the diary of Chief-Justice Peter Oliver, beginning upon the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, and the letters of the same.

When the third volume of Hutchinson's history[2] was published by a descendant in 1828, in London, he indicated in a general way that there was a mass of family papers still unprinted which might in time be made use of;[3] and in *Notes and Queries* (vii. pp. 111, 240) Mr. P. Hutchinson makes record of the manuscripts left by the governor at his death in 1780. Upon them, as indicated above, the present custodian of the papers has based two volumes, the first of which appeared in London in 1883, and in Boston in 1884, as the *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, with an account of his administration when he was member and speaker of the house of representatives* [*of Massachusetts*], *and his government of the colony during the difficult period that preceded the war of independence. Compiled from the original documents by Peter Orlando Hutchinson, one of his great-grandsons.*[4] The second volume appeared in 1886. The work has been welcomed by historical students for its helpful assistance in the study of the character of Hutchinson, while they have been annoyed at the garrulous, misinformed, and ill-assorted additions of the editor.[5]

The papers of Rufus King passed to his eldest son, John A. King; thence to Charles King, president of Columbia College, who had the intention of editing them. This purpose not being reached, the papers passed to Rufus King's grandson, their present owner, Mr. Charles R. King, of Andalusia, Penna., who informs me that the only use which has so far been made of them was by John C. Hamilton in his work on Alexander Hamilton, and that some letters from them have appeared in Lodge's *Life of George Cabot* and in Ellis's *Count Rumford.* The collection is not known to have been despoiled, though there are some gaps in important periods, and it is the completest during King's official residence in London as American minister. The papers in the main consist of letters, public and private, but they contain also essays on current questions, drafts of speeches, and personal statements respecting his public views. The editing of the papers is at present in progress for publication.

The papers of General Henry Knox, as preserved by him, were placed about 1840, on the recommendation of Jared Sparks, in the hands of Charles S. Davies, who undertook the preparation of a memoir of Knox; but being obliged by ill-health to abandon the work, the papers passed to Joseph Willard, who died before he, in turn, could perfect the work. Coming into the possession of Rear-Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher, a grandson of the general, the manuscripts were finally in 1873 presented to the N. E. Hist. Genealogical Society, and have since been bound and indexed, making a set of fifty-five large folio volumes, containing 11,464 papers in all. Sixty-six of these are Washington letters, some of which are deficient in signature; and probably many papers, particularly those of Washington, have in the past been given away or abstracted from the collection. These papers form the basis of the *Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox, by Francis S. Drake*, Boston, 1873,[6] who had also the use of the material which had been arranged by Mr. Willard.[7]

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[1] This is said to have passed lately into the British Museum.

[2] Cf. P. O. Hutchinson, ii. 78, etc.; Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 258.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 269. The family seem to ave copies of Hutchinson's first and second volumes of his *History*, enriched with his corrections and annotations. *Notes and Queries*, 2d ser., vii. 240.)

[4] He is the son of Andrew (born on shipboard in Boston arbor, Mar. 24, 1775), the son of Thomas, the son of the overnor.

[5] Cf. Geo. E. Ellis in *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1884. There are two known portraits of Gov. Hutchinson, and oth are preserved in the gallery of the Massachusetts Hisorical Society. One is a half length, youthful in appearnce, painted by Edward Truman (1741), and is thought o be the one left in his house at Milton, and later damaged y being run through the eyes by a rabid patriot. It has een restored, and is engraved in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, . 68, and a photograph of it is given by P. O. Hutchinson vol. i.). Cf. *Catal. Cab. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, no. 7; *Proceedngs*, ii. 17. The other represents more mature life, and is f smaller size, showing the head and shoulders only. P. Hutchinson, who gives a photograph of it (vol. ii.), atibuting it to Copley, is inclined to doubt its authenticity, because he does not see in it the Hutchinson characteristics of face and head (vol. i. p. 565). There is an engraving of it in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, i. 297 (with memoir by S. G. Drake); Drake's *Boston*, 700, 701; Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, 263. (Cf. *Catal. Cab. Hist. Soc.*, no. 8; Perkins's *Copley*, p. 76; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 101, 417.)

A paper by Col. Chester on the connection of the English and American Hutchinsons is in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1866, p. 355; 1868, p. 236.

[6] This memoir is abridged by the author in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1880, p. 35.

[7] Memoir of Joseph Willard in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix. 292. There are also a few of Knox's letters among the Tudor MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Society's cabinet, and others are in the library of the Maine Historical Society. Reminiscences of Knox by H. G. Otis are in the *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876. The best known likeness of Knox represents him at half length, leaning his left hand on a cannon in a way to hide two broken fingers of that hand. This has been engraved by J. F. E. Prud'homme and others, and there is a woodcut in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 95. This picture was painted by Stuart, and given by the family to the city of Boston, and was then placed in Faneuil Hall. It is now in the Boston

The papers of Benjamin Lincoln were until lately preserved by his descendants in the Lincoln homestead at Hingham. A portion has been sold within a year or two at auction in Boston. What papers that general had with him, when he was surprised in 1777 in the Jerseys, were then lost.[1]

Of the Otis papers preserved in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society, the second and third volumes cover the Revolutionary period and pertain to Col. James Otis, the father of the more famous patriot. The papers among them of the better known James Otis are not of great significance, but in the earliest part of the interval there are some letters of James Warren and others, with an occasional touch of the antipathies of the times; while there is something about the military service in the later papers of Brigadier Joseph Otis. Tudor in his *Life of James Otis*,[2] the patriot, simply tells us that his papers have perished.

John Adams said in 1817: "Mr. Otis, from 1760 to 1770, had correspondence in this province, in New England, in the Middle and Southern colonies, in England and in Scotland. What has become of these letters and answers?" Again he says that a daughter of Otis told him that "she had not a line from her father's pen; that he had spent much time and had taken great pains to collect together all his letters and other papers, and in one of his unhappy moments committed them all to the flames."[3]

The collection gathered by Francis Parkman has been described elsewhere.[4] It consists mainly of copies, and such portion as has already served him in his historical works has been placed by him in the Massachusetts Historical Society, except his collection of manuscript maps, which he joined to the collection in Harvard College library. Such portion as he still retains will ultimately be added to those in the Historical Society.

Tim: Pickering Q. M. G.

The papers of Col. Timothy Pickering descended to his son, Octavius Pickering, who wrote from them, mainly, his *Life of Timothy Pickering*, of which the first volume was published at Boston in 1867, bringing the story well beyond the close of the war. The author died in Oct., 1868, and subsequently the papers became the property of his son, Henry Pickering, and were committed to the Rev. Charles W. Upham, who published the three additional volumes constituting the completion of the *Life*.[5] In 1869 Mr. Henry Pickering signified his intention to carry out his father's wish in making his grandfather's papers over to the Mass. Historical Society, when Mr. Upham should have done with them,[6] and in 1874 they were received by that society, bound in sixty-eight volumes.[7]

Museum of Fine Arts (Mason's *Stuart*, 211). It has been copied at different times (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xv. p. 8). A photogravure of what is called the panel likeness of Knox is given in Mason's *Stuart*. Drake gives an engraving of a likeness by E. Savage. C. W. Peale's portrait of Knox was engraved by David Edwin. Cf. engravings in the *Impartial Hist. of the War* (Boston ed., ii. 218), a vignette, and the likeness given in the illustrated edition of Irving's *Washington*, and the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1883, p. 174, and Aug., 1886, p. 123.

The mansion "Montpelier," which Knox built, after the war, at Thomaston, Maine, is pictured in *Scribner's Monthly*, ix. 616, and in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1886, pp. 122, 125, etc., — the last accompanying a paper by E. Margaret Lindley. Cf. Miss Thatcher's *Seashore and Prairie*, and Williamson's *Belfast*. An account of the general's wife, Lucy Knox, is in Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Rev.*, vol. i. and iii.

[1] Francis Bowen, who wrote the life of Lincoln for Sparks's *American Biography*, complains that Gordon in his *History* did not use these papers as much as he might have done. There are transcripts of some of them in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. 57. Cf. J. T. Kirkland's *Life of Lincoln* in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xiii. 233 (1815); and *ante*, VI. 513.

[2] Lecky, iii. 331, calls this a remarkable book, from which he has derived much assistance. Francis Bowen, who furnished the life in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, used the papers which Sparks had gathered from the English Archives.

[3] *John Adams's Works*, x. 265, 277.

[4] *Ante*, Vols. IV. and V.

[5] Cf. G. E. Ellis's memoirs of Upham in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xv. 212.

[6] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1869, p. 162.

[7] The chief use that has been made of them since they became the property of the society has been by Lodge in his *Cabot*, and by Adams in his *N. E. Federalism*. They are said to be the largest mass of Federalist papers open to inquirers. C. W. Upham, in preface to vol. ii. of *Life of Timothy Pickering*, says that only a small portion of the sixty volumes of the Pickering papers belonging to the Mass. Hist. Society, and of the five volumes retained by the family, have been used by his biographers; adding that the press copies of his letters as Secretary of State are very much faded, and difficult in parts to decipher. The extent of Col. Pickering's papers which are not in the above enumeration exceeded those included; but of this surplus most had been retained by the family, though those relating to agriculture had been given to the Essex Agricultural Society, and others to the Essex Institute.

There is a letter-book (1781) of Col. Pickering preserved in the Pocomtuck Valley Museum at Deerfield, Mass. A considerable mass of his papers as quartermaster-general was described in the *N. Y. Tribune* at one time as being in the possession of the Hon. Arad Joy, of Ovid, N. Y. At a later day they were sold by his son, Professor Chas. A. Joy, to the War Department at Washington, but were lost sight of until a year or two since, when the attention of the Department of State being directed to them, they were found and transferred to the Archives of the latter Department. Mr. Worthington C. Ford describes it to me as "a very large collection, but much mutilated by loss and theft, and almost without arrangement." It contains numerous orderly-books.

At the very beginning of the war (July, 1775) Pickering drew up *Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts*

The papers of Com. Edward Preble are in the Mass. Hist. Society.[1]

The papers gathered by Thomas Prince, constituting a part of his library, are now on deposit in the Boston Public Library, and there is an enumeration of them in the appendix of the printed *Catalogue of the Prince Library* (Boston, 1870). They consist largely of papers gathered by the Mathers (1632–1689), and Hutchinson says that Prince took from the Mather library the most valuable portion of the papers in that library. They were printed, under the editing of Dr. Chandler Robbins, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. xxxviii. The Prince collection also contains the papers of the Rev. John Cotton (1632–1680); others called "Cotton and Prince Papers"; those of Thomas Hinckley, governor of Plymouth Colony (1676–1699), which have for the most part been printed in the *Mass. Hist. Collections*, xxxv., with other minor collections.

The papers of Gen. Rufus Putnam are at Marietta College.[2]

The letter-book of Edmund Quincy, the father-in-law of John Hancock, is among the Belknap Papers in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[3]

The papers of Josiah Quincy, Jr., were bequeathed by his grand-daughter, Eliza Susan Quincy, to the Mass. Hist. Soc. (*Proceedings*, 1884, p. 40). Except a few extracts given by Gordon, these papers had remained unpublished till his son — left an infant of three years, and in later life president of Harvard University — fifty years afterwards printed many of them in his *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.* (Boston, 1825), — a book to which Miss Quincy added an appendix in the edition of 1875.[4]

The diary and letter-books of Judge Samuel Sewall are owned by the Mass. Historical Society, and have been printed in their *Collections*, xlv., xlvi., xlvii., li., etc.[5]

Lodge in his *Cabot* makes use of the papers of Governor Strong.

The papers of General John Thomas are in the possession of his descendant, William Appleton Thomas,,of Kingston, Mass., bound in two volumes. Some use of them has been made in a brief memoir, *The Life and Services of Maj.-Gen. John Thomas, by Charles Coffin* (New York, 1844). The first volume of the MSS. opens with his commission as surgeon in 1746, but in 1755 he left the medical staff and joined the line officers. Beside drafts of his own letters in Nova Scotia in 1755, there are others of General John Winslow at Grand Pré, and for the campaigns of 1759–60 there are various letters from Fort Edward, and others of Amherst and Timothy Ruggles. The Revolutionary papers cover the siege of Boston and the later part of the Canada expedition in 1776.[6]

The papers of Commodore Samuel Tucker are in Harvard College library, — log-books, instructions, letters, etc. They were used by Shepherd in his *Life of Samuel Tucker*, and are described in the appendix of Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts*.

The papers of General Peleg Wadsworth are not known to exist. It is believed by his family that they were captured with him at Penobscot.

The papers of Samuel Waldo, relating to the French and Indian wars, are in the Mass. Historical Society.

The papers of Gen. James Warren and of his wife, Mrs. Mercy Warren, belong to Mr. Winslow Warren, of Dedham, who has kindly furnished the following particulars: There are 140 letters of John Adams to James and Mercy Warren, between 1773 and 1789, and scattered ones down to 1814, written from Braintree, Philadelphia, and Europe. There is one from Adams to Joseph Warren, which was received after the battle of Bunker Hill, and was delivered to James Warren as the successor of Joseph Warren in the chair of the Provincial Congress. Of this collection of Adams's letters, about twenty were printed by C. F. Adams; and the rest are thought to be unpublished. These 140 letters do not include those showing his part of the epistolary controversy with Mercy Warren, likewise in this collection. Thirty-six letters of Mrs. Adams to Mrs. Warren (1773–1811) are also preserved. From Samuel Adams, between 1771 and 1781, there are 86, — a few of which were printed by Frothingham in his *Rise of the Republic*, and others were used, not always carefully, by Wells. Those from Washington (9) are dated at Cambridge, Valley Forge, Morristown, and Mount Ver-

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Army — Discipline for the Militia, and they were published at Salem and Cambridge (*Life of Pickering*, i. 85; Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, no. 636; *Hist. Mag.*, i. 60; Thornton's *Pulpit*, 308).

The usual likeness of Pickering, by Stuart, representing him at a table, holding a pen, is engraved by H. W. Smith in the first volume of his *Life*, and is also in the *National Portrait Gallery* (1834). It was owned in 1880 by Miss Mary Pratt of Boston; another was owned by Mrs. Thomas Donaldson of Baltimore. His likeness is included among those in Independence Hall. There is a likeness by Lakeman (Aug., 1826) in the Essex Institute at Salem. Cf. the picture in J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Hamilton*, 1879 ed., vii. 176.

[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. 419.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 709.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 12, 27, where two of the letters of March, 1776, are printed. Cf. for letters of 1775 *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, xi. 165; xiii. 231.

[4] Some of Joseph Reed's letters to Quincy during the latter's stay in London are in Reed's *Life of Jos. Reed*, i. 85, etc. Cf. for his character, D. A. Goddard in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 142; Greene's *Hist. View Amer. Rev.* 327; E. S. Quincy in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. 182; J. Davis in *No. Amer. Rev.*, xxii. 176. There is an engraving of a portrait of him in *Memorial Hist. Boston*, iii. 37.

[5] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V.

[6] There are numerous letters of Gen. Ward, several of Joseph Warren, Horatio Gates, Richard Devens, James Warren, Mercy Warren, Charles Lee, John Hancock, John Stark, Thomas Mifflin, J. M. Vafnum, Richard Gridley, — all pertaining to the events around Boston. The letters of Washington at this period are mostly by the hands of his secretaries. Illustrating the campaign on the St. Lawrence and Sorel are letters of Philip Schuyler, Benedict Arnold, the Baron de Woedtke, beside others from the Commissioners of Congress, Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase.

non, and are not published, as is also the case with five from Martha Washington. Other correspondents are John Dickinson (five, 1767–1806), Arthur Lee (fourteen), Elbridge Gerry (nine), James Otis (a single letter while in college), Hancock (addressed to Joseph Warren), Knox, Lincoln, Jefferson, R. H. Lee, John Glover, James Bowdoin, H. G. Otis, James Freeman, etc., — beside the domestic correspondence of Warren and his family, and the original MS. of Mercy Warren's *History*.

The papers of Joseph Warren were burned in a barn belonging to a kinsman in Greenfield, Mass., and his autograph letters are scarcer than those of most of his contemporaries. Some of them were discovered among the Sam. Adams papers in 1842, and there are several letters in the Gen. Thomas papers. A letter given in 1825, in fac-simile, in *The Life of Josiah Quincy, jr.*, was then thought to be the only one known.

Jas: Warren *

The papers of the Williams family, a prominent family in Western Massachusetts during the period of the French wars, are scattered. Those of Col. William Williams are in the Pittsfield Athenæum; a journal of Col. Joseph Williams, during the campaign of 1758, is in Harvard College library; and the papers of Col. Israel Williams are in the Mass. Hist. Society.[1]

For the earlier periods of New England and Massachusetts history, there is probably in private hands no manuscript collections to be compared for value with those in the possession of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop of Boston, where they have finally been gathered, and a large proportion of which, that for a long period were preserved in New London, Conn., were transferred to Boston in 1861. Some of them, which had descended to Mr. Winthrop through his father, were printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxix. and xxx. The publication from the general mass distinctively called *Winthrop Papers* has been thus far in five volumes: vols. i. and ii., 1628–1650 (*Collections Mass. Hist. Soc.*, xxxvi., xxxvii.); iii., being those in part used by the first John Winthrop in his *Hist. of New England* (*Collections*, xli.); iv., the letters of the second John Winthrop and his relatives to the close of the seventeenth century (*Collections*, xlviii.); and v., the papers of Fitz-John Winthrop, and other papers connected with him and Joseph Dudley (*Collections*, liii.). A sixth volume is to contain the papers of Wait Winthrop, and other volumes may follow.

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[1] *Ante*, V. 188.

* After a portrait owned by Winslow Warren, Esq., of Dedham. Cf. Perkins's *Copley*, p. 116.

The main body of the Winthrop papers, beside suffering the loss of those already mentioned as coming to the father of R. C. Winthrop, were also diminished at some time by those which were printed by James Savage in the appendix of his edition of John Winthrop's *New England*, and which are now in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and still further decreased by such as Governor Jonathan Trumbull was allowed to take from them, which now form a portion of the Trumbull papers, and are in part printed in the first volume of the *Trumbull Papers* (*Collections*, xlix.).

In addition to all these printed portions of the Winthrop papers other use has been made of the collections, as will be seen in the *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1864, 1867); in the *Mather Papers* (*Collections*, xxxviii.); and in many parts of the *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, where they have from time to time been communicated by R. C. Winthrop, father and son, in smaller groups, the latest of which being various papers by the Sylvesters of Shelter Island (*Proc.*, Feb., 1889). An account of the manuscript given in the preface and appendix of *Winthrop Papers*, vol. v., says: "Nearly everything of any historical value down to the death of Governor Winthrop the elder, in 1649, has already appeared, and there is very little worth printing of a later date than 1750; but the manuscripts of the intervening century still exhibit a mass of original material, much of it only partially examined, which cannot fail to repay future study."

After the death of Gov. Joseph Dudley in 1720, a part of his papers passed into the possession of his daughter, Mrs. John Winthrop, and so got engulfed in the Winthrop papers; and these Dudley papers include some letters of Lord Cutts, the friend and patron of Dudley, which were printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d series, ii. 171–198.

Among the minor collections of Revolutionary papers in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society are: some of those of Artemas Ward, 1775–1776; a miscellaneous collection formed by the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell; those of Oxenbridge Thacher;[1] the Boston Port Bill letter-books, 1774–76; and sundry other papers in collections lettered "Miscellaneous Papers, vol. v., 1761–1776;" "Miscellaneous Papers, 1632–1795;" "Miscellaneous Papers, vol. i., 1777–1780;" "Papers of Cotton Mather and others, 1702–1792;"[2] the papers of Nathaniel Appleton, the commissioner for Massachusetts of the Continental Loan Office, 1778, etc.

The cabinet of the Mass. Historical Society contains some other earlier collections of papers; but no good list has as yet been printed. A tentative list is given in their *Proceedings*, x. 158. Chief among such collections may be named: the Holmes papers, mainly relating to the ecclesiastical history of New England, 1726–1825; the Andrews and Eliot letters, 1720–1810; the Wallcut Papers, 1678–1840; those collected by Jeremy Belknap, 1660–1776, and another collection, 1637–1799 (cf. *Proc.*, x. 323); Winslow papers, 1737–1775; Colman letters, 1697–1747; Pepperrell papers, mostly of 1745–1746; Col. Israel Williams papers, 1730–1780, — not to name others; beside various miscellaneous collections.

There are various orderly-books in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, a list of which, prepared by Mr. Nathaniel Paine, has been printed in the *Proceedings*[3] of that society.

There seem to be no papers preserved in the western parts of the State.[4]

Of the period later than that of the active Federalists, the most conspicuous use has been made of the papers of Daniel Webster. Such as the literary executors did not deem useful for their purpose finally passed from Peter Harvey to the New Hampshire Historical Society, where they now are. The reserved portion was used by Geo. Ticknor Curtis in his *Life of Webster*, and after that, excepting such portion as passed to Charles P. Greenough of Boston, the collection was burned in New York.

The papers of Edward Everett are in the hands of Dr. William Everett, of Quincy.

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[1] Given by Miss Quincy in 1882, who supposes them to have come to Josiah Quincy, Jr., in 1765, when Mr. Thacher died, and was succeeded in his law business by Mr. Quincy. A few of them are printed in the society's *Proceedings*, xx. 46, etc.

[2] This collection contains many of the letters of the Committees of Correspondence of Boston and other Massachusetts towns.

[3] New series, vol. i. pp. 163–165.

[4] Professor A. L. Perry, of Williamstown, writes to me: "The papers of Joseph Hawley, if they had been preserved, would have been invaluable; but I believe them to have been mostly scattered long ago, for a descendant of his gave me several stray pieces of no great consequence twenty years since. Not even the papers of Col. John Stoddard were cared for or kept together. Another thing that makes this end of the State barren is the fact that nearly all the great men — the quondam leaders — were tories, such as Israel Williams, John Worthington, William Williams of Pittsfield. Col. Benjamin Simonds, of Williamstown, was the military leader in Berkshire throughout the Revolution. He was colonel of the sole regiment till 1777, and colonel of the northern regiment till 1781. He commanded the Massachusetts men at Bennington, and the Berkshire men at White Plains."

NEW HAMPSHIRE. — The New Hampshire Historical Society has of late been procuring copies and calendars of papers from the English Public Record Office, illustrating early New Hampshire history. Mr. John Scribner Jenness caused at one time certain transcripts, relating to early New Hampshire history, to be made from the documents in the Public Record Office, and printed them as *Transcripts of Original Documents in the English Archives relating to New Hampshire* (N. Y., 1876). The book was privately printed, and soon became scarce; and the papers covered the dates 1629–1723. They have of late been reprinted in the *New Hampshire State Papers*, vol. xvii.

The archives of the province were partly burned in 1736; but the State has printed the essential part of its remaining records in its *Provincial Papers*, which reach the Revolutionary period in vol. vii.: *Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire from 1764 to 1776*,[1] covering the administration of John Wentworth, the last royal governor,[2] the correspondence of New Hampshire with the other colonies in organizing the methods of the Revolution,[3] and the journals of the early provincial Congresses.[4] The next volume (viii.) of the series is denominated *State Papers, 1776–1783*.[5] A volume (ix.) is given to the papers relating to *Towns, 1638–1784*, covering necessarily the local agitations of the Revolution; and then the last, edited by Bouton (vol. x.), gathers up omissions and papers on certain definite subjects, and is called *Provincial and State Papers, 1749–1792*. It includes much on the great controversy of the New Hampshire Grants, 1749–1791;[6] goes over the period of the British attempts to alienate the people of Vermont; gives a brief history of the controversy by Dr. Belknap (pp. 221–228); and finally it presents the letters and orders of the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, 1779–1784 (pp. 501–620). The New Hampshire Historical Society has the MS. records of conventions of the New England States, held at Providence in 1776, at New Haven in 1778, and at Boston in 1780. They are printed in the *New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. ix. They print in the same volume the orderly-books of Capt. Daniel Livermore's company, West Point, 1780; and of Adjutant Sylvanus Reed, Rhode Island campaign, 1779.

A supplementary series of *Town Papers, Collection of 1880*, makes the next three volumes (xi., xii., and xiii.). These were edited by I. W. Hammond between 1882 and 1884, based on twelve MS. volumes in the Archives, so denominated. A further collection was at the same time arranged from the manuscripts, called *Indian and French Wars, and Revolutionary Papers, Collection of 1880*, extracts from which are printed in vols. xi., xii., and xiii. The *Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775 to May, 1777* (1885),[7] which has a few French and Indian war-rolls prefixed (29 pp.), are printed in vol. xiv., and later ones in vols. xv., xvi., and xvii. (1886–1888), also edited by Mr. Hammond. Vol. xvi. has also pension lists, paid prior to 1790. Vol. xvii. contains the Revolutionary war papers of Col. Timothy Bedel; others from the collection of Mrs. Harry Hibbard; others on Sullivan's Staten Island expedition, 1777; papers from the English Archives, 1629–1686, and from the State Archives, 1675–1725, — which last series will be continued to 1800 in vol. xviii., now in press.[8]

Chas. H. Bell has set forth in an address the part taken by the State in the Revolution.[9]

The local histories and a few biographies touch the war in its influences upon the life of the people, — as in Cochrane's *Antrim;* J. W. Jewett's *Barnstead* (p. 104); Edward D. Boylston's *Hillsborough County Congresses at Amherst (N. H.), 1774 & 1775, with other revolutionary records* (Amherst, N. H., 1884); Worcester's *Hollis* (ch. xii., etc.); C. A. Bemis's *Marlboro* (ch. iii.); Gould and Kidder's *New Ipswich;* Grant Powers' *Coos Country, 1754–1785;* Cogswell's *Nottingham, etc.;* A. Smith's *Peterborough;* Brewster's *Portsmouth;* Wm. Bassett's *Richmond;* Stearns's *Rindge;* Runnel's *Sanbornton;* H. A. Blood's *Temple;* a *Hist. of Washington, N. H., 1768–1886* (Claremont, 1886); Morrison's *Windham* (ch. vi.), etc.

Beside the biographical memoirs later to be mentioned, there are reminiscences of the Revolution in C. R. Corning's *John Fenton* (Concord, N. H., 1886) and Mary P. Thompson's *Memoir of Judge Ebenezer Thompson of Durham, N. H.* (Concord, 1886, — privately printed).

The principal MS. collections of New Hampshire men are as follows: —

The correspondence of Josiah Bartlett is much scattered, and is found in various collections of papers.[10]

Among the manuscripts collected by Dr. Belknap in New Hampshire, and constituting a portion of the third volume of one of the sets of Belknap papers in the Massachusetts Hist. Society's cabinet, are various papers of the times of the Stamp Act commotion and some of the correspondence of the Sons of Liberty.

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[1] Ed. by Nath. Bouton (Nashua, 1873). See *ante*, Vol. V. p. 166.

[2] The autographs of the royal governors are given on pp. 396–398.

[3] Pp. 250, 329, 353, 381, 456, 475, 488, 498, 512.

[4] Pp. 407, 442, 452, 468, etc. The journal of the first Congress is also printed in the *Hist. Mag.*, xiv. 145. There is a volume of selections from the Revolutionary papers in the office of the secretary of state of New Hampshire, in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxv.

[5] Ed. by Bouton (Concord, 1874).

[6] See further, Vol. V p. 178.

[7] In the *Hist. Mag.*, xiv. 145, there is a list of the officers of the N. H. regiments during the war. Frederick Kidder published a history of *The First New Hampshire Regiment in the Revolution* (Albany, 1868).

[8] Letter of I. W. Hammond, June, 1889.

[9] *Hist. Mag.*, Oct., 1868. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1870, p. 354, and a paper by E. H. Derby in *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 34.

[10] A few of his letters, 1776–1778, are in the *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 73. A small portion of his papers is preserved in the library of the "Northern Academy of Arts and Sciences" at Hanover, N. H. A statue of Bartlett was unveiled at Amesbury, Mass., July 4, 1888, with an oration by Robert T. Davis. Cf. *Presentation of the Bartlett Statue by Jacob R. Huntington* (Newburyport, 1888).

The correspondence of Jeremy Belknap and Eben Hazard, the one mainly in Dover, N. H., and the other in Philadelphia, begins in Jan., 1779, and goes through the war, — as printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xlii.

The papers of Jonathan Chase of Cornish, a militia colonel, who was at Saratoga, relate to his regiment's service, and contain a few letters from Generals Gates, Morey, Bedel, etc. Some of them have been printed in *Town Papers*, xi., xii., xiii., and in the *Revolutionary War Rolls*, vol. xvii.

The Belknap papers (Mass. Hist. Soc.) also contain many other documents relating to New Hampshire,[1] including letters of Richard Waldron (b. 1650, d. 1730) and of Lieut.-Gov. John Usher. A volume of Belknap Papers in the *N. H. Hist. Soc.* contains some correspondence of Governors Wentworth and Shirley.

When Sparks, in 1831, caused copies to be made of some of the papers (1774–1783) of John Langdon, the originals were then in the possession of Langdon's daughter, Mrs. Elwyn of Philadelphia;[2] and later they were in the hands of Dr. A. L. Elwyn of Philadelphia, who, reserving what he considered the most important, gave the rest to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. These last consist of building accounts of vessels ordered by Congress, drafts of speeches, and a few letters, beside other miscellaneous documents. They also include some of the papers of William Whipple, which apparently fell into Langdon's hands, including drafts of his letters and a letter-book, 1781–1784. Since Dr. Elwyn's death they have been in the charge of the Rev. Alfred Langdon Elwyn.

A portrait and some of the letters of Alexander Scammell are given in the *Mag. of Amer. History*, Aug., 1883.

I find no record of the papers of Nathaniel Peabody,[3] but an important paper, of which, with Philip Schuyler and John Matthews, he is the signer, has been recently found in the New Hampshire Historical Society. It is the proceedings of the committee appointed by Congress, April 13, 1780, to visit headquarters, with their report and correspondence with general officers.[4]

The General Sullivan papers are now in the keeping of Thomas C. Amory of Boston, but are eventually to become the property of the N. H. Historical Society. When Sparks, in 1827, made his copies (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xx.), they were in the possession of Sullivan's grandson, Dr. Steele of Durham, and were later on deposit in the Portsmouth Athenæum. There are scattered letters of Sullivan in the *Trumbull Papers* (vol. iv., etc.); others in the papers of Meschech Weare in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet; and copies of others from the New Hampshire Archives are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xxxv.)

There are a good many of the papers of Meschech Weare in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. One of the lots contains the letters, mostly original, of Jay, Sullivan, Steuben, and others, addressed to Weare, between 1779 and 1782. Two other volumes, *Letters and Papers, 1777–1824*, are in large part made up of his papers, including much illustrating the campaign of 1778 in Rhode Island.[5] Other letters of Weare are among the *Trumbull MSS.*

The *Proceedings of the N. Y. Hist. Soc.* (1848, p. 41) show that Mr. Jacob B. Moore, sen., then librarian of that society, deposited with it the correspondence and papers of Meschech Weare, in ten folio volumes, covering the period 1680 to 1786, and accompanied by a chronological index. They are now in the possession of George H. Moore and Frank Moore of New York, or were recently.

The correspondence of Gov. Wentworth, 1767–1778, is preserved in the Nova Scotia Archives,[6] the governor having been at a later day the executive of that province, and a transcript of his letter-book has been made for the office of the secretary of state at Concord.[7]

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii., vol. i.) copies made in 1840 at the State Paper Office of the correspondence of the royal governors of New Hampshire and the home government (1765–1774), and (vol. iv.) the correspondence of Gov. Wentworth with the Board of Trade, and minutes of the Board (1767).

The correspondence of Secretary Waldron and Gov. Jonathan Belcher (1731–40) is in the N. H. Hist. Society.

Copies of some of Stark's papers, made in 1827, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxix.; others in xxxv.)

Various letters of Eleazer Wheelock, of Dartmouth College, are scattered through the *Trumbull Papers* (vol. iii., in 1771, etc.), and a considerable collection of his papers is in the possession of the college, secured in part through the interposition of Judge Mellen Chamberlain.

A part of William Whipple's papers seem to have passed into the hands of John Langdon, as already mentioned. Some of his letters are given in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee* (vol. ii. p. 111, etc.), and others (1776) are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlvii.). No considerable mass of Whipple's papers are known to exist.

What is left of the papers of Col. Timothy Bedel is in the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and they have been printed in the *N. H. State Papers*, xvii. With the same society were also at one time the papers of Nathaniel Peabody, but they have disappeared, and except that the society published some of them they have left no trace. Some found a few years ago in a junk shop were acquired by the State, and are printed in *N. H. State Papers*, xvii. p. 386. The *Life of William Plumer*[1] is said not to have made full use of Plumer's MS. autobiography, which is in existence. It is not known that the papers of Matthew Thornton exist.[2] A very few of the papers of Judge Thompson are preserved at Durham by a descendant.[3] Those of Paine Wingate have been scattered.

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[1] *Ante*, V. 166.

[2] Sparks MSS., lii., vol. ii. There was published in Philadelphia, in 1880, *Letters by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and others, written during and after the Revolution to John Langdon, New Hampshire*. This volume was edited by Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn, but the volume has neither contents, introduction, nor index, and it is said that some of the most important papers were not included. There is a portrait of Langdon at present hanging in Independence Hall.

[3] Some of his correspondence is printed in the *N. H. State Papers*, xvii., as mentioned later.

[4] It is a MS. volume of 354 pages, and it is attested by Col. Abraham Brasher, secretary of the committee.

[5] Letters of Washington to Weare are printed in the *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 150–194.

[6] T. B. Akins's *List of MS. Docs. in the Government Offices at Halifax* (1886), p. 9.

[7] Steps have been taken to supplement them by copies of other papers in the Public Record Office in London.

Vermont. — The principal Revolutionary interest in Vermont, irrespective of the fight at Bennington, is the intermittent controversy between the people of the New Hampshire grants and New York (see Vol. V. p. 179), and the attempts of the British, through their Canadian commander, to alienate the people of the grants from the patriot cause.

The Haldimand papers[4] illustrate the negotiations which extended from Jan. 11, 1779, to March 25, 1783. (See the *Vermont Hist. Soc. Collections*, ii. 59–366.) There are copies of Beverly Robinson's and Ethan Allen's correspondence (1780–81) in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. ii.), of the correspondence of Clinton and Haldimand (1779, etc.) in *Ibid.* (xiv.), and other papers on the subject, copied from the MSS. in the Royal Institution, during 1780–82, in *Ibid.* (no. lxx.) There are scattered letters of Ethan Allen among the *Trumbull Papers* (vol. iv.).

The printed records of Vermont for this period are the *Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council;*[5] and the *Vermont State Papers; being a collection of records and documents, connected with the assumption and establishment of government by the people of Vermont; with the Journal of the Council of Safety, the first constitution, the early journals of the general assembly, and the laws from 1779 to 1786, inclusive. Added, the proceedings of the first and second councils of censors. Compiled and published by William Slade, jun., secretary of state* (Middlebury, 1823).

The papers collected by Henry Stevens, sen., first president of the Vermont Historical Society, and covering the history of that State from about 1758 to 1846, were bought by the State of New York in 1875, and are as yet unarranged; but Mr. Fernow informs me that they include papers of Ethan and Ira Allen, with other papers showing the commissary details of the Northern army.

Rhode Island. — The records of the Revolutionary period in the office of the secretary of state include, beside the general records, those of the Council of War (1776–1781), various military returns, the journals of the Senate and the House, documents relating to the destruction of the "Gaspee" (one volume), petitions and papers of letters of marque (1776–1780), orders of the King in Council (1734–1783), and numerous miscellaneous documents.[6] The Carter-Brown library possesses transcripts of papers, relating to Rhode Island, in the British Archives (1636–1769), in ten volumes, the latter part of which refer to the beginning of the Revolutionary troubles,[7] and many of these papers have been printed in the *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, of which the sixth and later volumes refer to the Revolutionary period.[8] The *Sparks MSS.* (no. lix.) contain papers selected in the Public Offices of the State.

The documents in the case of Torrey *v.* Gardner respecting the Narragansett lands (1734) are in the Prince library, and they are enumerated in the appendix of the *Catalogue* of that collection (p. 157).

There are also in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. iii.) copies of the official correspondence of the authorities of Rhode Island with the home government (1763–1776).

Various letters of Gov. William Greene are in the *Trumbull MSS.*, and others are in the Gov. Ward papers.

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[1] *Ante*, VII. 320.

[2] *Letter of Chas. H. Bell, Aug. 27, 1886.*

[3] Letter of Miss Mary P. Thompson.

[4] The Haldimand papers in the British Museum are indexed in the *Additions to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus., 1854–1875* (London, 1880), under such heads as Allen (Ethan) and Vermont. A *Calendar of the Haldimand Papers* is now publishing by the Dominion Archivist at Ottawa. See description on a later page.

[5] Vol. i., 1775–1779 (1873); vol. ii., 1779–1782 (1874).

[6] John R. Bartlett's *Bibliog. of Rhode Island* (1864), p. 246. This list shows about 1000 titles. The collection of Rhode Island books formed by S. S. Rider of Providence (1885) is said to show 3000 titles of bound volumes, and 15,000 of pamphlets. Cf. an *Index to the printed acts and resolves of, and of the petitions and reports to, the General assembly of the state of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, 1758 to 1862. By John Russell Bartlett* (Providence, 1856–63).

[7] Bartlett's *Bibliog. of R. I.*, p. 249.

[8] See Vol. V. p. 166. Other papers are given in Cowell's *Spirit of '76 in R. I.* Arnold, *Hist. of R. I.*, ii. 376, refers to the papers in the secretary's office. He speaks of the Records of Portsmouth, the town forming the most northerly part of the island of Rhode Island, as the most complete and best preserved records in the State; but he says there is a gap in them from Dec., 1776, to Nov., 1779 (Arnold, ii. 389). The town histories of Rhode Island, except those of Providence and Newport, have not much upon the Revolutionary times beyond such local aspects as are presented, for example, in Frederick Denison's *Westerly and its witnesses, 1627–1876* (Providence, 1878, ch. 15). Number Ten of the *R. I. Hist. Tracts* is an *Historical Inquiry concerning the attempt to raise a regiment of slaves by Rhode Island during the war of the Revolution, by S. S. Rider* (Providence, 1880); other numbers of this series are mentioned elsewhere. Cf. Staples' *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, which was edited by Reuben Aldrich Guild (Providence, 1870). James N. Arnold's paper on the "Causes of the popularity of the Revolution in Rhode Island" is in the *Narragansett Hist. Register*, iv. 81.

The papers of Gov. Henry Bull are owned by Henry Bull of Newport.

Many of the papers of Samuel Ward, governor of Rhode Island (1762–63 and 1765–67) are preserved. His official letters were given to the State by a descendant, and are printed in the *R. I. Colonial Records*. His descendant, Mr. John Ward of New York city, possesses his diary during the Continental Congress of 1774 and 1775–76, which has been printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. pp. 438, 503, 549, 696; and the letters written during this period down to his death, Mar. 26, 1776. These letters have been used by the late Professor Gammell in his *Life of Samuel Ward*, and in a paper by their present owner, called "The Continental Congress before the Declaration of Independence," published in the *N. Y. Geneal. and Biographical Record*, Apr., 1878. (Cf. also *Ibid.*, Apr., 1877.) There are copies of some of the Gov. Samuel Ward papers in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxv.)

The papers collected by S. G. Arnold (R. I.) are owned (those bound) by the John Carter-Brown library, and (unbound) by Mrs. S. G. Arnold of New York city.

The papers gathered by Isaac Backus are in the Rhode Island Hist. Society.

The Carter-Brown library, so rich in printed sources, is not particularly well equipped with manuscripts. The most conspicuous manuscripts are the original of Champlain's West India voyage, elsewhere referred to (*ante*, ch. v.; and Vol. IV. p. 133), and an Italian portolano of the sixteenth century, the only example, so far as I know, of such an early cartographical record preserved in America. It is an atlas on vellum, containing 28 leaves of maps in colors heightened with gold, of which five show the American continent; but they represent two opposed sets of the cartographical views prevailing at that time, one making North America adjoined to Asia, and the other showing it distinct from the older continent. It is described in Quaritch's *Catalogue, Hist. and Geog.* (1885), no. 28,159, and by Mr. Winsor in the *Amer. Hist. Asso. Papers* (i. 438).

Prof. Edw. T. Channing in his *Life of William Ellery* in Sparks's *Amer. Biography*, vol. vi. p. 128, says that Ellery's friends destroyed all his letters at his own request, but that "it was not known how the letter-books and journals used in this [Channing's] memoir escaped." Col. T. W. Higginson printed a journal of a journey to attend Congress in 1777–1778 in *Scribner's Monthly*, Jan., 1880.[1] It is understood that a mass of his papers descended to his youngest son, Wanton Ellery, from whom they passed to the grand-daughters of the patriot, the Misses Ellery of Newport. Some Ellery papers were in the possession of the late James Eddy Mauran of Newport; and others of a later day were given by Mr. Mauran to the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The most considerable collections of Revolutionary papers gathered by a Rhode Island officer are those of General Nathanael Greene. Caldwell, in the preface of his *Life of Greene*, in 1819, says of Greene's papers: "No inconsiderable portion of the materials necessary to complete his biography has been lost through the negligence of those to whom they were entrusted. In various parts of the country individuals are known to have been in possession of volumes of his official letters, but on strictest inquiry few of these documents are now found."

The statement made by William Johnson in his *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of General Greene* (Charleston, 1822) is that Mrs. Shaw, Greene's youngest daughter and administratrix, delivered to him the private correspondence of the general, which had at that time never been examined,[2] and requested C. C. Pinckney, who then had in his charge the official papers of the Southern campaign, to deliver them to him. These last papers had been committed on the disbanding of the army to Major Edward Rutledge, whence they passed successively to his son, Henry Rutledge, and to General Pinckney. Johnson found them well preserved and well arranged, and says that Greene had been induced to preserve everything carefully, out of respect for a wish of Joseph Reed that the latter might have material for writing a history of the Revolution, which he then looked forward to doing.

He also says that in addition to these papers he had access to "the private cabinets of Greene's friends," and was assisted by Pendleton, later Judge Pendleton, who had been a member of the general's military family. Greene's grandson, Professor George W. Greene, prepared in 1846, from the common printed authorities and at the request of Sparks, the *Life of Nathanae* *Greene*, which is included in Sparks's *American Biography*.[3] Later, Professor Greene received the family papers, amounting to over 6,000 documents, and began the preparation of the much more elaborate *Life of Nathanael Greene* which, in three volumes, was published in New York in 1867–71. He printed many of the etters entire and large extracts from others in his first two volumes; but in his last volume, which begins with he opening of Greene's great campaign in the south, he is much more sparing of the use of the papers in so xtended a way. The efforts which have been made to induce Congress to buy the Greene papers have failed. They are said to be at present in the possession of Mrs. P. M. Nightingale of Brunswick, Georgia. There re some letters of Greene among the Ward papers.

Step. Hopkins Chair

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[1] Higginson's *Travellers and Outlaws* (Boston, 1889), nd *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, July, 1888.

[2] Ramsay took notes from Greene's papers, but carried no manuscripts away. *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 26.

[3] Second series, vol. x.

The papers of Stephen Hopkins were swept, in Sept., 1815, from the house where they were deposited, by a tide, raised by a great gale.[1]

The original papers in the Hopkins and Ward case are in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

The letters and diaries of James Manning, covering the Revolutionary period, are in the library of Brown University, and have been used by Reuben A. Guild in his *Life, Times and Correspondence of James Manning, 1738–1790* (Boston, 1864). In the same library are the papers of Hezekiah Smith, a chaplain in the Revolutionary army, which have been used by Dr. Guild in his *Life, journals, letters and addresses of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D. D., of Haverhill, Mass., 1737–1805* (Philad., 1885).

A body of correspondence of the Revolution (1775–1782), from papers in the Rhode Island Historical Society, is printed in their *Collections*, vol. vi. (1867).[2]

CONNECTICUT. — A statement of the condition of the *Archives* of the State in 1849 is given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1849, p. 167. At that time, about 50,000 papers before 1790 had been bound in 138 volumes and indexed.[3] The printing of the *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, ordinarily referred to as *Colonial Records*, has as yet proceeded no further than 1775. Of the series, vol. xii. (1762–1767), published in 1881, vol. xiii. (1768–1772), published in 1885, and vol. xiv. (1772–1775), are the last printed. The volumes are edited by Charles J. Hoadly. The State has also printed a *Roll of state officers and members of the General Assembly of Connecticut from 1776 to 1881* (Hartford, 1881).[4] Some of the Continental rolls of the State are in the War Department at Washington, but the State has taken steps to have copies made. There is in the first vol. of the Trumbull Papers (MSS., no. 138) a statement of the Connecticut troops in the service of the United States in 1782. A roll of the officers and men who served from Connecticut is in preparation for publication, under the charge of the adjutant-general of the State.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. iii.) copies of the official correspondence of the home government with the authorities of Connecticut (1763–1776).

A special book, *A Historical Collection of the part sustained by Connecticut during the War of the Revolution, by Royal H. Hinman* (Hartford, 1842), is an accumulation unskilfully arranged, and it includes (p. 159) an epitome of the legislation in Connecticut touching the Revolution, and (p. 325) the acts of the governor and Council of Safety, June 7, 1775, to May 6, 1778.

A *Report of the Secretary of State and State Librarian on the Ancient Court Records* (Hartford, 1889) has recently been made to the General Assembly. The following facts are from it: The legislative records from April, 1636, to April, 1775, have been printed. Those of the State, still in MS., begin in 1776. The records of the Particular Court are succeeded by the county courts in 1666. They include Probate Records. The records of the Court of Assistants begin in 1669 and end in 1715; those of the Superior Court cover 1711–1798. A separate statement is made regarding the courts in Andros's time, with other accounts of those of the counties. The records of the New Haven jurisdiction between 1644 and 1653 have disappeared, and one volume remains of later records, which were printed in 1858. The records of the Plantation of New Haven, 1639–1649, etc., were printed in 1857; a continuation to 1662 exists in MS., followed by the town records, 1662–1678.

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[1] Stone's *Life and Recollections of John Howland*, p. 47. Foster in his *Stephen Hopkins*, app. B, beside enumerating such of Hopkins' letters and papers as are preserved in print, adds a list of those unpublished which he succeeded in finding.

[2] *Revolutionary correspondence from 1775 to 1782, comprising letters written by Governors Nicholas Cooke, William Greene, John Collins, Jonathan Trumbull, Generals Washington, Greene, Sullivan, and others.*

In the Rhode Island Historical Society's library there are the following Revolutionary papers: —

The MSS. of Gov. Nicholas Cooke, governor of Rhode Island, 1775–1778, in two bound volumes, the second of which is "Revolutionary Correspondence, 1775–1781." Other letters of Cooke are in the *Trumbull MSS.*

The MSS. of Theodore Foster, secretary of the Rhode Island Council of War, 1776–1781, in sixteen volumes, and letters to him in two volumes, a large portion of which belong to the same period.

The MSS. of Commodore Esek Hopkins, in three vols.

The MSS. of Moses Brown, a prominent Rhode Island Quaker, in fourteen volumes, the papers of 1770–1792 being in vols. ii. to vii.; beside miscellaneous material in three volumes.

Capt. Stephen Olney's "Account of a portion of the war."

Col. Christopher Lippitt's "Autobiographical sketch."

Much Revolutionary material can also be found in "Military Papers" (4 vols.); "Rhode Island Manuscripts" (10 vols., — particularly the last volume); "Providence Papers," 1643–1793 (1 vol.); "Miscellaneous Manuscripts" (1 vol.); "Miscellaneous Papers" (6 vols.); papers of Jabez Bowen, a leader in Providence; the diary, etc., of Chaplain Enos Hitchcock, and Col. Ephraim Bowen's account of the burning of the "Gaspee."

The papers of Gen. James Mitchell Varnum are not known, and I am informed by his grandnephew, Mr. John M. Varnum of Cambridge, that he knows of only a few fragments of them. The only memoir of him is by Wilkins Updike in *Memoirs of the Bar of R. I.* (1842), which is condensed in Hildreth's *Pioneer Settlers of Ohio*. The papers of Gen. Joseph B. Varnum, a brother of James M. Varnum, are in the keeping of Mr. John M. Varnum, and contain correspondence with John Adams, Gideon Granger, and George Thatcher. An autobiography of Joseph B. Varnum is printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1888.

Mr. S. S. Rider has in his MSS. collections some of the papers of Gov. Benedict Arnold, the pension memoranda of General Nathan Miller, miscellaneous papers of Theodore Foster, orderly-book of Col. Daniel Hitchcock, the papers of Henry Marchant, and other documents of the Revolution. The papers of John Howland, a revolutionary soldier (cf. *Life and Times of John Howland*), belong to R. P. Everett; and those of Thomas Vernon are in the Newport Historical Society.

[3] Cf. *ante*, V. p. 166.

[4] It has engravings showing the five different state-houses at New Haven and Hartford since 1719.

"Beside the regular records of the General Assembly," says Mr. Hoadly, "which are unbroken, and those of the Council of Safety [at present in the State Library], there are in the State Library thirty-eight volumes of Revolutionary archives in manuscript; but most of the papers possess limited interest, the most valuable of the documents belonging to our archives being among the so-called Trumbull Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society."

The great bulk of the Trumbull Papers, thus referred to, belong to the period of the Revolution, and were accumulated in Governor Trumbull's hands because of his official station, and in these days, when the opinions respecting the right to public papers are more sharply defined than they were formerly, would unquestionably be held to be the property of the office, and not of its incumbent. They were offered to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1794, shortly after its formation, apparently because the establishment of such a society created fit custodians of such papers, and presumably because, at that time, it occurred to no one that the public offices of Connecticut would be a fitter place for them, since it was customary for public offices then to pay little attention to the preservation of records. The offer came from David Trumbull, son of the governor, and in the name of the heirs, and as carrying out the intention of Governor Trumbull to deposit them "in some public library." The offer was accepted, and the papers were received in loose bundles, late in 1795.[1]

Jon.th Trumbull

In 1845 the State of Connecticut made an equitable claim upon the society for these papers, as in the main the papers gathered by Trumbull in his official character, and retained by him, as was then customary, as his private property, but as being, in the light of later practices, properly a part of the archives of the State. The society fell back in the main on their possession of fifty years, and on the honest creation of a trust by the son of Governor Trumbull, which they were bound to fulfil, and declined to surrender the papers.[2] In 1885 the society printed, as the forty-ninth volume of its *Collections*, a selection from the papers, containing, beside some of the earlier ones, the letters of W. S. Johnson already referred to, and letters of Col. Jedidiah Huntington written during the siege of Boston. The preface of this volume gives some notes respecting the history of the papers.[3] Others of Gov. Trumbull's papers are in the Connecticut Historical Society.

The local records of the Revolution are exemplified in Miss F. M. Caulkins's *New London* (1852); William Cothren's *Ancient Woodbury* (1854, vol. i.); D. M. Mead's *Greenwich* (1857); Henry Bronson's *Waterbury* (1858); H. R. Stiles's *Ancient Windsor* (1859); R. H. Phelps's *New Gate of Connecticut* (Simsbury)

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[1] They were arranged in thirty volumes, though one or two volumes were probably bound when received. Vols. i. to xviii. contain papers arranged chronologically, 1750–1783. Vol. xix., which included for the most part much earlier papers, was burned, while in the hands of James Savage, in 1825. Vols. xxi. and xxii. hold papers not Revolutionary. Vol. xxiii. embraces for the most part printed papers and broadsides. Vol. xxiv. (though not numbered) has "Military Returns, 1752–1784." These volumes were probably loose papers when received. Vol. xxv. (to give this and later ones a number) is labelled "Washington," and contains official papers, 1779–1783, mostly signed by Washington, but not written by him. Vols. xxvi.–xxix. are letter-books of Trumbull, containing copies of letters sent and received, covering his correspondence with Washington, Schuyler, Gates, the president of Congress, and others. Some of the names more frequently occurring are those of Joseph Spencer, Matthew Griswold, Jedidiah Huntington, David Wooster, Roger Sherman, Samuel H. Parsons, Oliver Wolcott, William Williams, General James Wadsworth, Return J. Meigs, Roger Enos, Oliver Ellsworth, G. S. Silliman, Ezra Stiles, William Ledyard. Vol. xxx. has the letters of the agent of Connecticut in London, William Samuel Johnson.

These last letters have been printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* (vol. xlix.), edited by Dr. Charles Deane. They include a few letters from Governors Pitkin and Trumbull, and from Richard Jackson, the regular colony agent in London, — Johnson having been sent to watch the Mohegan case. They cover the period from Feb., 1767, to June, 1771, and give the observations of a keen spectator upon the movements in English politics at this time affecting American interests. Sparks copied some of Johnson's letters (*Sparks MSS.*, lii., vol. iii.). E. E. Beardsley, in his *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson* (Boston, 1886), refers to Johnson's diary during this period and to the papers of the Johnson family. He gives a portrait after Stuart. Cf. also *Harper's Mag.*, Nov., 1883, p. 815.

[2] Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 322, 331, 343, 357, 366.

[3] Papers of so active a correspondent as Trumbull are naturally found in most of the larger collections of Revolutionary papers. There are many letters to and from Trumbull among the Meschech Weare papers in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet (*Letters and Papers, 1777–1780*, vol. i.).

The *Trumbull MSS.* have been used by Barry and various other writers.

The usual portrait of Gov. Trumbull is one taken late in life, representing him full face, one hand in his breast, the other extended and resting on a cane. The original, painted by his son, Col. John Trumbull, is in the Trumbull gallery, New Haven. It has been several times engraved, by O. Pelton, E. Mackenzie, J. G. Kellogg, etc. Cf. Hollister's *Connecticut*, vol. ii.; *N. E Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1835), etc. A small canvas, showing the same figure of the governor, but with the form of his wife in the right rear, — perhaps the original study of the larger picture of the governor, — is owned by Mr. Joseph McClellan of Woodstock, Connecticut, whose mother was a sister of Col. Trumbull. The same gentleman owns two portraits of this artist, painted by himself.

(1860 and 1876); W. C. Fowler's *Durham* (1866); E. B. Huntington's *Stamford County* (1868); C. H. S. Davis's *Wallingford* (1870); F. M. Caulkins's *Norwich* (1874); Ellen D. Larned's *Windham County* (1874); H. R. Timlow's *Southington* (1876); T. S. Gold's *Cornwall* (1877); Samuel Orcutt's *Torrington* (1878), and *Stratford and Bridgeport* (1887); D. W. Teller's *Ridgefield* (1878); C. B. Todd's *Redding* (1880); S. Orcutt and A. Beardsley's *Old Town of Derby* (1880); S. Orcutt's *New Milford* (1882); *Memorial Hist. of Hartford County* (1886); C. H. Levermore's *Republic of New Haven* (1886).

A considerable mass of the letters of John Allyn (d. 1696), long the secretary of the colony, are among the Winthrop papers.

Copies of some of the letters of Benedict Arnold (1775–1780) are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii.).[1]

The correspondence of Judge David Doggett, 1783–1830, is preserved in the library of Yale University, and Prof. F. B. Dexter has printed a few selections in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society.

The correspondence of Silas Deane between 1774 and 1776 (beginning in Connecticut, Apr. 13, 1774) is printed in the *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. p. 129, etc., and shows the progress of the political revolution in Connecticut. Many of the letters were addressed from Connecticut to Mr. Deane while he was in Philadelphia attending the Congress. There are occasional letters of Deane among the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. iv., etc.). Among some papers presented to the N. Y. Hist. Soc. in 1847, by William Jay, was a "Copy of the Correspondence of Silas Deane with Gov. Trumbull, Benjamin Tallmadge, and J. Wadsworth, 1781–1782."[2]

Sparks was allowed the use of a large number of Deane's papers, put into his hands by Mr. Mitchell of Hartford (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii., vol. ii., and no. lii.; cf. also no. xxv.). These cover the years 1776–1785 and embrace his correspondence with the secret committee of Congress and with Vergennes. Many of his papers are in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Isabella G. Thomas. This collection is understood to have been placed in the hands of Mr. Charles Isham of the N. Y. Hist. Society, for editing.

The memoir or address of Deane to Congress, Dec., 1778, as printed in *Papers in relation to the case of Silas Deane, now first printed from the original MSS.* (Philad., Seventy-six Society, 1855), is somewhat different from and less extensive than the copy preserved by Mr. Sparks. The address was laid before Congress Dec. 21, 1778.

There is noted in the *Brinley Catal.* (i., no. 2138) Mr. Deane's own copy of his memorial to Congress, Dec. 21, 1778, with the documents by which it was supported; the proceedings of the Committee of Secret Correspondence on his appointment (Mar. 2, 1776) as agent and commissioner to France; his instructions; and his last application to Congress for a settlement of his accounts, May 22, 1779.

Some letters of Deane, or what purport to be such, were printed in *Paris Papers, or Mr. Silas Deane's late intercepted letters to his brother and other intimate friends in America* (N. Y. [1782]).[3]

A valuable collection of the MSS. of the Rev. Samuel Johnson is still preserved in the old Johnson house at Stratford.

Numerous letters of General Israel Putnam are in the *Trumbull MSS.*

Many letters of Gurdon Saltonstall are in the *Winthrop Papers*, vol. v.

The papers of Roger Sherman have mostly disappeared. The bulk of them were not found, as was expected, among the effects of his son Oliver Sherman, when he died in Boston. The small portion remaining are in the hands of Prof. Simeon E. Baldwin of New Haven, Mr. Geo. W. Baldwin of Boston, and the Hon. George F. Hoar of Worcester, Mass. There are various letters among the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. vi., etc.)

The Silliman papers are in the possession of Professor O. P. Howard of New York.

The General Silliman papers belonged to his grand-daughter, Mrs. Oliver H. Hubbard, when DeLancey was editing Jones' *N. Y. during the Revolution.*

The diary and papers of President Stiles are preserved at Yale College. Cf. H. M. Dexter's *Congregationalism*, bibliog. App. p. 288.

A portion of the manuscripts of the Rev. Benj. Trumbull, mainly the material from which he constructed his chapters on the Ecclesiastical history of the State in his *History of Connecticut*, is also preserved.

The portfolios of original drawings and sketches by Col. John Trumbull, which are historically of considerable value, are in the possession of Mrs. Arthur W. Wright of New Haven.

The papers of Commissary-Generals Joseph Trumbull and Jeremiah Wadsworth are in the Connecticut Historical Society.

The Connecticut Historical Society possesses a part of the papers of Gov. Oliver Wolcott[4] and the records of the Connecticut branch of the Cincinnati Society.

NEW YORK. — The Archives of New York have been twice subjected to the ravages of fire: once in 1740–41 and again in 1773. It has been said it was owing to Vattemare's remonstrance at seeing porters use the documents of the Archives in packing boxes of books that Dr. O'Callaghan was employed to do the work upon the Archives which has been associated with his name; but the statement has also been denied.[1]

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[1] Cf. notes to the chapter on Arnold and André, *ante*, Vol. VI.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 33.

[3] This is a scarce tract. Menzies, no. 545; Brinley, ii. no. 3998.

[4] The papers were arranged by Wolcott himself. They make 20 volumes of letters, and 30 of official papers. They were used by George Gibbs in his *Administrations of Washington and Adams.*

The historical records of the State of New York were in 1881 transferred from the custody of the secretary of state and of the comptroller[2] to that of the trustees of the New York State Library, when Mr. Berthold Fernow was placed in charge of them. This custodian described them briefly in a report printed in the *Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the N. Y. State Library* (for 1881, Albany, 1882). He says that the earliest record preserved is an Indian deed of the land whereon Hoboken now stands, dated July 12, 1630, and from that time till 1664 the Dutch period is covered in 21 volumes; following upon these come 84 vols. of colonial manuscripts, with about 25,000 different papers, which were in a confused mass when Dr. O'Callaghan arranged them. Added to these and running parallel are 44 volumes of General Entries, etc. Of other importance are the Duke's Laws (1665), Dongan's Laws (1683–84), and later laws (1685–1732). Then we have the records of the Commission for settling the bounds between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, those of the commissioners on the Mohegan controversy (1743), and a mass of evidence of the claims of New York against New England (1750).

Mr. Fernow enumerates, as belonging to the Revolutionary period, the following: —

1. *Journal of the New York Convention and Committee of Safety, 1776–1778*, 10 vols.
2. *Revolutionary Papers, 1775–1777*, 12 vols.[3]
3. *Historical Manuscripts*, 23 vols.[4]
4. *Assembly Papers*, 1777, etc.
5. *Minutes of the Council of Appointment*, 1777, etc.
6. *Minutes of the Council of Revision*, 1778, etc.
7. Various treasury accounts, quartermasters' papers, pay-roll and military registers, with records of confiscations.
8. *Vermont Controversy*, 1777, 1779.

The State has just begun a new series of publications, *N. Y. State Archives, N. Y. in the Revolution, prepared by Berthold Fernow*, vol. i., Albany, 1887, which contains the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress (pp. 1–162); the New York line of the Continental Army[5] (pp. 163–253); the participancy of N. Y. in the naval operations (p. 529); and extracts from the Vermont Papers, collected by Henry Stevens and bought by the State of N. Y. (p. 534), relating to the Green Mountain Boys and Vermont militia.

There are also in the State Library two volumes of the Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Committee of Correspondence of the Association for the Safety of the City and County of Albany, Jan. 24, 1775, to June 10, 1778.

The State has also printed of its Revolutionary records the following: —

Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony, 1691–1775, in two volumes (Albany, 1861).

Journal of the votes and proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, 1766–1776.[6]

Laws of the State of New York, 1777–1780[7] (Poughkeepsie, 1782).

The proceedings of the last Provincial Assembly of New York, Jan. 10–Apr. 3, 1775, are printed in Jones's *N. Y. during the Revolution* (i. p. 506).

Gov. Tryon carried off some part of the public archives, and Franklin (Sparks, ix. 140) was instructed to insist in his negotiations on the return of them.

H. Moore

Of the copies of documents secured from the London Archives by Mr. Brodhead,[8] vols. xxxvii. to xlvii.

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[1] On the losses, see *ante*, IV. p. 411; also on the Archives, V. 231.

[2] An account of them while in these offices is given in the preface (p. ix) to the English part of the *Calendar of Hist. Docs.* (1868).

[3] Nos. 1 and 2 were printed in 1842 in the *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York.* Some portion of the proceedings of the Committee of Safety for Dec., 1776, not printed here, has been found among the Clinton papers. Copies of the records of the New York Committee of Correspondence, 1774, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxix.)

[4] A portion of these are printed in the *Calendar of the Historical Documents relating to the War of the Revolution* (Albany, 1868, in two volumes). Cf. Sabin, xiii. no. 53,555.

These papers begin Mar. 15, 1775, and contain the correspondence, etc., which make them the natural supplements of the *Journals* issued in 1842.

[5] Cf. A. B. Gardner on the "New York Continental line in the Revolution" in *Mag. of Amer. History*, vii. 401; "Col. Philip van Cortlandt and the New York Continentals" in the *New York Geneal. and Biog. Record*, July, 1874.

[6] It was reprinted at Albany in 1820. Sabin (xiii. 53,720–21) gives the various editions.

[7] They were printed contemporaneously in folio to 1796; after that in octavo. Sabin, xiii. nos. 53,734, etc.

[8] *Ante*, IV. p. 409–10.

* From a plate in Valentine's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1851.

cover the years 1764–1782. These are included in volumes vii. and viii. of the printed *New York Colonial Documents*. The first of these volumes (1756–1767), issued in 1856, pertains largely to Indian affairs, and shows much of the correspondence of Sir William Johnson, the troubles of the Stamp Act period, and the correspondence of Gov. Moore with the British government. The other volume (1768–1782) covers, among other documents, the correspondence of Governors Moore and Tryon and Lieutenant Geo. Colden with Hillsborough, Dartmouth, Lord George Germain, and others of the home government, beside letters of Col. Guy Johnson and Sir Henry Clinton.

Of the papers from the Paris Archives, numbered ix to xvii, as bound in manuscript (1745–1774), and printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x., only four documents are of later date than 1763. Other copies have recently been made from the Archives. (Cf. list in the *Seventy-first Report of the State Library*, 1888, p. xiii.)

Sparks says that the correspondence of Edmund Burke with the Assembly of New York during his agency (Dec., 1770, to Apr., 1775) for New York is not known to exist, except one letter on the Quebec bill in the Archives of the New York Historical Society. This correspondence has been studiously excluded from all publications of his writings in England.[1]

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii., vol. ii.) copies, made in 1840 at the State Paper Office, of the correspondence of the royal governors of New York with the home government (1763–1774) and (vol. iv.) with the Board of Trade (1763, etc.).

There are also in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxix.) various copies from papers in the secretary's office at Albany, made in 1826; (no. xxxvii.) memoranda from the journals of the Provincial Congress (1775–1777), the Committee of Safety (1775–1776), and of the Constitutional Convention (1775); (no. xxxviii.) letters addressed to Gen. Monckton (1760–1770), then in England, which have been printed in the *Aspinwall Papers* (vol. ii.).

The manuscripts collected by the late Col. Thomas Aspinwall of Boston, pertaining to early Virginia history, with later papers by Gates, Bouquet, and Monckton,[2] went with the Aspinwall library to New York, and are now owned by Mr. S. L. M. Barlow of New York, who also owns a collection of early MS. maps collected by Henry Harrisse.

In regard to the papers of Aaron Burr, Davis, his biographer, says that Burr gave to him for use an "immense quantity" of letters and papers. Davis destroyed all of Burr's correspondence with women. Some of his papers were acquired in 1885 by the State Library (*Report*, 1886) from Mr. Van Gasbeck of Kingston, N. Y. The bulk of his papers, however, is said to have gone to the paper-mill.

The papers of George Clinton, a considerable portion of which were public papers, have passed into the New York State Library at Albany. The larger and more valuable portion, bound in 23 volumes, chronologically arranged, showing 6,307 numbers and more than 7,000 papers, are mostly confined to the Revolution, though there are some papers as late as 1800. These were bought of the family in 1853.

In 1883, another unarranged mass was bought from one of the representatives of the family and added to the other lots. These papers supplement the others, but also are continued to the time of DeWitt Clinton. From these, 2,300 papers were selected as having enough interest to be added to the original accession, being bound in eleven additional volumes. The entire series now consists of thirty-four volumes.[3]

There are some selections from the papers of Geo. Clinton in the *Sparks MSS.* (xii.)

The Clarendon papers, relating to early English rule in New York, are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Fund Publications*, ii.

The letter-books of Cadwallader Colden (1760–1775) have been printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections* (Publication Fund series), vols. ix. and x., — the manuscripts being in the possession of that society.[4] See *ante*, V. p. 241. Other Colden papers are in the possession of Mr. S. S. Purple of New York city.

Transcripts of some of Gen. Conway's letters, 1777–1778, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. iii.)

The MS. collection of Gordon L. Ford of Brooklyn is an extensive one, numbering, it is said, 100,000 pieces. It includes 50 letters of Alexander Hamilton, 60 of Robert Morris, 25 of Lafayette, others of Benedict Arnold; and a number of letters, orderly-books, and privateer papers of the Revolutionary period.

Some papers of General Gage are in the New York Hist. Soc. library; and a volume of his letters, while in command in New York before the outbreak of the Revolution, is in the Harvard College library.

The papers of Albert Gallatin are in the library of the N. Y. Historical Society; and some, used by Henry Adams in his *Gallatin*, are in the Department of State at Washington.

Copies of some of the Gansevoort papers (1777) are among the *Sparks MSS.* (lx.)

Some of the papers of Daniel Horsmanden, 1714–47, are in the N. Y. Hist. Society. (Cf. its *Proc.*, 1845, p. 39.)

The papers of John Jay are preserved in the original packages as indorsed by himself; but the files were revised by his son, and those deemed unimportant removed. Many of the letters are unpublished. Bancroft, who was given access to them, calls the collection "very extensive and preserved in perfect order." Jay, at his death in 1829, left them to his sons, but they were not to divide them. One of them, William, used the files in the preparation of *The Life and Writings of John Jay*, published in 1833, who, by the death of his brother becoming sole proprietor of them, bequeathed them on his death in 1858 to his son, John Jay, who now possesses them.[1] Some papers were given by William Jay to the New York Historical Society in 1847,[2] and Professor Johnston of the College of the City of New York is preparing them for publication.

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[1] Sparks's *Gouverneur Morris*, i. 51.

[2] They have been printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxix.

[3] Reports of the custodian of the collection, Judge Geo. W. Clinton, in the 64th to 67th *Reports of the New York State Library*. The judge died in Sept., 1885. There is an additional statement in the *Report* for 1886.

[4] In two volumes, with additional papers of the extent of two more volumes. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1847, p. 61. Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 241.

A portion of the papers of Sir William Johnson is in the State Library at Albany.[3]

Copies made by Henry B. Dawson of the papers of Gen. John Lacey are in the State Library at Albany. They contain his autobiography, his journal to Ohio in 1773, and his order-books for 1776, 1778, 1780, and 1781, beside his correspondence and miscellaneous papers, and record his services in New York city, at Sorel, Isle-aux-Noix, Ticonderoga, and at Valley Forge.[4]

The papers of General John Lamb are in the New York Historical Society's library, and form the basis of Isaac Q. Leake's *Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb, an Officer of the Revolution, who Commanded the Post at West Point, at the time of Arnold's Defection, and his Correspondence with Washington, Clinton, Patrick Henry, and other Distinguished Men of his Time* (Albany, 1857).[5]

Some of the papers of Gov. Leisler are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Fund Publications*, vol. i.[6]

The letter-book of Capt. Alex. McDonald of the Royal Highland Emigrants, 1775–1779, is in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1882, pp. 203–498.

The New York Historical Society[7] also possesses the papers of John McKesson, the secretary of the N. Y. Provincial Congress.

Copies of a few of Gen. Montgomery's papers are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. ii.)

When Sparks wrote his *Life of Gouverneur Morris*,[8] *with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers*[9] (Boston, 1832, in three volumes), he spoke of the manuscripts left by Morris at Morrisania as being furnished to him by the widow. They are still there, but do not become numerous till about 1789. Sparks stated that Morris did not give the attention to the preservation of his papers during the Revolution that he bestowed upon them in later life. The copies which Sparks used are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxiv.; cf. also no. lii.)

The letters of General Lewis Morris are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections* (1875, p. 433, etc.), from the family papers of Mr. Henry M. Morris.

The letters of Robert Morris, 1775–1782, have been printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections* (1878, p. 397). The Robert Morris papers are owned by Gen. J. Meredith Read, and are now in a Safe Deposit vault in New York city. The late H. A. Homes, of the New York State Library, examined them and printed a brief statement respecting them.

In the *Hist. Mag.* (i. 277) there is a descriptive account by Mr. S. Alofsen of the Schuyler papers as they were while in that gentleman's hands from 1840 to 1854, when he arranged and indexed them. They next were in Mr. Bancroft's hands, and in 1857 had passed (after they had become mutilated) to the care of Mr. Lossing, who further describes them in his *Life of General Schuyler*, where good use is made of them.[10] The copies which Sparks made of some of them are in the *Sparks MSS.* (nos. xxix. and lx.)

The papers of Baron Steuben (about 3,000 pieces) are in the library of the New York Hist. Society. Sparks had a portion of them copied in 1827, beginning in 1778 and going through the war, and these copies are now among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xv.)[1]

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[1] Letter of Mr. Jay, Aug. 28, 1886.

[2] *Proceedings*, 1847, p. 135. As to Jay's scrupulous care of his papers, see *John Adams' works*, viii. 446, 451.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. V.

[4] *Report N. Y. State Library* (1884), 1885, p. 15.

[5] It has a portrait of Lamb. Cf. on Gen. Lamb, Jones' *New York during the Rev.*, ii. ch. 21.

[6] Cf. *ante*, V. p. 240.

[7] *Proc.*, 1847, p. 81.

[8] A pleasing portrait of Morris as painted by T. Sully, and engraved by J. B. Longacre, is given by Sparks. The picture is at Morrisania. It represents him at half-length,

Gouvr Morris

sitting at a table, upon which his open hand is laid, as if engaged in conversation. A profile likeness is given in the quarto edition of Irving's *Washington*. There is a picture in Independence Hall.

For articles on Morris, see *Poole's Index*, p. 872; especially J. W. Francis in *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 193 (Apr., 1868); C. K. Meredith in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 185; and an interview described by Edward Everett in *Old and New*, vii. 49.

The latest life of Morris is by Theodore Roosevelt. He complains of the changes which Sparks made in the text of Morris's letters and diary. He used Morris's letters in the Jay and Pickering MSS., and derived help from an article by H. C. Lodge in the *Atlantic*, April, 1886; another in *Macmillan's Mag.*, Nov., 1885; and two others on Morris's life in Paris by Miss A. C. Morris in *Scribner's Mag.*, Jan. and Feb., 1887. This lady has since edited *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris, Minister of the United States to France [1789–1793], with portraits* (New York, 1888).

[9] A French translation, *Memorial de Gouverneur Morris*, by Glandais, was published in Paris in 1842, with annotations.

[10] De Lancey regrets that they have not been printed in full. Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, ii. 579. Cf. *Ibid.* ii. ch. 17, for a sketch of Schuyler. When Lossing used them they were in the keeping of Mr. George L. Schuyler of New York city, a grandson of the general, and Lossing reports (*Life of Schuyler*, i. p. vii) that they then consisted of several large letter-books of Schuyler's own letters and numerous files of letters received. After the general's death the papers were neglected and many were lost. Some of them are printed in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, vol. i. Schuyler won the admiration of Graydon (*Memoirs*, p. 143).

A copy of a letter to Washington, Aug. 25, 1789, accompanied by a "State of facts" respecting his services during the Revolutionary War, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. iii.)[2]

Steuben
Maj General

Francis Bowen in his *Life of Steuben* in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, vol. ix., made use of the Steuben papers, and says that he derived the little that he learned of his early career from the drafts of his petitions to Congress preserved among them. Occasional letters are in the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. ix., etc.)[3] Kapp mentions other papers as preserved at Utica.

The papers of William Alexander, Lord Stirling, having descended to his widow, were for a while lost sight of, but when discovered were given to the New York Historical Society. They were used by his grandson, William A. Duer, in his *Life of Stirling*.[4] Some of the most important of the papers are missing, such as his correspondence with the English statesmen on American affairs, and his correspondence with Washington, which was separated from the others for better preservation and then forgotten. A few of the papers are copied in the Sparks MSS. (no. xxxix.) When received by the Historical Society they were bound in three volumes; but there was a mass unbound which generally antedated the bound papers, and in bulk making three more volumes. They extend from 1717 to 1783.[5]

The papers of Daniel D. Tompkins are in the State Library at Albany.

According to Lossing (*Mary and Martha Washington*, p. 278), the correspondence of Schuyler and Hamilton, on political aspects, was destroyed by direction of Gen. Van Rensselaer.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lx.) "papers copied from the manuscripts of Peter van Schaack relating to the loyalists, written in London." They were used by H. C. van Schaack in his *Life of Peter van Schaack* (N. Y., 1842).

Van Buren's unfinished autobiography and other papers were committed to C. H. Hunt for use in writing a life, which has never appeared (preface to Van Buren's *Polit. Parties*). Cf. Shepherd's *Van Buren* (*Statesmen Series*).

The papers of Maj. Weemys are in the Mass. Hist. Society.[6]

The New York Historical Society has also the papers of Col. Walter Stewart, Col. Allen McLane, and William Duer.[7] The same society has a miscellaneous collection of Revolutionary papers, but no calendar has been printed of them.

Among the private collections of historical manuscripts in New York, that of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York city, is said to be among the first in importance. It is contained in between forty and fifty large folio volumes, and illustrates the colonial and Revolutionary period.[8] The great collection of Dr. W. B. Sprague, after having vainly sought a purchaser in the federal and state governments, is said to have at last fallen into private hands in Philadelphia.[9]

Mr. I. N. Stauffer has a good collection relating to the Revolution.

Some of the local historical societies have gathered a few papers. There are some orderly-books and journals in the Cayuga County Historical Society.[10]

NEW JERSEY. — The legislative action of New Jersey dates back to 1683, and two hundred years later the anniversary was celebrated.[11] Of the printed series published by the N. J. Hist. Soc. at the expense of the

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[1] For portraits of Steuben, see Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., after original in New York City Hall; also E. M. Stone's *French Allies*, p. 138; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1883; Lossing's *Field-book*, ii. 341. For his dwelling and grave, see *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1862. For "Steuben in Virginia," see *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 301. Cf. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.* octavo, iii. 1135.

[2] The collection of Mr. J. H. Osborne of Auburn, N.Y., has a long letter in French, giving an account of the inducements held out to Steuben to come to America.

[3] A letter in fac-simile is given in Smith's *Hist. and Lit. Curiosities*, 2d ser., pl. xxvi. Col. Wm. North (his aid) wrote a sketch of Steuben, which was printed as an appendix to Thacher's *Military Journal*. A sketch of Steuben, found among North's papers, is printed in the *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, March, 1882, p. 187. The most considerable narrative, however, is the life written in German by Friedrich Kapp (reviewed in *N. Am. Rev.*, xc. p. 171, in 1864), upon which George W. Greene based his account in his *German Element in the War for Independence* (N. Y., 1876). Greene also in his *Hist. View of the Amer. Rev.* (pp. 233, 298, 311) records the great service of Steuben in moulding the army of the Revolution into an organized force. Cf. Sparks's account in his *Washington*, v. app. 526.

[4] Contains a portrait of Stirling, who first entered the service in command of a New Jersey regiment. Cf. A. S. Mackenzie in *No. Amer. Rev.*, lxiv. 435; W. A. Whitehead in *Princeton Review*, xix. 315; the account in De Lancey's notes to Jones, ii. ch. 18 and p. 579.

[5] *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1847, p. 60. They count about 2,000 pieces, and were rearranged in 1848 in five volumes. The earlier papers contain important documents while Stirling was an aid of Shirley, 1755-56, from the death of Braddock to the arrival of Loudon.

[6] Cf. *ante*, VI. p. 578.

[7] Cf. note xlvii. to Jones' *N. Y. during the Rev.*, vol. ii.

[8] Some account of Dr. Emmet's collection is in Draper's *Essay on Autograph Collec.* (1889), pp. 60, 77, 81, 85, 90.

[9] There is an account of his career as a collector in Draper's *Essay*.

[10] There is a small collection of Revolutionary papers in the hands of J. H. Osborne of Auburn.

[11] *Celebration of the bi-centennial anniversary of the New Jersey legislature, 1683-1883* (Trenton, 1883).

State and known as *New Jersey Archives*, but entitled *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*,[1] the last volume published at the time of writing (Sept., 1889) is the tenth, which covers the administration of Gov. William Franklin, 1767–1776. A general index to the series was published in 1888.[2]

In 1752 the Provincial legislature published the original *Grants and Concessions* of the proprietors to the first settlers, and the *Acts of the Legislature* of East and West Jersey till 1703. This collection is sometimes cited as *Leaming and Spicer*, from the names of its compilers, and it has been recently reprinted.

There is in the *Sparks MSS.* a small collection of copies from the public offices of New Jersey, made in 1826.[3]

The Board of Proprietors of East Jersey have at their office at Perth Amboy very full records of surveys and warrants for the sale of lands from 1683 to date; and scattered through their minutes and other records is much relating to the government of the colony prior to its surrender in 1702 to the crown. A like class of records is to be found in the office at Burlington of the Board of Proprietors of West Jersey. Much of local history is to be found in both offices down to the Revolution. Many papers relating to these Boards are to be found in the collections of the New Jersey Historical Society (papers of Ferdinand John Paris, and the Rutherfurd, Whitehead, and other manuscripts), of the Pennsylvania and New York historical societies, and in the State Library at Albany, and in private hands.

In the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton are the original records of deeds and wills formerly kept at Perth Amboy and Burlington, for East and West Jersey, respectively, down to the present century, and the original wills to date. In these records are also entered, somewhat promiscuously, charters for public and private corporations, commissions of military and civil officers, and other documents.[4]

Copies of the official correspondence of the royal governors of New Jersey (1765–1774) with the neighboring colonies and with the home government are among the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vols. ii. and iv.), and in no. xi. are various public papers of date previous to 1775. The letter-books of Gov. Belcher are in the Mass. Hist. Society.[5]

The legislative acts of the Revolutionary period were printed at Burlington in 1776 and at Trenton in 1784,[6] and were reprinted in 1835 at Woodbury.

The present adjutant-general of the State, William S. Stryker, who has devoted much time to the elucidation of the Revolutionary annals of New Jersey, published at Trenton in 1872 an *Official Register of the officers and men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, which was prepared, as Gen. Stryker says, "without the aid of any valuable documents preserved by the State."

The State has printed the *Journal of the Governor and Council, 1682–1703* (now reprinting with great care from the original manuscript by the N. J. Hist. Soc. as vol. xi. of the *N. J. Archives*), the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1703, and the *Minutes of the New Jersey Council of Safety* for 1777; and in 1879 it published the *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety* for 1775 and 1776. This last volume begins with certain preliminary records, the first being extracts from the minutes of the Assembly, Feb. 8, 1774, which is followed by sundry county resolutions, the correspondence of the committees of Boston and New Jersey, the records of the Council and Assembly, and various other papers (pp. 1–168). The records of 1775–76 cover the doings of the Provincial Congress, the Council of Safety, the Assembly, the Convention of 1776, and gives the ordinances passed.[7] In 1877 the State also printed an *Index to the Laws, 1663–1877*.

There is also a compilation of the Revolutionary correspondence of the executive of New Jersey, published by the N. J. Hist. Soc. in 1844, which is now out of print.

The papers of Gov. William Livingston[8] were in the possession of Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., when Sparks, n 1832, made the copies now in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. iii.) These copies cover 1776–1777. The originals, contained in ten volumes, are now in the library of S. L. M. Barlow of New York.

The Pettit papers are in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and Sparks nade some copies which are now in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lii., vol. ii.)[9]

The New Jersey Historical Society has the Paris, Robert Hunter Morris, Rutherfurd, and Whitehead manucripts relating to the proprietors of East Jersey, and incidentally to the early history of the whole colony and rovince. It has also many of the papers of John Fenwick of West Jersey, the manuscripts of Samuel Smith forming the body of Proud's *Hist. of Pennsylvania*) touching the history of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and he Quakers. The Society has many minor collections of early papers, as well as orderly-books, journals, and ther material relating to the Revolution. There are also in the Society's keeping the original manuscript of the *Journal of the Governor and Council*, 1682–1703, and certified copies from England of the Journal from 1708 to 1776. The years 1703–8 are missing.

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[1] Newark, 1886.

[2] Cf. *ante*, III. p. 455.

[3] No. xxxvi.

[4] For this and other details thanks are due to Gen. Stryker, nd Mr. William Nelson of the N. J. Hist. Society.

[5] Letter of N. H. Bishop, March 17, 1887.

[6] Brinley, ii. nos. 3,587–8.

[7] The original records of the Provincial Congress of 1776 elong to the New Jersey Historical Society. This instituon has a considerable mass of Revolutionary papers hich is not arranged (*Letter of Wm. Nelson, Rec. Sec.*).

[8] When, in Feb., 1779, Liberty Hall, the seat of Governor Livingston, was ransacked by a party of British for papers, the adroit representations of a young lady in the house guided the plunderers away from the public papers for which they were in search. Cf. "Gov. William Livingston and Liberty Hall" in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, May, 1889, p. 375.

[9] Charles Pettit was secretary of New Jersey. For a note on the family, see *N. Jersey Archives*, x. 133.

In the State Library at Trenton are several volumes of Revolutionary manuscripts, including letters, claims for property destroyed, etc.

Among private collections of manuscripts, that of General Stryker is particularly rich in Revolutionary material. Garret D. W. Vroom of Trenton has much of a general character, particularly political and personal. Judge John Clement of Haddonfield has gathered a great deal pertaining to West Jersey history. William Nelson of Paterson has several hundred documents in his collection of early papers.

PENNSYLVANIA. — The series of published documents known as the *Colonial Records* has been described elsewhere.[1] The period of the Revolution is covered by vols. ix. to xiii., including the minutes of the Council of Safety. In the supplemental series of the *Pennsylvania Archives* (second series) we find in vol. i. the minutes of the Board of War; in vol. iii., papers of the war (1777–81), including officers of the State under the Constitution of 1776, the names of such as took the oath of allegiance;[2] and other records in the first series, vols. iv. to ix. In vol. x. we have the rosters of the Pennsylvania troops, 1775–1783, interspersed with the portraits and autographs of their distinguished officers; other military details[3] in vol. xi., including an account of Pennsylvanians in Col. Hazen's regiment "Congress' Own," 1776–1783; the corps of Count von Ollendorf, 1776–1780; the German regiments of the Continental line, July 12, 1776, to Jan. 1, 1781; with the independent companies raised in the Wyoming Valley and attached to the Connecticut line, and still other details in vols. xii., xiii., and xiv.[4] The MS. originals of the *Col. Records* are preserved in the State archives; those of the series called *Penna. Archives* are scattered.

In the *Sparks MSS.* (no. l.) there is a volume of letters and papers copied from the originals in the office of the Secretary of State in 1826.

The *Pennsylvania Register* of Samuel Hazard is a convenient gathering for the student.[5] Papers relating to the forfeited estates of loyalists belonging to the State, have never been printed.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. iii.) copies of the official correspondence of the authorities of Pennsylvania with the home government (1763–1776).

There are also in the Sparks MSS. (vol. 104) in Harvard College library various papers on the colony of New Sweden, copied from the Stockholm Archives, including a copy, made by I. F. Bahr in 1835, of Lindström's map of the siege of Fort Christine in 1655, and a copy, also by Bahr, of the same date, of Lindström's map of the Delaware, 1654–1655, "Calquée sur cette qui se trouve chez Campanius."

The local aspects of the Revolution are to be studied in the histories of Philadelphia, in the histories of towns as enumerated in part elsewhere;[6] and particularly, for the period of the war, U. J. Jones's *Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* (Phil., 1856); and Lewis H. Garrard's *Chambersburg in the Colony of the Revolution* (Phil., 1856), and in some of the County histories like those by Dr. W. H. Egle of Dauphin and Lebanon counties.

A few of the papers of Elias Boudinot are in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The letter-books of Gen. Brodhead (1779–80) are in the State archives; and they have been mostly printed in the publications of the State.

The manuscripts of Thomas Bradford, commissary of prisoners, are in the same library, as are those of Col. Wm. Bradford, a part of which have been obtained since Wallace prepared his life of Bradford.

The letter-books and correspondence of Major Isaac Craig of the Revolutionary army are owned by his grandson, Mr. Isaac Craig of Alleghany City.

There is in the Philadelphia Library a collection in five volumes of the letters of William Dillwyn, addressed to his daughter, Susanna Emlen, which are of great importance in the study of the social life of the period from 1770 to 1824.[7]

The papers of John Fitch, 1784–1794, are in the Library of Congress, and his MS. autobiography belongs to the Library Company of Philadelphia.

There are copies from the letters of Persifer Frazer in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxi.; they are addressed to his wife, and concern events of 1776–1778 in New York and New Jersey.

A letter-book of General Edward Hand from Fort Pitt, Oct. 10, 1777, to April 11, 1778, is in the Museum at Deerfield, Mass.[8] It pertains to Indian affairs on the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Two large volumes of Hand papers are in the possession of his descendants at Lancaster, Pa.; and these or others have been of late for sale by a dealer in New York.

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[1] Vol. III. p. 510.

[2] Cf. *Names of persons who took the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania, 1777–1789. By Thompson Westcott* (Phil., 1865).

[3] For First Penn. Artillery, see *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* iv.

[4] Cf. "The Butler family of the Pennsylvania line" in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vii. p. 1.

[5] See Vol. III. p. 510; and the opinion of the work expressed in the preface of Reed's *Life of Joseph Reed.* John Dunlap printed in Philadelphia a good many broadsides for Congress, the War Office, the Council of Safety, etc., and many of these are preserved in the library of the Pennsylvania Hist. Society. Chas. R. Hildeburn, in his *Century of Printing*, 1685–1784, records the publications in Pennsylvania during the Revolution. These include the Acts of the Assembly. Cf. Job R. Tyson's address, Oct. 24, 1851, on Pennsylvania in the Revolution.

[6] Vol. V. p. 249.

[7] *Philad. Library Bulletin*, July, 1884, p. 37.

[8] There is a likeness of Hand in *The Campaign of 1776 in Canada*, p. 114. An original likeness belongs to the Hist. Soc. of Penna.

The papers of Capt. Thomas Hutchins are in the library of the Penna. Hist. Soc. They embrace various maps of his making, including one of Fort Pitt and vicinity.

The letters of Gen. James Irvine, of the Pennsylvania militia, while a prisoner on Long Island, are in the Pennsylvania Hist. Society's library.

The papers of General William Irvine are contained in 11 volumes. They were in the possession of Dr. William A. Irvine of Warren, Pa., when Sparks secured copies of some of them for the *Sparks MSS.* (no. liv.), in 1847, and remained in his hands till his death, Sept. 7, 1886, after which they passed into the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. They include also orderly-books of Generals McIntosh and Broadhead, kept at Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Pa.) and Fort Pitt, 1778–79; and one of General Irvine, kept at Fort Pitt, 1781–83. C. W. Butterfield used a portion of them in *The Washington-Irvine Correspondence: The official letters which passed between Washington and Brig. Gen. William Irvine, etc., 1781–1783* (Madison, Wisc., 1882); and others were published under the editing of Mr. F. D. Stone, in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, v. 259.

The Logan Papers belong to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[1]

Papers supposed to be those of Dr. Mease (1776–1783) are in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and copies of some of them are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.)

Among the diaries which have been preserved illustrating life in Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary period are those of Christopher Marshall[2] and Mrs. Margaret Morris.[3]

The Penn papers are in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[4]

The letter-books of Richard Peters are in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

In the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society are the papers of Dr. Jonathan Potts, the deputy director-general of the medical staff of the Northern army, 1775–1780.

The papers of Joseph Reed came from the hands of his grandson, William B. Reed, into the keeping of the New York Historical Society, except a series of letters, written by Washington to Reed during the former's stay at Cambridge in 1775–1776, which are at present in the Carter-Brown library at Providence.

The papers of Benjamin Rush are in the keeping of the Philadelphia Library, and cover the interval 1769–1869. Of the fifty-two volumes and bundles in which they are arranged, one is distinctively devoted to the Revolution; another contains the letters of David Ramsay (1776–1813). The miscellaneous letters addressed to Rush take twenty-six of the volumes, and there is one of Rush's letter-books.[5]

The papers of Arthur St. Clair were found in 1869, in a bad condition, in the possession of the heirs of Col. Robert Graham, in Kansas, and were bought in 1870 by the State of Ohio, arranged, and placed in the State Library. When it was found that the care of the state librarian was not sufficient to prevent the papers being carried off piecemeal by autograph-hunters, the State confirmed an arrangement with Robert Clarke & Co. of Cincinnati for publishing them, and entrusted the preparation of the volumes to William Henry Smith. This editor endeavored, as far as he could, to perfect the rough drafts of St. Clair's letter-books by the letters actually sent, in cases where they could be traced.

The Shippen papers are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society's library. They have been increased from time to time, until they now make ten large volumes. Some part of them were printed by Thomas Balch in 1855;[6] but in the main they refer to ante-Revolutionary times. A portion of the family papers are still in the possession of Mr. Edward Shippen of Philadelphia.[7]

The papers of Charles Thomson were in part copied for William B. Reed, and from his copies a series of hem was printed in the N. Y. Hist. Society's *Collections* for 1878. This includes Thomson's minutes of debates in Congress, July 22 to Sept. 20, 1782.[8] It also embraces papers which show the state of affairs in Pennsylvania in 1774–1775, with a narrative by Joseph Reed (p. 269) touching John Dickinson's conduct, with Thomson's counter-statement[9] (p. 274). The earliest of these Thomson papers is of 1765, and the collection s thought "to include the most considerable part" of all his manuscripts. One of his letter-books belongs to he Hist. Soc. of Penna.

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[1] Cf. *ante*, V. 242.

[2] *Diary of Christopher Marshall, kept in Philadelphia nd Lancaster, Penna., during the American Revolution, 1774–1781*, first entire edition, ed. by William Duane Albany, 1877). The original is in the Hist. Soc. of Penna. brary.

[3] *Private Journal kept during a portion of the Revolutionary War for the amusement of a sister. Ed. by John J. Smith* (privately printed, Philad., 1836; and again, o copies, New York, 1865). There is a copy of the Mararet Morris journal, "kept for her sister, Milcah Martha Moore, at Burlington, New Jersey, Dec. 6, 1776, to June, 78," in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlviii.).

[4] Cf. *ante*, III. pp. 506, 507.

[5] *Philad. Library Bulletin*, July, 1884, p 48. Several tters of Rush are given in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, ii. 159, etc. It is said that a considerable part of Rush's correspondence was destroyed in England. Mr. James G. Barnwell, the librarian of the Philadelphia Library, tells me that among Rush's principal correspondents were Jeremy Belknap and Elizabeth Greene. There are some notes of Rush's speeches among the papers, and much of a medical character. His diary is represented as purposely mutilated.

[6] See Vol. V. pp. 243, 578.

[7] For an account of Edward Shippen, see *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, April, 1883. His likeness, by Stuart, is in the *Nat. Portrait Gallery* (N. Y., 1834). There is a view of the Shippen mansion in Brotherhead's *Signers* (1861), p. 7.

[8] Madison's minutes begin Nov., 1782.

[9] This is also printed from Sparks's copy (1824) in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vol. ii.

Sparks (no. lxii.) made copies in 1828 from them, when they were in the possession of Thomson's nephew, Mr. John Thomson of Newark, Delaware, but they are said to have passed into the hands of a brother's descendant in Memphis. Thomson's private papers are said to have been burnt by him.

The papers of Anthony Wayne, having been for a while in the hands of Mr. Henry B. Dawson,[1] have recently been temporarily deposited with the Hist. Soc. of Penna. There are a few of the Wayne papers (copies) in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxv.) A son of Wayne, Col. Isaac Wayne, furnished the documentary and other evidence which was embodied in a biography of Wayne printed in *The Casket* (Philad.), which was availed of by John Armstrong in his *Life of Wayne* in Sparks *Amer. Biog.*, vol. iv. The *Life and Services of Gen. Anthony Wayne* (Philad., 1845) professes to be founded on documentary evidence furnished by Isaac Wayne.[2]

A part of the papers of James Wilson, signer of the Declaration of Independence, is in the library of the Hist. Soc. of Penna.

DELAWARE. — In the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xv.) is a selection (copies) from papers in the office of the Secretary of State in Delaware, which was made in June, 1826. They begin Oct. 14, 1777, after the battle of Brandywine. Mr. Sparks notes in connection: "When the British were in Wilmington, a short time before the battle of Brandywine, and when they carried off President McKinly, they also took away the public papers and journals belonging to the county of Newcastle, pertaining to the old government. On the 24th of Feb., 1783, the Council voted to send a person with a flag of truce to New York to solicit these papers from Sir Guy Carleton. A few of them only were found. It was said that others had been taken to Charleston. On the 3d of June following it is recorded in the journal that there was reason to suppose these papers had been removed to the island of Jamaica. The president was authorized to take measures to procure them. This seems never to have been done." These Sparks copies contain extracts from the Proceedings of the House of Representatives, 1766–1776; and an account of the single Delaware regiment of the Continental line, which was first commanded by John Haslett, who was killed at Princeton.[3] In the *Papers of the Hist. Soc. of Delaware*, vol. vi., there are minutes of the Council of the Delaware State, 1776–1792 (Wilmington, 1887).

The same Sparks volume has "copies of fourteen letters (1774–1779) from George Read to Cæsar Rodney, the originals whereof are in the possession of Cæsar A. Rodney, Esq.;" and also letters between George Read and others.

A few of the Rodney papers are printed in Niles's *Principles and Acts of the American Revolution* (ed. of 1876, p. 245, etc.), and those of Capt. Thomas Rodney and Cæsar Rodney are said to be in the charge of Mr. J. M. C. Rodney of Wilmington.

The papers of George Read came, in 1836, into the possession of his grandson, William Thompson Read, who had already prepared the sketch of George Read which appeared in Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (vol. iii.); but that memoir contained but eight of the letters which now constitute a large part of the later work of the same author, *Life and Correspondence of George Read* (Philadelphia, 1870).[4] A small part of the Read papers are in the library of the Penna. Hist. Society.

MARYLAND. — The report of the committee of the Maryland Hist. Soc., Nov. 12, 1883, reviews the earlier reports which had been made on the Maryland records. In 1722, a commission to care for the archives, repaired, bound, and transcribed some volumes, and four of such volumes are now in the library of the Maryland Hist. Society. The Report of Nov. 12, 1883, is accompanied by a calendar of the State archives.[5]

This committee procured from the Public Record Office in London all papers relating to Maryland of an earlier date than 1668. The *Maryland Archives*,[6] as printing, have included some of these papers already enumerated, and will include others. The committee report that beside the bound records there are from 8,000 to 10,000 loose papers, mostly relating to the Revolution.[7]

The *Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, held at Annapolis, 1774, 1775 and 1776*, were published at Annapolis in 1774–5–6, and were republished at Baltimore in 1836. The originals are in the library of the Maryland Hist. Society.[8]

The journal of the Council of Safety at Annapolis, 1775–1776, is in the library of the Maryland Hist.

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[1] As stated in his *Assault on Stoney Point* (1863).

[2] Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 336.

[3] Cf a history of this regiment in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Jan., 1886. A copy of the journal of Capt. Kirkland, of the Delaware line (1777–1782), is among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxv.)

[4] A book without contents-table or index, where they are peculiarly needed, as the author's plan is to interject numerous appendices between the chapters. It has a portrait of Geo. Read, engraved by Sartain from a picture in Independence Hall; and in an appendix, p. 572, it gives an account of two likenesses: one, painter unknown, owned by W. T. Read; and the other, by R. E. Pine, owned by a daughter of the late William Read of Philadelphia.

[5] See *ante*, Vol. V. 270.

[6] Henry Stockbridge's paper on "The Archives of Maryland as illustrating the spirit of the times of the early colonists" (*Maryland Hist. Soc. Fund Publ.*, no. 22, Balt., 1886) is in effect a summary of the three volumes of the *Maryland Archives* published up to that time. Seven volumes have now been printed; and in the first volume of Assembly Proceedings, and in the first volume of Council Proceedings, there are calendars of the MS. archives in the custody of the Historical Society, but belonging to the State.

[7] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. 555; V. 271.

[8] Lewis Mayer published in 1854 a *Catal. of the MSS. in the Maryland Hist. Society.*

Society, as is also the correspondence of the Committee of Safety in Baltimore, with their Proceedings, 1775–1776, and the original rolls of the Cincinnati Society of Maryland.

Mr. Rideout, the secretary of Gov. Sharpe, gave to Mr. Robert Gilmor[1] a collection of the papers now belonging to the Maryland Hist. Soc., and known as the *Gilmor Maryland Papers*. They contain Sharpe's instructions, some of his correspondence with officers in America, the governors of the other colonies, and the home government. Gov. Sharpe's letter-books, 1707–1771, were committed to the custody of this society by the State in 1840. In the *Sparks MSS.* (no. ix.) are letters of Sharpe, copied from originals in the office of the Secretary of State at Annapolis. The latest publication of the Maryland Historical Society is: *Archives of Maryland. Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. Vol. i. 1753–1757. William Hand Browne, editor.* (Baltimore, 1888), being the sixth volume of the series.

There are also in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. iii.) copies of the official correspondence of the authorities of Maryland and the home government (1703–1770). The instructions of Gov. Eden, 1769, are in *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 231. In *Ibid.* no. xxix. are various copies from the papers then (1826) in the office of the Secretary of State.

There are various documentary proofs printed in the appendix of Robert Purviance's *Narrative of Events which occurred in Baltimore Town during the Revolutionary War*.[2]

The military service of Maryland is commemorated in Thomas Balch's *Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland line during the Revolution*.[3]

The Peabody Index to the Maryland documents in the State Paper Office, London, was made by Henry Stevens, and the last volume (vol. xi.) covers 1754–1780, and refers to documents concerning the administrations of Governors Sharpe and Eden, the troubles of the Stamp Act period, and the subsequent movements of the war. It is in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, which has also recently procured from England a collection of Calvert Papers, nearly a thousand documents in all, of the Colonial period. A full account of them, with copies of a few, will be published by the Society.

Bacon's edition of the laws (1765) gives in full only six out of the three hundred and more statutes passed prior to 1664. The *Maryland Archives*, printed from MS. sources in Maryland and London, are much fuller. This publication has now (1889) been brought down to 1683.

The Maryland laws of the Revolutionary period are included in A. C. Hanson's edition, *Laws of Maryland made since 1763* (Annapolis, 1787).

For some years the Maryland Historical Society has been causing copies to be made of the parish records throughout the State.

For personal or family papers we have: —

The journal and letters of Capt. Wm. Beatty, of the Maryland line, 1776–1781, are in the Maryland Hist. Soc. library.

The papers of Charles Carroll are said to be in the charge of Ex-Gov. John Lee Carroll, but some are in the cabinet of the Maryland Historical Society.

The papers of Gen. Mordecai Gist are in the Maryland Hist. Soc. library, including correspondence, orderly-books, and other service records.[4]

The Clement Hill papers, relating to surveys in Prince George's and St. Mary's counties, 1660–1720, belong to the Maryland Historical Society.

The papers of Dr. James McHenry, Washington's secretary, still preserved, contain 105 letters from Washington and about 800 public papers.

The papers of M. Du Bois Martin, in the Maryland Hist. Soc., contain the evidences of his agency in the embarcation of Lafayette for America.

The papers of Matthew Ridley of Maryland were in the possession of Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., of New York, in April, 1832, when Sparks caused copies to be made (*Sparks MSS.* lii.) of the "Diary and letters, 1777–1783, containing [adds Sparks] many errors and false suspicions respecting men and things in Paris (particularly Dr. Franklin)."

The papers of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer were destroyed at the evacuation of Richmond, Va., whither they had been sent before the civil war for editing and publication. Miss Stone, of Port Tobacco, has a few.

Some part of the papers of Gen. Smallwood, as well as his portrait, are in the possession of the Maryland Hist. Society.

The papers of Thomas Stone, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, are preserved, but at present inaccessible. Miss Margaret Stone of Port Tobacco, Md., has a few.

The papers of Col. Tench Tilghman, one of Washington's secretaries, are in the possession of Col. Oswald Tilghman of Easton, Md.

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[1] Mr. Gilmor was a successful collector in Baltimore, whose private autograph collection, largely historical, became the basis of the collection now owned by Ferdinand J. Dreer of Philadelphia (Draper's *Essay*, 16, 66). The latter's collection includes many papers relating to the Conway Cabal, and embraces the anonymous letter written by Rush to Patrick Henry.

[2] Baltimore, 1849. The originals of the papers used in this volume are in the Maryland Historical Society. Cf. Sabin, xii. 51,788. Thomas (ii. 157) gives an account of the Baltimore newspapers, 1773–1785.

[3] Philad., Seventy-Six Society, 1857. Cf. *Hist. Mag.* xi. 79; McSherry's *Maryland*, ch. 9.

[4] There is a portrait of Gen. Mordecai Gist in the cabinet of the Maryland Hist. Society.

The papers of Col. Otho Holland Williams were used by Johnson in his *Life of Nathanael Greene*, where he prints Williams' narrative of the defeat of Gates at Camden.[1] Various letters are printed in Osmond Tiffany's address on the *Life of Gen. Otho Williams* before the Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore, 1851). A few unimportant papers are in the possession of Otho H. Williams, his great-grandson; but the more important ones, having been sent to New England for the use of an historical student, were lost on being sent back to Baltimore by water.[2] This was before Col. Williams' death in 1794.

There are some other papers in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, especially portions of the papers of Daniel Dulany, Judge Samuel Chase, Gov. Wm. Paca, and Gov. Thomas Johnson.[3]

VIRGINIA. — Two manuscript folio volumes of the records of the Virginia Company of London, 1619–1624, are in the Library of Congress.[4] A third volume, being the correspondence down to 1625, also exists.

It has been recently announced that the original draft of William Byrd's *Hist. of the Dividing Line* is in the British Museum, and is to be copied for the State of Virginia.[5] A copy made for T. H. Wynne is now owned by R. A. Brock.

The printed archives of Virginia include: —

Ordinances passed at a General Convention at Williamsburg, May, 1776 (Richmond, 1816).

Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates at Richmond [and Williamsburg] *Mar., 1775, and May, 1776* (Williamsburg, 1775–76; again Richmond, 1816).[6]

Journal of the House of Delegates, 1776–1790 (Richmond, 1827–1828, in four volumes). This is continued to the present time.

Journal of the Senate, 1778–1779, 1785–1790 (Richmond, 1827, 1828, in two volumes). This is continued to the present time.

Acts of the Assembly (Williamsburg, 1769), *Report of the Committee of Revisors* [Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton], *appointed in 1776* (Richmond, 1784), and *Public Acts of the General Assembly, passed since 1768* (Richmond, 1785).

Code of Virginia with the Declaration of Independence and Constitution [by J. M. Patton and C. Robinson] (Richmond, 1849, 1860, 1873, 1886).

W. W. Henning's *Statutes at Large, 1619–1792* (N. Y., Richmond, and Philad , 1819–23, in thirteen volumes).

Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 1652–1800. Seven volumes are published, and an eighth is ready for the press.

Something has been said in another place[7] of the depredations which have been made upon the public records of Virginia. To Arnold's raid in 1781 is to be traced the loss of those of Henrico County. They have in the State Library the journal of the Committee of Safety, June 5 to July 5, 1776; of the Council, July 12, 1776, to May 29, 1777; June 2, 1777, to Dec. 31, 1778; Nov. 12, 1782, to Oct. 30, 1783, and the journal of the Commissioners of the Virginia Navy, 1776–79.

Recent searches of Mr. William Wirt Henry make it certain that there still exist the letters to and from the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, a large portion of their journal, as well as the journals of the assemblies and conventions which sat during the Revolution, some of which were published, and the executive journals from 1776 forward. These papers were found by Mr. Brock and examined by him and Mr. Henry in the attic of the State Capitol at Richmond. They contain additional masses of correspondence, resolutions, petitions, rough bills, executive communications, including letters from Washington and other officers, American and French, of the Revolutionary army; journals of the Conventions of 1788, 1829–30, etc.; journals of the House of Burgesses, 1765–1775; a narrative of G. R. Clark's Expedition, with documents pertaining to his life. Mr. Moncure D. Conway has also examined them.

There is in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lxxi.) a volume of *Selections from the papers in the Council Chamber, in Virginia, 1773–1796*, which were copied in 1826,[8] and some, perhaps many, of the originals have since disappeared. Some are still in the Virginia Archives, with a duplicate of Sparks' copy.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii., vols. ii. and iv.) copies of the official correspondence of the royal governors of Virginia with the home government (1764–1774), including Lord Botecourt's instructions, 1768, "copied from the records of the Privy Council Office, 1840;" and minutes of the Board of Trade (1768–

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[1] App. B, vol. i. p. 435.

[2] Letter of O. H. Williams, Sept., 1886.

[3] A portrait of Williams is also in the society's gallery. There is an engraving of him in McSherry's *Maryland*, as also one of another Revolutionary soldier, John Eager Howard.

[4] Mr. Alexander Brown announces for publication the *Genesis of the United States*, a collection of documents elucidating the movement in England, 1605–1616, for the planting of Virginia, or the region from 34° to 45° North lat. in North America, between the French and Spanish possessions. Mr. Brown informs me that he will print about 400 documents, 300 of which are new in an American book, and that he uses in his notes 250 others, dated between 1617 and 1626. He considers the most important of these last, those which present, as opposed to the records of the Virginia Company (1619–24), the views of the Sandys-Southampton and Smyth-Warwick factions.

[5] Cf. *ante*, III. 160; V. 275.

[6] Cf. H. B. Grigsby's *Virginia Convention of 1776, with characters of its members* (Richmond, 1855). Cf. *Hist. Mag.* i. 159; and Henry A. Washington's *Virginia Constitution of 1776* (Richmond, 1852).

[7] *Ante*, Vol. III. p. 159, etc.; V. 278.

[8] On the Virginia Committee of Safety, see *South Atlantic Mag.* (Baltimore), Oct., 1881.

1771); also (no. xxxviii.) papers relating to Lord Dunmore's operations, 1773–1776, which have been printed in the *Aspinwall Papers*, vol. ii. There are occasional letters of Dunmore in the *Trumbull MSS.*

The Aspinwall Papers, printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxix., contain documents relative to the early history of the colony.

Copies of the papers of Col. Theodorick Bland, who had charge of the Convention troops in Virginia, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xli.) They were found in an out-house at Cawson House in 1833, mouldy and rat-eaten, and were in the main published under the editing of Charles Campbell in the *Bland Papers, being a selection from the MSS. of Colonel Theodoric Bland, Jr.* (Petersburg, 1840), in two volumes.

The papers of Col. William Cabell of Union Hill, with others (1735–1822) illustrating the settlement and growth of that part of Virginia, are in the hands of Mr. Alexander Brown of Norwood, Nelson County, Virginia.

The history of the papers of Gov. Dinwiddie has been already traced.[1]

In a report of the librarian of the New York Hist. Soc.,[2] the Gates papers were described, in 1847, as consisting of twenty-two volumes, with a large mass of less important papers unbound. In these last there was the bulk of four volumes to be added to the twenty-two, not counting the unarranged drafts of Gates' own letters, which would extend the complete collection to about thirty volumes, and make about six thousand separate papers in all. They were bequeathed by Gates to Joel Barlow.[3]

Some portion of Gates' papers is also in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York, a part of which was published in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1880. There are occasional letters in the *Trumbull MSS.* Copies of some of the papers are in the *Sparks MSS.* (nos. xxii., xxxix.)

The *Papers, military and political, 1775–1778, of George Gilmer, M. D., of Pen Park, Albemarle County, Va.*, have been printed in the *Va. Hist. Soc. Collections*, new series, vi. (Richmond, 1887).

The papers of Patrick Henry descended to his youngest son, thence to the present William Wirt Henry of Richmond, who is now preparing a life of his grandfather. The papers include a considerable correspondence with Richard Henry Lee, and some correspondence with Washington, Mason, Gates, Henry Lee, Lafayette, and others. They were in large part copied at one time for the Virginia Historical Society, but the copy is not now to be found.[4]

The papers of Arthur Lee have been divided, and are scattered in three different depositories. When Lee became agent of Massachusetts, he received the papers of his predecessor in that office, and thus was possessed of many documents intimately connected with the Revolutionary struggle in that province. His position as London agent of Congress and diplomatic representative on the Continent naturally induced the accumulation in his hands of a great number of important papers. While possessed by Richard Henry Lee, they were used in the preparation of a life of his grandfather, *Memoir of Richard Henry Lee, and his Correspondence with distinguished men in America and Europe* (Philad., 1825, in two volumes);[5] and later he published a memoir of his grand-uncle, *The Life of Arthur Lee, with his political and literary Correspondence* (Boston, 1829, in two volumes).[6] The papers, apparently before the publication of the latter book, were divided somewhat unequally into three portions, as already stated, and with so little judgment that series of documents were broken, and many papers illustrative of one another found ultimately deposits widely apart. On July 24, 1827, he gave one portion to the library of Harvard College, and presumably at about the same date the remaining two portions were placed respectively with the University of Virginia and with the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Those in Harvard College library are now bound in eight volumes, and probably contain about 2,000 distinct papers. A *Calendar* of them was printed in 1882, as No. 8 of the *Bibliographical Contributions* of that library. Those belonging to the University of Virginia were loosely arranged in bundles when inspected by the present writer, but have since been put into better order. In 1858 some of them were printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and during the recent war the originals were committed to a gentleman for safe-keeping, and were lost sight of, but were recovered in 1870. The portion in Philadelphia is bound in two volumes, and is not so extensive as the other two.

Various letters of Lee, and others largely illustrating his captious and suspicious disposition in his dealings with Silas Deane, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxii., vol. ii.), most of them copied "from a book in the state department." Occasional letters are found among the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. ix., etc.)

The papers of General Charles Lee are in the library of the New York Historical Society, and have been printed in vols. iv., v., and vi. of their *Publication Fund Series* (1871–1873); vol. iv. (1754–1776); v. (1776–1778); and vi. (1778–1782).[7]

Sparks, in the preface to the *Life of Charles Lee*, which he wrote for his *American Biography*, vol. xvii., says that the papers of Lee fell, after Lee's death, into the hands of William Goddard, and were later preserved by the family of that gentleman, who never carried out his purpose of publishing a part of them.

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[1] Cf. *ante*, V. 281, 572.

[2] *Proc.*, 1847, p. 60.

[3] *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1867, p. 255.

[4] Alexander H. Everett wrote the *Life of Patrick Henry* in Sparks' *Amer. Biog.*, vol. xi., and Moses Coit Tyler had assistance from the papers in his more recent Life of Henry.

[5] *Letters and other Writings of Madison*, iii. 366.

[6] A preface of a merely rhetorical character conveys no information respecting the papers. The two biographies are in fact badly constructed, and unsatisfactory in the use of the materials employed.

[7] The *Sparks MSS.*, nos. xxv., xxvi., and lii., vol. iii., contain such as Sparks copied in 1845, etc.

Sparks (1846) used the letter-books and other papers; and Sir Henry Bunbury, who also published a *Memoir of Lee* (1838), furnished Sparks with copies of Lee's letters to his sister.[1]

A considerable part of the volume known as E. Langworthy's *Memoirs of the Life of the late Charles Lee, Esq.* (London, 1792; Dublin, 1792; London, 1797, with an appendix called "Anecdotes," etc.; New York, 1813, etc.), is made up of his correspondence.[2]

The papers of Gen. Morgan were offered for sale in New Orleans in 1879.

The papers of George Mason are furnishing material for a publication now in preparation at Alexandria, Va.[3]

The Virginia Historical Society, beside having the papers of Governors Spottswood[4] and Dinwiddie and lesser collections which it has printed, has also other store of manuscript material concerning the history of the State and colony yet to be printed. This includes papers of the Lee, Ludwell, Adams, Cooke, and Massie families, beside various orderly-books of the Revolution, and a MS. history of Virginia by Edmund Randolph. Mr. Brock has examined the sources of Virginian history in the Introduction to vol. vii. of the *Virginia Hist. Soc. Collections.* Dr. Philip Slaughter and Mr. Powhatan Moncure have some of the early Parish registers.

The papers of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe have already been described.

North Carolina. — The action of the later authorities of North Carolina respecting their records is very satisfactory. Of the first half century of the colony's existence scarce anything remains of its original records. From 1664 to 1712 there is nothing pertaining to the executive department. From 1665 to 1754 there are no records of the Assembly except a fragmentary journal of 1715. The dependence to supply these deficiencies has been upon the record offices of England, and Chalmers was seemingly the earliest to explore them for such material, and he appears to have thwarted Williamson, who attempted to follow him in such a quest. In 1827, Hon. Albert Gallatin, then minister in London, in response to a request of the North Carolina Assembly, caused a list of documents in the office of the Board of Trade and Plantations, relating to North Carolina, to be made, but it was at that time expected that Col. Force would print the documents in his *Archives.* The list itself was finally printed by the Legislature in 1843. Later attempts were made to get copies of such documents in 1849, 1855, and 1857; and in 1859 Dr. Hawks and Hon. D. L. Swain were directed to publish two volumes of the documentary history of the State. Other efforts in 1861 were abortive, owing to the coming on of the Civil War. In 1881, a new attempt to publish the records was instituted; but the commission entrusted with the work asked the legislature to authorize them to fill the gaps then existing by obtaining transcripts from London. This completion of the files was entrusted to M. W. Noel Sainsbury of the Record Office in London, and as a result the publication was begun at Raleigh, in 1886, of a series of large octavo volumes, under the direction mainly of the Hon. W. L. Saunders, secretary of state, and called *The Colonial Records of North Carolina.* The volumes thus far issued are: Vol. I., 1662-1712; Vol. II., 1713-1728; Vol. III., 1728-1734; Vol. IV., 1734-1752; Vol. V., 1752-1759; Vol. VI., 1759-1765.

The sources depended on have been the British Public Record Office, — the colonial entry books, colonial papers, Shaftesbury Papers, those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of the Board of Trade and its proprietors and journals, of the plantations-general, and the series "America and West Indies." Occasionally printed documents are reproduced, and such records as are preserved in the State are availed of. Each volume is preceded by an historical sketch.

The original MS. of the Journal of the Assembly of North Carolina, Apr. 4-7, 1775, devoted mainly to the address of Gov. Martin and the reply of the Assembly, is in the Boston Public Library, where is also the MS. Journal of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, Aug. 25, 1774, to Sept. 10, 1775.

In the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxvi.) there is a selection from the papers in the office of the secretary of state in North Carolina, made in 1836, including Journals of the Assembly (1762-1775); of the first provincial convention (1774-1775); of the Provincial Congress (1775-1776), partly printed;[5] of the Council of Safety, 1776. Sparks adds of the records of the Congress of 1776, "This journal was printed. The original is not found in the secretary's office. Public documents of the colonial assemblies were printed in the *North Carolina Gazette*, published at Newbern. There is no evidence that the journals of the Provincial Council and the Council of Safety were printed." The Sparks volume also includes the correspondence of Gov. Caswell, 1777-1779. The Hon. W. L. Saunders, Secretary of State, Raleigh, tells me that Sparks was in error in supposing that the journals of both Congresses of 1776 were not in the Secretary's office; or at least they are there now (1889). Mr. Saunders also tells me there were five of these provincial bodies: 1, *Convention*, Newbern, Aug. 25, 1774. 2, *Convention*, Newbern, April 3, 1775. 3, *Congress*, Hillsboro', Aug. 20, 1775. 4, *Congress*, Halifax, April 4, 1776. 5, *Congress*, Halifax, Nov. 12, 1776. He adds, that in the Secretary's office is a MS. volume containing the journals of all five bodies, except of that which began Nov. 12, 1776, as well as those of the Provincial Council and Council of Safety, which exercised the power of government in the intervals. In the same office is the original journal of the Board of War, 1780–81; that of the Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution in 1789; a large mass of Revolutionary correspondence, in part local.

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[1] Cf. Sparks' *Washington*, ix. 108; his *Corresp. of the Rev.*, iv. 105.

[2] There is a paper on Lee by J. E. Cooke in *Harper's Monthly*, xvii., and a sketch in Headley's *Washington and his Generals.*

[3] Cf. *Madison's Works*, iii. 605, for his opinion that Mason left scant material for his fame.

[4] See *ante*, V. 281.

[5] *Journal of Proceedings, Halifax, Apr. 4, 1776* (Newbern, 1776); reprinted (Raleigh, 1831).

Sparks caused extracts to be made in 1820 from Gov. Tryon's letter-book,[1] when it was in the possession of Obadiah Rich, and this letter-book (Oct., 1764–June, 1771) with a copy of the journals of the Council were bought by Henry Stevens for Harvard College in 1845, and a copy of it was made in 1856 for the State of North Carolina. Stevens says that on comparing the book with the correspondence in the State Paper Office, he found it fuller in some parts.

It appears by a message of Gov. Graham of North Carolina (Jan. 8, 1847) that no letter-books of the executive of that State had been preserved in his office between 1776 and 1784, but that by efforts directed by the legislature he had secured copies, in two folio volumes, of the letters of Gov. Burke between 1776 and 1780; that the papers of Gov. Caswell had been discovered in the office of the Secretary of State; that but few of the papers of Governors Nash and Martin had been obtained, but that such as had been found pertained to the British invasion of 1780–81. He further recommended the publication of the journals of the Provincial Congresses and Committees of Safety (1774–1776), and of the Board of War. The archives were partly burned in 1831. In the Governor's office there are at present copies of the following letter-books, extending beyond their respective official terms: Gov. Caswell, 1777–1787; Gov. Burke, 1774–1781; Gov. Martin, 1782–1785.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vols. ii. and iv.) copies of the correspondence of the royal governors of North Carolina with the home government (1764–1774), and minutes of the Board of Trade (1762). In *Ibid.* no. xlix., vol. i. p. 19, etc., there are memoranda from the records in the public offices made in 1826.

The *Proceedings of the Committee of Safety of Wilmington, N. C.*, 1774–1776, were printed at Raleigh in 1844. The original is in the office of the Secretary of State, as are also the proceedings of the Committees of Rowan, Surry, and Pitt counties, and of the District of Newbern.

The earlier laws of this period are in *A Collection of all the public acts of the Assembly of the Province of North Carolina and C. Newbern* (1752) — made by Samuel Swann for the Assembly; a similar *Collection*, made by James Davis (1755), and *A Complete Revisal of all the Acts of the Assembly of the Province of North Carolina, with marginal notes and references* (Newbern, 1773).

The *Laws of North Carolina, published by J. Iredell* (Edenton, 1791), was reissued as *Public Acts of North Carolina, vol. i. 1715–1790, now revised by F. X. Martin* (Newbern, 1804).

South Carolina. — The public records in the State House at Columbia were removed — all of them, it was then thought — before the destruction which ensued upon the entrance of Sherman's army in 1865; but there is some doubt upon this point.[2] Some early records and loose papers were certainly destroyed.

Such papers as belonged to the Charleston library were sent to Columbia during the war, and escaped destruction then, but I get no satisfactory account of them since. The manuscripts of the South Carolina Historical Society were also sent to Columbia, but the Revolutionary papers in that society's library consist of little more than the Journal of the Council of Safety (printed in their *Collections*, ii. 22; iii. 35), with an unarranged mass of the correspondence of the Council (chiefly of 1776).

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. ii.) copies of the correspondence of the royal governors of South Carolina with the home government (1763–1774), and copies (no. xxxvi.) of various papers in the Secretary's office, made in 1826. These last include Council journals, legislative papers (1773–1776), and journals of the Assembly (1768, 1769–1772, 1782–1783).

The manuscript journals of the House of Representatives of the Revolutionary period and the manuscript acts of the legislature are still preserved.[3] The Journal of the Provincial Congress of 1775 is printed in Force's *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., i. 1109–1118. The MS. journals are complete from 1721, and fragmentary after 1705.

The Shaftesbury papers in the Public Record Office in London are rich in material for early South Carolina history. The only considerable use made of them is in J. A. Doyle's *Maryland and the Carolinas.* The city of Charleston has caused some of these Shaftesbury papers to be copied,[4] and in the *Charleston Year Book* for 1886 some letters written by the colonists are printed as "A relation of the voyage of the Colonists, who sailed from the Thames in August, 1669, via Kinsale, Ireland, and the Barbadoes, visiting Port Royal, and finally settling on Ashley River, where they founded Charles Town."

The collection of the laws are these: —

Public Laws to 1790, ed. by J. F. Grimké (Philad., 1790).

Statutes at Large of South Carolina, ed. by T. Cooper and D. J. McCord (Columbia, 1836–1841). Vol. iv. covers 1752–1786; vol. ix. contains militia acts; vol. x. is a general index.

John C. Calhoun is said not to have had careful habits with his papers, and of those that were left by him a portion was destroyed in the Civil War.[5]

William Henry Drayton collected papers while in Congress, and when he died at Philadelphia, Sept. 3, 1779, he left a manuscript in two volumes about the early Revolutionary movements in South Carolina (1773–1776).

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[1] *Sparks MSS.*, no. lxviii.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 356.

[3] Letter, Sept. 27, 1886, of J. W. Lipscomb, secretary of state.

[4] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. p. 306.

[5] Von Holst's *Calhoun*, p. 5.

It is said that many of his papers were destroyed as containing many secrets of state. Of what escaped, his son, John Drayton, made use in his *Memoirs of the American Revolution from its commencement to 1776, as relating to South Carolina and occasionally referring to North Carolina and Georgia* (Charleston, 1821, in two vols.).[1]

The collection formed by R. W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution, consisting of letters and papers relating to the contest for liberty, chiefly in South Carolina, from originals in the possession of the editor*, is in three volumes, issued in this order: vol. i., 1764–1776 (New York, 1855); vol. ii., 1776–1782 (New York, 1857); vol. iii., 1781–1782 (Columbia, S. C., 1853). The originals here referred to, together with such other documents as he had not printed, were burned with Gibbes' house in Columbia during Sherman's march.

The papers of Gen. Peter Horry have afforded material to Weems, James, and Simms in writing their lives of Francis Marion, and contain letters of Lincoln and Greene. The most extensive use of them is by Gibbes in his *Documentary History of the American Revolution.*

The main body of the Laurens papers is in the keeping of the Long Island Historical Society, which bought them of William Gilmore Simms. Sedgwick, in 1833, in his *Life of William Livingston*, used them when they were in the possession of Edward R. Laurens of South Carolina. Three volumes are filled with the correspondence of Henry Laurens, and an additional volume constitutes his letter-book.[2] One large folio contains the letters of Col. John Laurens, part of which have been printed by the Bradford Club.[3] The collection also contains a large number of loose letters, papers, etc. There are other Laurens papers in the Pennsylvania Historical Society's library, and among the Arthur Lee papers, as printed in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee* (vol. ii. 233, etc.).

Mr. Frank Moore edited some of the *Laurens Correspondence*, 1776–1782, which were published as *Materials for history printed from original manuscripts, with notes and illustrations by Frank Moore, first series* (New York, printed for the Zenger Club, 1861).[4]

William Moultrie's *Memoirs of the Amer. Revolution*, as far as it related to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia (New York, 1802), is largely made up of documents and public letters.

The General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney papers are not preserved in large numbers. There are letter-books, chiefly of a later day, in the South Carolina Historical Society, and a considerable mass is said to be in the possession of the Rev. C. C. Pinckney. These were used by Trescot in his *Diplomacy*, who also had access to those of Gen. Thomas Pinckney.

The Rutledge papers are said to have been destroyed with the family plantation house, many years ago. The collection which William G. Simms had formed was burned with his house in 1865.

GEORGIA. — The records of Georgia were lodged, after the fall of Savannah in 1778, in Charleston, till, when that city was threatened, they were carried to Newbern, N. C.; and were still further removed, under new dangers, to Maryland, whence such as had not disappeared were returned to Georgia after the conclusion of peace (C. C. Jones's *Georgia*, ii. 441).

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vols. ii. and iv.) copies of the correspondence of the royal governors of Georgia with the home government (1766–1774); and in *Ibid.* (no. lix.) the records of the Executive Council, 1775 and 1776, and of the Council of Safety, 1776; also of the Council, 1777–1780; with letters mainly of Gen. Greene, 1781–1783, and Gen. Wayne, 1782.

Perhaps the largest of the private collections of historical papers gathered in Georgia, that of Mr. Tefft of Savannah, was some years since dispersed. The chief private collection at present is that of Col. C. C. Jones, jr.

It is stated in Miller's *Bench and Bar of Georgia* that General Blackshear left papers of interest in elucidating the war of 1812 in the South.

WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES. — Theodore Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West* (N. Y., 1889), in two volumes, in his preface enumerates the collections of papers which he found of importance in tracing the history of the Western country from 1769 to 1783, — particularly the papers in the Department of State, vols. 33 and 49 of those marked *Letters to Washington*, containing many from George Rogers Clark; the *Correspondence, etc., of General James Robertson*, 1784–1814, belonging to the University of Nashville; the *Campbell MSS.*, belonging to Lemuel R. Campbell of Nashville, and elucidating Dunmore's War, the struggle with the Cherokees, the battle of King's Mountain, etc.; papers in the library of the Tennessee Historical Society, consisting of those of Sevier, Jackson, Donelson, Hawkins, and others; manuscripts in the library of Col. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, embracing the papers and an autobiography of Isaac Shelby, manuscript journals of the Rev. James Smith's two tours in the Western country (1785 and 1795), some of the papers of Daniel Boone, of Kentucky, and of George Rogers Clark, notes on Kentucky by George Bradford, who settled there in 1779, a copy of the record book of Col. John Todd, the first governor of the Illinois country, after Clark's conquest, the papers and sketches of Robert McAfee, and the autobiography of Rev. William Hickman, who visited Kentucky in 1776; copies of the correspondence of the Spanish minister Gardoqui, drawn from the Spanish archives, and owned by Col. John Mason Brown of Louisville; the Breckenridge MSS., at Lexington, Ky., belonging to Ethelbert D. Warfield; the Clay papers, owned by Mrs. Lucretia Hart Clay; and the Blount MSS., owned by the Hon. W. D. Stephens of Los Angeles, California.

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[1] *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878, p. xiii. The portrait and house of W. H. Drayton are given in *Harper's Monthly*, lii. p. 1.

[2] There is a Henry Laurens letter-book in the South Carolina Historical Society, but it contains business letters mostly.

[3] *The army correspondence of Col. John Laurens, 1777–1778, now first printed from original letters addressed to his father, Henry Laurens, with a Memoir by W. G. Simms* (N. Y., 1857), being no. vii. of the series. Some of the letters of John Laurens are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. lii., vol. iii.

[4] There were 250 copies printed. Sabin says the club had no existence.

Of the collection of papers in the Northwest, that of Lyman C. Draper of Madison is probably one of the most important, and is probably the largest in private hands west of the Alleghanies. He possesses the papers of Gen. George Rogers Clark, and has amassed much concerning the history of Joseph Brant, Daniel Boone, Robertson, Simon Kenton, Sumter, Sevier, Brady, Tecumseh, and the Wetzels.

The Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan has drawn upon the Canadian archives and the Haldimand Papers for the material relative to the early history of their State, which is found in volume ix. and later volumes of their *Collections*.

The Wisconsin Historical Society, as its secretary, Mr. R. G. Thwaites, informs me, has 115 folio volumes of MSS., beside account books and journals, chiefly relating to the fur trade, Indian affairs, and early settlements of the Northwest, particularly of Wisconsin. In addition to these, it has a number of miscellaneous MS. volumes covering a wider field.

Mention has been made elsewhere[1] of the leading historical societies of the Northwest, in which such papers as exist pertaining to this region are mainly gathered. The Chicago, Western Reserve, and Minnesota Historical Societies have small manuscript collections. O. H. Marshall has an Index Rerum to subjects connected with early Western history, referring to original sources, in his *Historical Writings* (1887).

The papers of Andrew Jackson are now the subject of litigation;[2] and those of the later leading men of the Western States, like Henry Clay, are described elsewhere.[3] The Lewis Cass papers have also been described (*ante*, V. p. 561).

A statement is made in another place of what was done by the State of Louisiana to secure the documentary evidences of its history (*ante*, V. p. 74) and of the disappearance of most of it. The Editor saw (May, 1889) what there was left of them in the keeping of Tulane University at New Orleans.

III. FOREIGN ARCHIVES.

1. English and Canadian.— As early as 1617 King James had projected a State Paper Office;[4] but the Public Records Act, under which the British Archives are now regulated, was passed in 1837 (assented to by Victoria, Aug., 1838), and thus there became, instead of many scattered and unsafe repositories, one Public Record Office, under the supervision of the Master of the Rolls.[5] In 1850 the present building of the Record Office was begun. In 1875 it was reported as practically filled, and in 1877 an Act gave to the archivists discretionary power, but subject to many checks, for destroying useless papers, of which very large masses were supposed to have accumulated.

To this office papers not currently needed in all departments of the government are periodically sent. As different departments take different views of the date back of which their papers become of little current use, the latest papers now in the Public Record Office vary in date from 1840 to 1860, accordingly. The limit later than which general access to papers is not permitted varies, according to the character of the papers, from 1760 to 1820; but it is possible, under influence and with restrictions and reservations, to examine later papers.[1]

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. IV. 198.

[2] *Ante*, VII. 349.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VII.

[4] Cf. Brymner's *Report on the Canadian Archives*, 1881.

[5] Thomas's *Handbook of the Public Records*. Cf. *ante*, III. 343. The officer of the Public Records Office most familiar with the papers in it relating to America is Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury. Mr. Bancroft has said of him (*No. Carolina Col. Records*, i. p. vii), "My own collection of documents is full of copies of papers which he has made for me. Having been so long in service, and so much appealed to by American scholars, he has become thoroughly familiar with the subject, as may be seen from his *Colonial Series of State Papers*." The Master of the Rolls began in 1856 to make systematic publication of synopses or abstracts of the papers in his charge under the general title of *Calendar of State Papers*, etc., and down to 1886 one hundred and thirty-four volumes had been printed, divided as follows:—

Domestic Series: Edward VI to Charles I, 1547–1641 (1856–82), 29 vols.; during the Commonwealth, 1649–60 (1875–86), 13 vols.; Charles II, 1660–67 (1860–6), 7 vols.; Relating to Ireland, 1171–1307 (1875–86), 5 vols.; 1509–1592 (1860–85), 4 vols.; 1603–1625 (1872–80), 5 vols.; Relating to Scotland, 1509–1603 (1858), 2 vols.; Home Office Papers, of the reign of George III, 1760–1772 (1878–81), 3 vols.; Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557–1719 (1868-83), 5 vols.; Colonial Series, 1513–1668 (1880), 6 vols.; Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1535 (1886), 14 vols.; Foreign Series, Edward VI–Elizabeth, 1547–77 (1861–80), 13 vols.; Relating to Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas and elsewhere, 1485–1536 (1862–86), 9 vols.; Venetian, 1202–1558 (1864-1884), 8 vols.; Carew Papers, 1515–1624 (1867–73), 6 vols.; Calendarium Genealogicum, Henry III–Edward I (1865), 2 vols.; Syllabus in English of Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1066–1654, with Index and Appendix (1869–85), 3 vols.

The most important group for the American student is the Colonial Series, though some of the others throw occasional light, and the series relating to Spain and Venice are not without interest for the earliest years of American discovery. Since this enumeration was made, another volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, America and the West Indies, 1669–1674*, has been published; but too late to be availed of in the present work. It is a new evidence of the ways of Mr. Sainsbury, in securing the gratitude of American historical students.

In 1869 it was decided by Parliament to have searches made in collections of papers outside the Public Record Office, and to this end a Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission was established, to examine and report upon semi-public and family archives, in cases where access might be allowed. One essential result of the progress of this work has been that families possessing historical papers have in some cases transferred them to public depositories.[2] The commission was reconstituted under a new royal warrant, March 24, 1886.

The *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* was published in London in 1870, but nothing of special moment touching American history appeared till, in the *Second Report* (1871),[3] the papers of the Earl of Cathcart[4] were calendared, in which we find much relating to Carteret and New Jersey; the papers of the Duke of Bedford; those of Andrew Elliot, collector of New York, 1778–83, his letters from New York, 1781–89; letters of Sir Henry Clinton, 1780–81; American war papers, 1778–82; and the American papers of the quartermaster-general, 1780–82. In the *Third Report* (1872) we find (p. 108) the papers on the American war (1775–80) preserved among the Northumberland manuscripts at Alnwick Castle; a great deal of importance respecting the Southern colonies in the Shaftesbury Papers (cf. *ante*, V. 356); something in those in the Dr. Williams Library, and in those of the House of Lords, which are continued in the Fourth and Seventh Reports.

In the *Fourth Report* (1874) there is (p. 397, etc.) the address of the Sons of Liberty of Boston, June 6, 1768, signed by Benjamin Kent, Thomas Young, Benjamin Church, Jr., John Adams, and Joseph Warren; and another address of Oct. 5, 1768. There are other letters of 1768–1770, from Kent, Wm. Palfrey, and Samuel Adams; and a series of letters (1769–1784) from Charleston, S. C. The papers of the Marquis of Bath, Earl de la Warre, and others are included in this Report.

The very important Shelburne papers had been arranged for the Marquis of Lansdowne by Sir James Lacaita, and in 1870 Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, a grandson of Shelburne, went through the mass to prepare a report and partial calendar for the Commission, the portion of which relating to the American war will be found in their *Fifth Report* (1876), — the same papers which Bancroft had examined at an earlier day (*Hist. United States*, final revision, iii. 484; cf. also *ante*, Vol. VII. 167). The letters of George III to Shelburne were found at Bowood subsequent to the time when Mr. Bancroft examined the papers (*Life of Shelburne*, i. p. xi), but they were later shown to him, and Bancroft in turn placed at Fitzmaurice's service his own notes from the Shelburne papers when Fitzmaurice was preparing the *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne* (London, 1873–76, in three volumes), which was based upon the Shelburne, Fox, and Bute papers, — the Fox papers being then in the possession of Lady Holland, and the Bute manuscripts in charge of Lord Harrowby. The Shelburne papers began as early as 1686. (Cf. *ante*, V. 164, 356.) This report also contains the Cholmondeley papers. In the *Sixth Report* (1877) there are the Strachey Papers (described pp. xiv, xv). In the *Seventh Report* are the papers of the Earl of Egmont (1709–30), covering letters of Bishop Berkeley, many of them written from Rhode Island. We learn here, too, something of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. In the *Eighth Report* (1881,

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[1] Alexander Brown, in his *Genesis of the United States*, has made use of some of the earlier colonial papers. Papers, 1748–63, from the Public Record Office are among the Parkman transcripts in the Mass. Hist. Society. (Cf. *ante*, V. 617.) The papers called the Quebec Series throw much light on the border warfare of the colonies. There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii. vol. iii.) a series of transcripts made by Sparks in 1840 from the volumes in the Public Record Office marked "Military Correspondence, vols. i. to x." (1763–1774), which include letters of Gage, Halifax, H. S. Conway, Shelburne, Hillsborough, Hutchinson, Dartmouth, Haldimand; and Sparks copied earlier (1829) a similar volume of transcripts (no. lviii.).

There is also (no. xxxii.) a collection of extracts from the correspondence of Dartmouth, Germain, Gage, Howe, Clinton, and Cornwallis; and in *Ibid.* no. xxv., he copied, as found among the Ward Papers, various letters of Conway, Barré, Shelburne, and others, for the years 1765–1766.

In no. lv. there is a series of papers relating to attempted negotiations between England and the United States (1776–1779), which were copied for Sparks under the direction of John G. Palfrey, at the State Paper Office, in 1856, as well as selections and memoranda made by Sparks himself (no. lvi.) in the public offices of London and Paris and in the British Museum.

Copies of the correspondence of Lord Grantham, English ambassador to Spain, 1776–1779, in two vols., are also in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxiii.), as well as the correspondence of Lord Stormont, British ambassador in France (1776–1778), in two volumes (no. lxi.), — both from the State Paper Office, — and that (no. lxxii.) of Sir Joseph Yorke in Holland (Jan., 1776–Dec., 1780). Cf. on these diplomatic series, *ante*, Vol. VII. 68, 73, 165; and *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1858.

For papers in the War Office on the war in Canada (1812, etc.), see *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 427; and for those at Ottawa, see Brymner's *Report*, 1881, p. 12.

[2] Cf. on the Commission, *The Month*, lx. p. 44. The First Report was printed in 1870, and reprinted in 1874 (Sessional Paper, C. 55); the Second, 1871; Third, 1872; Fourth, 1873; Fifth, 1876; Sixth, 1877; Seventh, 1879; Eighth, 1881; Ninth, 1883; Tenth, 1885; Eleventh, 1887. A Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury was also issued separately in 1883. Great care is taken by the Commission that private papers, or legal documents affecting titles, should not be examined, and no report on papers is published without the consent of the owner of the papers. Nearly all the larger collections have been readily and temporarily transferred by their owners to the Public Record Office, to facilitate the examination.

I am indebted for this and other information of the work of the Commission to H. C. Maxwell Lyte, Esq., deputy keeper of the Records, Rolls House, London.

[3] This volume has one index for Reports 1 and 2. Later Reports have each an index.

[4] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 604, for the use which has been made of this material.

p. 287) are the Cornwallis papers, belonging to Lord Braybrook, but deposited in the Public Record Office. Here also are the papers of the Duke of Manchester. In the *Ninth Report* (part iii., 1884) are the papers of Mrs. Stopford Sackville (pp. 81–118), of Drayton House, Northamptonshire, which throw some new light on the views and conduct of the British generals and ministry during the American Revolution; and a few letters of Count Rumford during his service in the field in 1781 (pp. 118–120). In the *Tenth Report*, the calendar of the Weston Papers (App., p. 228) shows the treaty of April 3, 1764, made by Sir Wm. Johnson and the Senecas, and those of July 18 (p. 231) with the Hurons, of Aug. 6 (p. 232) with the Chenusio Indians; also a letter of Gen. Gage, dated New York, Sept. 21, 1764, on the Indian treaties and movements against them, is printed (App., pp. 236, 382). The Westmoreland papers in this Report supplement the Sackville papers in the Ninth Report.[1]

In the *Eleventh Report* a good deal of light is thrown on the final campaigns for the conquest of Canada in the manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend (App., part iv.), including letters of Gen. Murray. Here also are the papers of the Earl of Dartmouth (App., part v.). Much light is shed on early Carolina history.

The manuscript collections of the British Museum are now supposed to contain somewhat over five million separate papers, making something short of 50,000 volumes. Up to about fifty years ago these manuscripts as acquired were arranged under the distinctive appellations belonging to them, and may be enumerated thus (with the date of acquisition): Cottonian (1753), 900 vols.; Harleian (1753), 7,639 vols.; Royal (1753), 1,950 vols.; Lansdowne (1807), 1,245 vols.; Hargrave (1813), 499 vols.; Burney (1817), 524 vols.; King's (1823), 438 vols.; Egerton (1829), 2,568 vols.; Arundel (1831), 550 vols. After 1831 the accessions have been arranged in one series, called "Additional Manuscripts," and including the Sloane Collection, 4,000 vols. This later classification contained, in 1881, 31,380 volumes. Though there are papers of much interest in the King's, Egerton,[2] and the other earlier collections, it is among these Additional Manuscripts, in the Haldimand Papers, that we find the richest stores pertaining to the American Revolution. These Haldimand Papers are embraced in 232 volumes, covering the years 1758–1785, mainly in Canada, though an interval was passed by Haldimand in Florida. These papers, catalogued in the printed *Index to MSS. in the Brit: Mus.* (London, 1880), p. 679, are marked as having been acquired between 1854 and 1875,[3] and are called *Official Correspondence and Papers of Gen. Frederick Haldimand during his various Commands, 1758–1785* (B. M. Add. MSS., nos. 21,661–21,982). They include letters of Earl Howe to Haldimand, 1778–1785 (no. 21,709); Sir William Howe's, 1778–1779, 1781 (nos. 21,734, 21,807, 21,808); Sir Henry Clinton's, 1777–1783 (nos. 21,807, 21,808); Burgoyne's, 1779–1782 (nos. 21,732, 21,733, 21,734), and Washington's, 1780–3 (in no. 21,835).

There is a volume of copies of those relating to the French war among the Parkman Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society; but the most extensive transcripts in America is the series made from them for the Canadian government at Ottawa, which have been described in the *Reports* of the Dominion archivist Douglas Brymner.[4] In his *Report* for 1884 he has begun an elaborate calendar of the entire collection, which it is intended finally to publish separately.

Fred. Haldimand

The Haldimand Papers include a series of correspondence with the governors of the American colonies, 1765–1774; his correspondence with Germain and the home government, reporting on affairs in the colonies; and the minutes of the Council at Quebec, 1778–1784, beside a great variety of other important papers. It is the fullest repository which we have of the attempted negotiations for sundering Vermont from the American cause.[5]

Haldimand was a friend of Henry Bouquet (who died in 1765), and inherited his papers, so that what are known as the Bouquet Papers are a component part of the Haldimand Papers. These are also indexed in the *Catal. of MSS. in the Brit. Museum.*

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[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VI. 516.

[2] See *ante*, III. 343. This collection contains numerous Acadia papers, *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1886.

[3] They were mainly bequeathed to the Museum by William, nephew (or probably grand-nephew) of Gen. Haldimand. Cf. account of Haldimand by G. D. Scull in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, 1884, viii. p. 300, and Brymner's account of Haldimand in his *Report* for 1887.

[4] Cf. his *Report* (appended to the reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture) for 1873, 1881, and 1882.

[5] Cf. "Haldimand Papers, with contemporaneous history, 1779–1783," in *Vermont Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., and the statements respecting the importance of these papers in investigating this question, as detailed in Vol. VI., *ante*. Haldimand at one time captured B. Arnold's papers. *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, viii. 309.

Many papers supplementing the Haldimand Papers are in the Quebec series in the Public Record Office, making ten volumes, and these are noted in Brymner's *Report* for 1883, p. 79.

The papers of William Eden, who was one of the peace commissioners to this country during the Revolution, now known as the Auckland Papers, from his subsequent title, are in the University library, at Cambridge, England.[1]

There are also in the British Museum a collection of official copies of deciphered letters, 1777–1780 (*Add. MSS.*, no. 24,321), and miscellaneous papers, 1774–1783 (no. 29,237); and a Journal of Sir Wm. Howe's army in America, 1776 (*Egerton MSS.*, no. 2135, folios 7 and 9). There are topographical and graphic records of some use in *Catalogue of maps, prints, drawings, etc., forming the geographical and topographical collection attached to the library of George III. and presented by George IV. to the Museum* (London, 1829, in two volumes).

The offices of the Board of Trade or Lords of Trade were the receptacle of large numbers of American papers, and thence have come a considerable accession to various private collections. The letters of Sir Wm. Johnson, for instance, to the Lords of Trade, 1766–1767, are among the Shelburne papers (vol. li.), as noted in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. 219.

The papers of the Board of Trade from 1696 to its dissolution in 1782, making over 2,000 large volumes, were in 1842 added to the State Paper Office.

The collection of papers amassed by George Chalmers, which have here and there increased so many large American collections, came largely from Chalmers' opportunities as secretary of the Board of Trade. Thorpe's *Catalogue, Supplement*, 1843, no. 621, embracing Chalmers' papers, show the original office copy of the minutes of the Board of Trade for Dec. 23, 1766–July 29, 1767. This volume was bought by Sparks in 1843, and is now among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. iii.)

A considerable portion of the Chalmers manuscripts came by purchase in 1843 into the hands of Sparks, and are now in the *Sparks MSS.*[2] Such of them as relate to the Revolutionary period are in no. v. and in no. xxxviii., the latter containing some of Lord Dunmore's papers, which had belonged to Chalmers, but when Sparks copied them in 1845 they belonged to Thomas Aspinwall,[3] beside a volume of original papers (no. liii.), 1752–1779.

A collection of papers, formed by Chalmers, now in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. x.), and relating to New England, covers in the main papers relating to the agitation that preceded the hostilities of 1775.

The second volume of the Aspinwall Papers, as published by the Mass. Hist. Soc. in vol. xl. of their *Collections*, — the originals of which are now in the library of the late Mr. Samuel L. M. Barlow (d. July, 1889) of New York, — cover in the main the period from 1763 to 1776, though there are a few of a later date. They came from the Chalmers collection. Some of the earlier ones are letters to Monckton after he had left his command in New York, mainly from John Watts, who had been left in charge of the general's affairs. There are other letters of Gov. Eden of Maryland, the long instructions to Lord Dunmore in 1771 and 1772, Chalmers' minutes of the official correspondence with the colonial governors in 1773–74,[4] letters of Gage to Dartmouth in 1774, Dunmore's correspondence with the home government (1774–75) and with others, and a few letters addressed to Franklin (1775).[5]

The chief military papers on the British side are those now known as the Carleton or Dorchester Papers, though perhaps more frequently referred to in America as Headquarters Papers. They begin with General Howe's assumption of command in Boston in 1775, and such documents as that officer had collected were handed over to his successor, Sir Henry Clinton, who added to them those of his own term as commander-in-chief in America; and these passing to Sir Guy Carleton, who was the last British general in chief command, were further increased in his hands, so that when arranged by his secretary, Maurice Morgan, into whose keeping they ultimately came, they next passed to John Symons of Paddington, and were by him given to the Royal Institution (1804). Sparks represents the originals as arranged in more than forty volumes; but later reports make the extent fifty-six volumes, and they are said to contain over 20,000 documents.

It would seem that Clinton failed to turn over to Carleton all of his headquarters papers, retaining, it is surmised, such as he might find useful in his own defence, if the controversy between him and Cornwallis were pushed to extremities. Such is supposed to be the history of sundry lots of Clinton's papers, which were noted in 1882 in a London auction catalogue as in the "library of the late Col. Henry Clinton," which included books and papers from his ancestors (H. P. Johnston in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. 200). Among such was a letter of Washington to Clinton, with the latter's annotations, copies of André's letters to Washington and Clinton, a letter of Clinton to Lord George Germain, July, 1778, about the retreat from Philadelphia and on the battle of Monmouth, and printed copies of the Clinton-Cornwallis tracts with Clinton's annotations. There was also included, and later sent with other papers to New York to be sold at auction,[1] a collection of 20 maps, illustrating Clinton's campaign in the Jerseys, dated 1778–1782, and nearly all drawn by J. Hills, which were bought by the Library of Congress (May, 1882), and two manuscripts, one called "Private Intelligence," Jan. 20 to July, 1781 (150 pp.), and the other marked "Information of deserters and others, not included in the Private Intelligence" (100 pp.), both of which were bought by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York; and as annotated by Edw. F. De Lancy, the former of these two manuscripts has been printed in the *Magazine of Amer. Hist.* (x. 327, 400, 407; xi. 53, 150, 247, 342, 433, 533; xii. 72, 162). It proves to be one of what was probably a series of record books, kept at headquarters, in which were entered the reports and correspondence accruing under the method employed or sanctioned by Clinton for obtaining tidings in a clandestine way from the American camp. It is a revelation of the speed and accuracy which attended this secret service; and its records have been held to tarnish the reputation of men supposed at the time to be loyal, like John Sullivan, and Samuel H. Parsons,[2] and the wily Heron of Connecticut.

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[1] Cf. *ante*, VII. 51. A letter of Lambert Wickes, from these papers, dated at St. Malo, July 8, 1777, and giving an account of his naval exploits, is printed in the *London Athenæum*, July 14, 1888, p. 66.

[2] See the present *History*, Vol. V. pp. 352, 354.

[3] From these Aspinwall Papers there is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxiv. 367, "Queries of George Chalmers, with answers of Gen. Gage, in relation to Braddock's expedition, the Stamp Act, and Gage's administration of Mass. Bay."

[4] Many of the circular letters sent to the colonial governors during the early years of the controversy will be found in the *Trumbull MSS.* (vols. ii., iii., iv.), and they are usually printed in such collections as the *New Hampshire Papers*, the *New Jersey Archives*, etc.

[5] Cf. list of the Chalmers MSS., *ante*, Vol. V. 354.

It is said that in the basement of the Royal Institution there is a further mass of unexamined papers, which were left out of the bound series.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* three series of copies from these papers. One (no. xiii.) covers the correspondence of Sir Henry Clinton and Haldimand, 1779–1781; another, in two volumes (no. xlv.), is called "British Papers relating to the American Revolution, selected [Nov., 1846] from the correspondence of the British commanders-in-chief;" and a third (no. lxx.) contains papers relating to the intercourse between Canada and Vermont in 1780–1782. Sparks had the first two series copied in 1840, and the last in 1844.

Capt. Francis Duncan, who in his *History of the Royal Artillery* gave a chapter on "The Gunner who governed New York," referring to Gen. James Pattison, furnished copies of the letters of that officer, who was in command in New York from July 5, 1779, to Aug. 13, 1780, which were printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1875. The letters begin at New York, Jan. 10, 1779.

There is in Harvard College library, given to it by Wm. B. Sprague, D. D., of Albany, a volume of Gen. Thomas Gage's letters, addressed to Col. Bradstreet, deputy quartermaster-general, and to Sir William Johnson. They include four in 1759, written from Fort Stanwix and Oswego, and one from Montreal in 1762. After this last date they were all written from New York city, beginning Feb. 6, 1763, — those to Bradstreet ending Oct., 1769; those to Johnson, May 11, 1773. They are all originals in Gage's handwriting, and apparently came from the Bradstreet and Johnson Papers.

Many letters and despatches of Gage during 1766–1767, written from New York, are noted among the Shelburne Papers (vols. xlix., l., li.) in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.*, v. 218, etc. There are occasional letters of Gage among the *Trumbull MSS.*

There are also in the British Museum various papers of Gen. Gage, like his general and regimental orders, 1759–1777; his letters to the commanding officer at Niagara, 1759–1774; his Florida papers, 1763–1774; his correspondence with Haldimand, 1758–1781, with the English ministry, 1760–1778, and with Bouquet, 1763–1765.

The papers of Chatham are nearly all in print in the *Chatham Correspondence;* but George Bancroft mentions his use of two volumes of familiar notes, full of allusions to America, which passed between Hollis and Chatham. The same historian had access to the autobiography of the third Duke of Grafton, and the journal of the Earl of Dartmouth; and he refers to some Bedford papers which were not included in the published *Bedford Correspondence.*

Bancroft also had the use of two series of letters of the king, — useful in forming an estimate of the character of George III. One contained the letters written by him early in life to his governor, Lord Harcourt. The other consisted of his frequent notes to his prime minister, North, during the period of the American troubles. These were also used by Mahon (v., App., p. xlvii), who prints some of them, saying that he followed a transcript made by Sir James Mackintosh, which later passed into the hands of Brougham. The correspondence has since been printed, edited by Donne.[3]

"The entire correspondence of Mr. Oswald, in the negotiation in the peace of 1782, with the American commissioners at Paris, copied from a manuscript volume in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne, London, Feb., 1829; and also the correspondence of Mr. Grenville and Fitzherbert, copied from the originals in the office of Foreign Affairs in London," is the endorsement which Sparks has put on no. xl. of the *Sparks MSS.* Letters of Grantham and Fitzherbert (1782–83) are in *Ibid.* no. xxxii. vol. i.

There are now on deposit in the Public Record Office the papers of the Duke of Manchester, which in part concern the negotiations for peace, and they have been calendared in the *Hist. MSS. Commission, Report VIII.*, part ii. pp. 17, 123, etc.

The records and correspondence of the Commission for negotiating the peace of 1782 on the part of England, with a transcript of Oswald's journal after the original among the Lansdowne Papers, are in the Stevens-Franklin collection in the Dept. of State at Washington.[1]

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[1] *Catalogue of a private library; also books and papers of Sir Henry Clinton.* To be sold at auction, May 26th, 1882 (N. Y., 1882)

[2] George B. Loring has in a tract gathered the evidence which he contends removes or at least renders doubtful the implications of these British records as respects Parsons. (Cf. *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1888; Jan., 1889.) Unfortunately it is both difficult and easy to clarify wilful deceit, and opinions are likely to differ. Some of Mr. Loring's arguments could as well serve the opposite side.

[3] *The Correspondence of King George III. with Lord North, 1768–1783. Edited from originals at Windsor with an introduction and Notes by W. Bodham Donne* (London, 1867).

A catalogue of a sale by G. Robinson in London, April, 1859, shows under no. 84 six manuscript volumes of letters and documents relating to the peace, copied and arranged by David Hartley, the English commissioner.[2]

In 1882 and 1884 Mr. Benj. F. Stevens, an American, resident in London for many years, presented a plan to the United States government of securing copies of about 80,000 documents relating to the War for Independence, and between the years 1772 and 1784, which he had noted in the public and private archives of England, France, Holland, and Spain, and the larger part of which had not been printed. The plan was an elaborate one, involving collation and translation of all the documents, and putting them in print, and has so far (1889) failed of acceptance by the United States government. In Mr. Stevens's letter to the Secretary of State, Nov. 4, 1882, speaking of the documents now grouped together in the Public Record Office in London (researches in which for papers later than 1760 being allowed to him by particular permission), it is said that there is no chronological or alphabetical or other index of any sort of the American papers, and no ready means of finding documents other than by searching. Most of this material is comprised in the series called "America and West Indies," which from the earliest dates down to 1783 make about 700 volumes, the headings in which, beside the names of the American States, likely to contain papers upon the Revolution are those marked "Military Correspondence," "Burgoyne," "Naval," "Memorials," "Correspondence," "Military Entry Books," "Military Despatches," "Intercepted Papers," "Secret Despatches," etc. In the calendaring of these papers, which is in progress, "the date of American independence cannot at the rate" now sustained "be reached during this generation nor the next." [3]

In another letter of Mr. Stevens, March 17, 1884, and taking the results of his investigations in London, Paris, the Hague, and Amsterdam, he is led to estimate that the unpublished documents in these European archives, relating to the Revolution, would make twenty octavo volumes in print, of 600 pages each.[4]

A substituted scheme of printing an index to the documents in European archives, relating to America, between 1763 and 1783, which was pressed upon Congress by Mr. Stevens and his friends in 1887, also failed of passage.[5]

The labors of Mr. T. B. Akins of Halifax on the Nova Scotia archives are the most conspicuous.[6] Brymner's *Report* for 1881 gives an account of the Acadian papers in the British Museum, including a description of the collection formed by Dr. Andrew Brown.

The relations of Nova Scotia to the American Revolution are traced in T. B. Akins' *List of manuscript documents in the government offices at Halifax* (Halifax, 1886), showing the Council records from 1766 to 1783 (p. 16); the papers relating to the attempts made in 1776 and subsequent years to engage Nova Scotia in the struggle, transcribed from documents in the State House at Boston (p. 23);[7] transcripts of military correspondence, including an account of Col. Gorham's defence of Fort Cumberland (1776), from the Public Record Office in London; two volumes of selections from the papers in the Royal Institution, chiefly in reference to the loyalist emigration to Nova Scotia; and two volumes of selections from the Haldimand Papers, 1761–1783.

The successive reports of the Dominion archivists at Ottawa (1872–73–74, 1881–82–83–84–85–86–87–88) show what progress has been made at Ottawa in gathering the documentary evidences of Canadian history.[8] Their reports indicate not only what in the foreign offices had been copied for them, but also what was found and not copied, and they include references to these: —

In the War Office, London, — papers respecting the loyalists and their settlement in Canada, 1778–1780; records of military movements about Boston, in Canada, and near New York, 1773–1776, called "North America, 1773–1776;" letters of Carleton and papers about the Convention of Saratoga, called "Quebec and Canada, 1776–1780;" letters on the internal affairs of the troops, called "Generals Howe and Clinton, 1776–1780;" much about loyalist regiments in "Sir Guy Carleton, 1782–1783;" lists of troops sent out in "Secretary of State, 1770–1775;" "1776," "1777–1781," including inquiries into Burgoyne's failure; and "1781–1784."

In the British Museum, — letters of Sir William, Sir John, and Col. Guy Johnson, 1770–1780 (*Add. MSS.*, no. 24,323).

In the Public Record Office, — the series of volumes relating to "Quebec," beginning 1760, and after 1774, covering Carleton's correspondence with Gage in Boston; the reports made by Carleton to the home government respecting the progress of events in the colonies; the incidents of the campaign in Canada, 1775-1776; the exchanging of prisoners; the raising of loyalist troops; the instigating of Indian raids; the campaign of Burgoyne; affairs at Detroit, 1777; the campaigns of the loyalist Butler; the operations in Maine; and the settlements with loyalists.

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[1] Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 160.

[2] The catalogue gives the contents.

[3] *U. S. Docs., 47th Cong., 2d sess., Misc. Doc., no. 29.*

[4] *U. S. Docs., 48th Cong., 1st sess., Misc. Doc., no. 84.*

[5] *U. S. Docs., 49th Cong , 2d session, Senate, Ex. Doc. 43; Ho. Report, no. 3962.*

Mr. Stevens is now endeavoring to get subscribers enough to warrant his undertaking the publication of "Fac-similes of American Manuscripts from 1763 to 1783 in European Archives." It is much to be desired that some published results of Mr. Stevens' labors be reached whereby students can profit.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. IV. 159; V. 418, 456, 458.

[7] Cf. proposals by Col. John Allan for attacking Nova Scotia in *N. S. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. p. 11; Frederic Kidder's *Military operations in Eastern Maine* (Albany, 1867), largely concerned with efforts to induce the neutrality of the Indian tribes; and "Acadia during the Amer. Revolution" in *Mag. of Amer. Hist*, July, 1882, p. 486.

[8] Cf. *ante*, IV. 356; V. 617.

In the same office, — in the series called "America and West Indies," we touch the Revolution in the Stamp Act troubles, and events in the colonies are followed down to 1773 in the volumes 121 to 128. The series called "Canada and Quebec" covers in vols. 55–56 the years 1762–1768.

Among the original papers at Ottawa are the letters of Capt. Sherwood, 1780–81, on secret service respecting the negotiations with Vermont; the correspondence of Hamilton at Detroit and at Vincennes with Carleton, 1772–1784, including intercepted letters of George Rogers Clark (1779).

The Archives Department at Ottawa was begun in 1871, and the present archivist, Douglas Brymner, was put in charge the next year. In 1873, the military correspondence,[1] which had been accumulating at Halifax for a hundred years, was transferred to Ottawa.

In the *Report* for 1874 there is a report by the Abbé Verreau on the French archives as elucidating Canadian history; and the same subject is reported upon by the assistant archivist, Joseph Marmette, in the *Reports* for 1883, 1885, etc. He holds that the Archives de la Marine were only scantily worked by Faribault in 1852 53. In the *Report* for 1887 he analyzes the "Correspondance générale" relating to Canada, which is embraced in 124 volumes, that of Acadia, 10 volumes, a "Continuation" in 16 volumes, and those relating to Ile Royale and Ile St. Jean, in 47 volumes.

2. FRENCH. — The most important of the collections of early papers made from the French archives is that edited by Pierre Margry, which has been elsewhere described.[2]

The copies from the Paris archives made for the State of New York are noted in another place,[3] and those made by Ben: Perley Poore for the State of Massachusetts have also been referred to.[4] These last have been printed, together with other papers, in the *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, published by the Province of Quebec, under the supervision of Mons. J. Blanchet, in four volumes (Quebec, 1883-85). Cf. vol. ii. p. xiv. At a recent sale (1889) of the books and other material of Mr. Poore in Boston, there were a series of manuscripts, pertaining to American history, such as one would expect to find in the French archives.

The Abbé Verreau made in 1874, to the Dominion government, a report in French and in English on the sources of Canadian history, which touches at points the history of the English colonies, as relating to papers n the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Archives Nationales in Paris, on the early explorations of the Mississippi Valley and the incursions of the English into Canada. Speaking of the Department of the Marine, Verreau is inclined to believe that many documents known to have been at Quebec, and now missing, were carried off by Vaudreuil, on the surrender of Canada in 1760. He also points out the resources of the Department of Foreign Affairs as touching the Anglo-Franco history of North America, in the series of volumes in hat office marked *America*, vols. i.–viii., beginning with 1542, and the series *Canada*, vols. i., etc., beginning with 1518.

The *Reports* of the Dominion archivist Douglas Brymner, beginning in 1881, show what has been done in leaning from the Paris archives for the history of Canada, much of which is necessarily connected with the istory of the English colonies.[5] There is a special report by Joseph Marmette on the documents in the ffice of Foreign Affairs in Brymner's *Report* for 1883 (p. 116), with a synopsis of the documents from 1592 o 1765, and of other collections in the French archives. Another statement by Marmette is in the *Report* of 885, in which he recounts what he found in the archives of the Marine.

The letters of De Kalb on his mission to America in 1768 are in the Department of War, and copies are n the *Sparks MSS.*, vol. xxxii.[6]

The papers (1755–1760) of the Maréchal de Lévis,[7] brought to public attention by the Abbé Casgrain (*Le Canadien*, Quebec, March 31, 1888; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April 12, 1888), have since been contributed in opies to the Province of Quebec by their owner, Comte Raimond de Nicolay of Paris, and the province has agreed to print them. Cf. *Recueil des pièces relatives à la publication des manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis sur la Guerre du Canada, de 1755 à 1760, publié par le Comte Raimond de Nicolay* (Rennes, 1888).

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[1] 200,000 documents in 1,087 volumes. Dr. T. B. Akins, Halifax, kindly writes to me of this collection: "All e military correspondence from the various Garrisons in ritish North America had been for many years accumulat- g at the Quebec headquarters. On the removal of the mperial troops from Canada these papers were sent to Hal- ax and were packed for shipment to England. This hav- g become known to the Record Department at Halifax, d the archivist wishing to preserve to Nova Scotia such rtions of the Collection as referred more immediately to at province, informed the Government at Ottawa of the istence and destination of the papers. After considera- e negotiation, the whole collection was handed over to the ominion Government and removed to Ottawa, where it has been arranged and catalogued. The papers referring to the war of 1812 are numerous. The Collection also embraces a mass of correspondence and accounts relating to the Indian departments of Upper and Lower Canada, during the period when the military authorities had charge of that service."

[2] *Ante*, Vol. IV. p. 242.

[3] *Ante*, IV. 366.

[4] *Ante*, IV. 366.

[5] Cf. *ante*, Vol. IV. 356.

[6] Cf. *ante*, VII. 35. Cf. C. J. Stille's *Broglie the proposed Stadtholder of America* in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, xi. 369.

[7] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. p. 589.

The papers, mainly copies, collected by Francis Parkman for use in his historical writings are partly in his own hands and partly in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, — except the maps, which are in Harvard College library, — where the entire collection is likely in time to be gathered.[1]

Mr. B. F. Stevens, in 1882, in speaking of the material concerning the American Revolution in the public offices of Paris, says: "The Paris documents, although considerably scattered among several government offices, appear to be very full and perhaps approximately complete. The correspondence between the French government and Gérard, Luzerne,[2] and Barbe-Marbois, appears to be quite complete,[3] and that between the French government and our commissioners, Franklin, Jay, Adams, Lee, etc., is very copious;[4] also the journals, papers, and correspondence of D'Estaing and other French officers with the French government and with American officers and public individuals. The correspondence of De Grasse, Barras, Lafayette, Paul Jones, Franklin, Arnold, Henry, Green, Hancock, Laurens, and Washington is voluminous."[5]

A new scanning of the material in the Paris Archives has been recently made by John Durand in his *New Materials for the History of the American Revolution* (N. Y., 1889). *Contents:* — Preface. — Bonvouloir. — Characteristics of states and sentiments of the people. — The Count de Vergennes. — Beaumarchais. — Louis XVI and the pressure on the king. — The services of Beaumarchais. — The trials of Beaumarchais. — Beaumarchais's contract with the United States. — The enemies of Beaumarchais. — Settlement of Beaumarchais's claims against the United States. — Correspondence of Gérard de Rayneval, 1778–79. — Correspondence of Chevalier de la Luzerne. — Appendix: Tom Paine, The daughter of Beaumarchais, Anonymous letter to Franklin. Durand makes use of the correspondence transmitted to France by Gérard de Rayneval and the Chevalier de la Luzerne; and he adds something to an understanding of the Beaumarchais transactions, of the career of Thomas Paine, and of our knowledge of Vergennes. He also prints (App.) the Weissenstein letter sent to Franklin in 1778.

The copies which Sparks made from the public archives in France are included in the *Sparks MSS.*[6] They embrace from the Archives des Affaires Etrangères (no. lxxv.) the letters, memoirs, and considerations of Jean Louis Favier (1778–1780); a series (no. lxxviii.)[7] called "French papers on the American Revolution" (including some from the Archives de la Guerre); a series (no. lxxix.) called "French papers relating to the American Colonies, 1766–1769," sent to Mr. Sparks in 1858 by De Witt; another in six vols. (no. lxxx.), "French papers relating to the American Revolution, 1776–1782," selected partly by M. Bulos in 1831–1833, and partly by Sparks in 1840–1841; the correspondence between Count Vergennes and the French minister in Holland (1776–1782), and letters (1781) to the French minister in Russia (no. lxxxii.); translated correspondence between the Abbé Desnoyers and Count de Vergennes and other papers (1776–1781) relating to the American Revolution and the attitude of Holland (no. lxxxiii.); the correspondence between the Count de Montmorin and Vergennes in 1778–1782 (no. xcii.). From the Bibliothèque Nationale he copied (no. xciv.) a "Voyage au Continent Américain par un Français en 1777, et Réflexions philosophiques sur ces nouveaux Républicains."

From the Archives de la Marine he copied the correspondence of D'Estaing (no. lii., vol. i.).

The letters of Francy, who was the agent of the United States to settle Caron Beaumarchais' claims (1778–1779), as copied in 1856 from the originals in the possession of Beaumarchais' descendants, are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lxxvi.)

It is said that the private papers of Gérard were in the hands of M. de Sevelinges when he wrote the introduction to the French translation of Botta.[8]

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[1] Cf. *ante*, IV. 367; V. 604, 611, 617.

[2] The original record and letter books of the American legation in Paris, 1776–1785, are in the Stevens-Franklin collection in the Department of State at Washington. The correspondence of Lee and Gérard, 1780, "copied from a book in the State Department," is in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii., vol. ii.

[3] Parts of this are copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii. Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 73.

[4] The papers of Luzerne are described to me by his grand-nephew, Comte Jean de Kergorlay, as consisting of eight volumes, covering the period of his residence in Philadelphia, 1779–1784, of which one volume contains his instructions, one volume covers matters of trade and the treaty of commerce, and the rest hold his correspondence with the minister of foreign affairs, at the end of which is a series of sketches by him of the members of the American Congress. Their present owner also reports that three volumes of the series are missing.

Some new light is being cast upon the relations of France during the Revolution in Henri Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1886). Cf. *ante*, VII. 79.

[5] *U. S. Docs., 47th Cong., 2d sess., Misc. Doc. no. 29.*

[6] Cf. his memoranda in 1828 in *Sparks MSS*, no. xlix. vol. i. no. 20.

[7] Respecting the transcripts contained in Sparks's no. lxxviii., he says, They "were selected and transcribed by me from more than thirty volumes of the manuscripts in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères during the summer and autumn of 1828 — all relating to the American Revolution. General Lafayette and the Marquis de Marbois assisted me in obtaining permission, which was represented as a special favor. . . . The parts of the leaves which are missing were cut out by the person appointed by the minister of foreign affairs to examine my papers before they were taken from the archives."

[8] *John Adams' Works*, i. 291. A paper by John Durand on "American History in the French Archives" in the *New Princeton Rev.*, Nov., 1887, is chiefly valuable for extracts from letters of Gérard relating to parties in Congress. Cf. Durand's *New Materials*, already referred to.

J. Q. Adams in 1819, in speaking of De Neuville's statement that the records of the French legation in America had been well preserved, adds that the custom is a good one; though, as his editor (C. F. A.) adds, it did not become a custom in American missions till nine or ten years later (*Mem. of J. Q. A.*, iv. 359).

Papers respecting a grant of land to Gérard, Aug. 24, 1779, with some statements of Madison upon it, were obtained by Sparks at Montpellier in 1830, and are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. iii.)

The correspondence of Rochambeau, as filed in the Département de la Guerre, was copied by Sparks in 1828 (*Sparks MSS.* no. lxxviii.). The family papers of Rochambeau were bought by the United States government, and are now in the Library of Congress.

They consist of eight volumes, large and small folio, bound in green parchment, but not in all cases wholly filled, a package of loose letters received by Rochambeau, and also a large number of drawn maps, mounted, and folded to a uniform small octavo size. The bound volumes are written in different hands, and in their contents they overlap one another. A brief description follows: —

I. *Correspondance entre Mr. le Comte de Rochambeau et Mr. le Chev. de la Luzerne, pendant la guerre d'Amérique, années 1780–81–82, jusqu'au 9 Janvier, 1783.*

II. *Correspondance de M. le Comte de Rochambeau, Année 1780.* It begins with Rochambeau's "Memoire au Roy," and ends with a letter from Washington to Rochambeau, New Windsor, April 30, 1781.

III. *Correspondance de M. le Cte de Rochambeau, Année 1781.* It begins with a letter of Rochambeau dated at Newport, April 20, 1781, and ends with one written at Fredericksburg, July 7, 1782, to Ségur.

IV. *Correspondance de M. le Cte de Rochambeau, Années 1782, 1783.* It begins with a letter to Ségur, and the results of a conference of Rochambeau and Washington at Philadelphia, July 19, 1782, and ends with a letter of Washington to Rochambeau, dated at Mount Vernon, Feb. 1, 1784.

V. *Guerre d'Amérique, Année 1780. Correspondance de M. le Cte de Rochambeau.* This volume ends in March, 1781, and contains memoirs, instructions, results of conferences, letters from Versailles, etc.

VI. *2me Registre des Correspondance. Ordres de l'Année 1782.* The letters begin at Newport, March 21, 1781, and end with one from Ségur at Versailles, Dec. 5, 1781. Two letters at the beginning from Rochambeau to his different chiefs are described thus as out of place: "La copie de cette lettre du 10 Mars, 1780, et cette avant de debarquement du 8 Juin, 1780, sont ici malplacées devant être sur le premier Registre."

VII. *Suite de l'Enregistrement des Lettres des Ministres.* It contains letters between Dec. 5, 1781, and Oct. 9, 1782.

VIII. *Troisième Registre de la Correspondance.* It begins with a letter from Williamsburg, Dec. 9, 1781, to Sir Henry Clinton, and at the end is a letter "A bord de l'Esmeranda le 9 Janvier, 1783, à M. le Chev. de la Luzerne," a "Journal de notre navigation," ending at Nantes, Feb. 10, 1783, and a letter to Ségur from Paris, March 19, 1783.

Sparks says that Rochambeau's letters to Washington were written in a rather Frenchy idiom either by himself or a secretary.[1]

We have record of sundry manuscript relations and memoirs, not yet wholly printed: —

Mémoire adressé par Choiseul à Louis XV sur sa gestion des affaires et sur sa politique après la cession du Canada à l'Angleterre. This was partly printed in the *Revue française*, July, 1828. Bancroft (iv. 240) uses it.

Relation du Prince de Broglie, also in part printed in the *Revue française*, July, 1828. Bancroft furnished it to Balch, *Les français en Amérique* (p. 13).

Mémoires de Dupetit-Thouars, referred to by Balch (p. 9).

Journal de mon Séjour en Amérique, 1780–1781, supposed to be by an aide of Rochambeau, Cromot-Dubourg (Balch, p. 11).

In an auction catalogue of Bangs Bros. & Co. (N. Y., 1854) there is noted (no. 1320) a *Journal de la Campagne de Mer du Lieut. Gen. Comte Grasse Tilly, en 1781 et 1782*, — apparently the private journal of a naval officer.

The papers of Lafayette were used in the *Mémoires* published by the family.[2] A large part of his letters o Washington were returned to La Grange after Washington's death; but Sparks secured copies of them ither from Lafayette himself or from his son, and such as were included in the *Correspondence of the Amer-can Revolution* were printed from these copies. Various letters of Lafayette to Congress, from Aug. 13, 777, to the close of the war, are included in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. iii.) Among the same transcripts here are copies of letters from Lafayette to Washington and to other persons during the Revolution (no xxiv.), his correspondence and papers, in French, relating to the American and French revolutions, 1777–792, with marginal notes by Lafayette (no. lxxxv.), and a lot styled "Lafayette's Papers, 1776–1815" (no. xxvi.),[3] — all sent to Sparks by Lafayette himself in 1829; letters from Lafayette to Washington during the

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[1] On the Rochambeau collection, see *Mag. of Amer. ist.*, viii. 349.

[2] *Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du général a Fayette, publiés par sa famille*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 39). The entries of the contents covering the American evolution are: —

Premier voyage et première campagne d'Amérique 1777–778. — Correspondance 1777–1778. — Second voyage en Amérique, et campagne de 1780 et 1781. — Mémoires historiques sur les années 1779, 1780, et 1781. — Correspondance 1779, 1780, 1781. — Correspondance années 1782, 1783, 1784.

[3] In this volume is his "Observations sur la guerre de la Révolution Américaine," and a statement about such of his papers as were not destroyed in the Reign of Terror. Cf. Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts.*

Revolution, likewise sent by Lafayette in 1832 (no. lxxxvii.); and letters from Lafayette to Washington, 1782–1792, sent by his son, Geo. W. Lafayette (no. lxxxviii.).

No. lxix. of the *Sparks MSS.* is labelled "Washington to Lafayette, 1777–1798," and is endorsed by Sparks: "I received this volume from General Lafayette, Dec. 25, 1830. It consists entirely of letters from General Washington to General Lafayette, copied under the direction of Lafayette at La Grange."

Sparks recorded, in November, 1828, the substance of his conversations with Lafayette at La Grange respecting the Revolution, and his minutes are in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii. vol. i., as well as a narrative of Lafayette's participation in the war, furnished by himself.[1]

Bancroft (orig. ed., x. 349) says that he found that the French ministers at Philadelphia transmitted to their home government the best and almost the only satisfactory records of the debates in Congress between 1778 and 1789; for though the House sat with closed doors, the ministers seemed able to inform themselves.[2]

John Adams was ignorant of this resource when, in 1815, he asked, "Who shall write the history of the American Revolution? Who can write it? The most essential documents, the debates and deliberations in Congress, from 1774 to 1783, were all in secret, and are now lost forever. . . . Dr. Witherspoon has published speeches, which he wrote beforehand and delivered memoriter. But these, I believe, are the only speeches ever committed to writing. The orations while I was in Congress, from 1774 to 1778, appeared to me very universally extemporaneous, and I have never heard of any committed to writing before or after delivery."[3]

3. DUTCH. — There is in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. ciii.) a collection in Dutch with an English version in seven volumes, "Historische documenten betreffende de Amerikaansche zaken van de jaren 1775–1783, af geschreven naar de Originalen in het Ryks Archief te s' Gravenhage." Brodhead made similar selections for the use of Bancroft.

4. GERMAN. — The correspondence of Frederick the Great with his ambassadors in London and Paris, touching the American war (1776), as procured by Mr. Wheaton in 1844, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lxxvii.).[4]

Mr. E. J. Lowell, in the Appendix of his *Hessians*, gives a list of manuscript sources in the archives at Cassel, Marburg, etc., and he gives in the critical part of his chapter in the present *History*[5] a more complete account of the Hessian archives. Cf. also his account in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., iii. 219.

Geo. Bancroft, in the preface to his vol. ix., explains how the reports made to the Duke of Brunswick came at last to be lodged among the Prussian archives, whence he got copies of them, and of plans of battles, especially illustrating the campaign of 1777. He also secured the papers, journals, and correspondence collected by Max von Eelking, including letters of Burgoyne and Riedesel, and the journal of the latter in his own draft. Mr. Bancroft also says that by the aid of a Prussian officer the libraries and repositories of Germany were scoured with success for chance material in print touching the part of the Germans in the war. He says he has found in the main these German accounts the most important which we have.

5. SPANISH. — Sparks procured in 1854 from the Spanish Archives (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xcv. 2 vols.) the correspondence of the Marquis de Grimaldi, Count de Florida Blanca, and Count de Aranda (1776–1782), and in 1855 another selection (no. xcvi.) in one volume.[6] There are also in the same collection (no. xcvii.) the original letters of Juan de Miralles from Charleston, S. C., and Philadelphia to the governor of Havana, 1778–1780, and those of Francisco Rendon from Philadelphia to the governor of Havana, 1780, with copies and translations of some of them (nos. xcviii., c.), beside a translation (no. c.) of a succinct memoir of the operations of Galvez in Louisiana and Florida in 1781–1782, and a version of a manuscript belonging to Ternaux-Compans on the Spanish operations in Louisiana in 1781–1783 (no. ci.).[7]

Investigations conducted in the archives at Simancas have recently revealed papers of great importance respecting the early operations of the English along the eastern coasts of the United States, derived from reports and disclosures made in the early part of the seventeenth century by the Spanish ambassadors in London to their home government. These are to appear in Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, already referred to.

6. ITALIAN. — There were published in two volumes at Genoa, in 1879, the official correspondence of the Genoese ambassador Francisco Ageno in London during the American Revolution (1770–1780), with an extended preface on the colonies, *I casi della guerra per l'indipendenza d'America. Narrati dall' ambasciatore della repubblica di Genova presso la corte d'Inghilterra, nella sua corrispondenza ufficiale inedita, per Giuseppe Colucci.*

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[1] The latest use of all the material respecting Lafayette is in Bayard Tuckerman's *Life of General Lafayette* (N. Y., 1889), but the book makes no reference to sources excepting in a general way in its preface.

[2] *Works*, x. 171; cf. his notes in 1775–1776 in *Ibid.* ii. 443; and Greene's *Hist. View*, 387.

[3] Cf. Madison's *Letters*, iv. 68, 82, on the materials of American history at London and Paris.

[4] A letter of Frederick, Aug. 8, 1768, charging the English government with folly, is given as among the Lansdowne Papers in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, iii. 140.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. VII. ch. 1.

[6] Some of these are translated in no. cii.

[7] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VI. 738; VII. 54, and Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts in Harvard College Library*.

COMPREHENSIVE PRINTED AUTHORITIES UPON THE GENERAL AND UPON SOME SPECIAL PHASES OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1776–1850.

By the Editor.

I. AMERICAN. — "The records of the British government," wrote John Adams to Thomas McKean in 1815, "and the records of all the thirteen colonies, and the pamphlets, newspapers, and handbills of both parties, must be examined and the essence extracted before a correct history can be written of the American Revolution."[1]

There was found among the papers of Gov. William Livingston, and given to the N. Y. Hist. Soc.[2] in 1847, a manuscript *History of the American Revolution, commencing with the settlement of the American colonies and coming down to 8th Nov., 1775.* It had never been printed.

Thomas Paine in 1779 had formed a plan — never executed — of writing a history of the Revolution.[3]

At the end of the struggle, John Jay wrote to Charles Thomson, who had been the faithful secretary of the Continental Congress, urging him at least to take one hour of the twenty-four and give to posterity a truthful account of the political course of the Revolution, since he considered no one so well able to do it; but Thomson passed the long years of his retirement without so much as putting pen to paper to this end, so far as we know.[4]

The third volume of Gov. Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay* is for the most part occupied with the history of the political agitation, centring in that province, and is brought down to the moment of his leaving the country in June, 1774. He carried the manuscript with him to England, and continued to work upon it till he completed the final revision in October, 1778.[5] A committee of the Mass. Hist. Society had opened communication in 1817–1820 with Elisha Hutchinson, the son of the governor, with an aim to secure the governor's historical papers and to publish this manuscript of this third volume. Finally, after the death of Elisha, Mr. James Savage, in behalf of the society, effected a decision of the heirs to print the volume, which, edited by Elisha's son, the Rev. John Hutchinson, was published in London in 1828.[6]

The long delay in the publication of this third volume gave time for passions to cool, and when we consider the vilifications which Hutchinson experienced from his patriot contemporaries, and the injuries to property which he had suffered,[7] we can read with satisfaction the temperate expressions of his treatment of those furious controversies, which make up a large part of this posthumous volume. The opinion expressed of him by Pownall, in 1774, that America had not a more determined, insidious, and inveterate enemy,[8] the denunciation of Warren,[9] and the lingering antipathy of John Adams, who professed to have tried to disabuse his mind of prejudice against him,[10] were a general inheritance of the community from which Hutchinson fled that the new generations found it difficult to forget. Hutchinson says that in England he refused honors which would have been thrust upon him;[11] but John Adams professes to have learned there, later, that the despised man was almost shouldered out of the best English circles. There is nothing, however, to indicate this in Hutchinson's diary, and the tone of his history is that of an arbiter, conscious of his rectitude. The view of his character held by the patriot party has dissolved slowly. The governor was ambitious, perhaps grasping of power; he had but a dim conception of the patriots' overpowering zeal,[12] and always misjudged it, but they as generally misinterpreted him, and gave him no credit for that deep love of his country which his diary now discloses. This and time have done much to bring the better side of his character into prominence, while the grandson of one who shared the aversion of his contemporaries has fitly said that "his faults will be perhaps thought by posterity to have been expiated by his misfortune."[13]

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[1] *John Adams' Works*, x. 180. John Adams (*Familiar Letters*, p. 210) again records that as early as 1776 the artist Du Simitière, when consulted about a device for a medal to commemorate the siege of Boston, showed him he progress he was making in gathering material, snipping newspaper slips, and indexing pamphlets, to serve for a hisory of the Revolution.

[2] *Proc.*, 1847, p. 135.

[3] F. Moore's *Laurens Correspondence*, p. 158.

[4] Wm. B. Reed's *Address before the N. Y. Hist. Soc., Dec. 19, 1839*, p. 39.

[5] P. O. Hutchinson's *Diary and Letters of Gov. Hutchnson*, ii. 78, 172, 218.

[6] Five hundred copies were sent to the American maret, and called vol. iii. of the *History* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 397. Certain Boston gentlemen assumed the cost f these copies, — about $1.500).

Another five hundred, intended for the English trade, were given out as an independent work, with a long preface not included in the American copies (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. p. 286; iii. 144). The editor was subsequently made a corresponding member of the society. *Ibid.* i. 413. There is also an account of him in *Ibid.* xi. 148.

[7] Hutchinson says that when he departed from New England, in 1774, he abandoned property amounting to £1,000 for his house, movables, and farm in Milton: to £1,500 for mortgage on real estate in Middleboro; beside his houses, warehouses, and wharves in Boston (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1884, p. 463). See on his town house, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xxx. 74; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iv. 468.

[8] Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, p. 205.

[9] Frothingham's *Warren*, pp. 483–86.

[10] In 1816, etc. Cf. *Works*, x. 230, 261, 285.

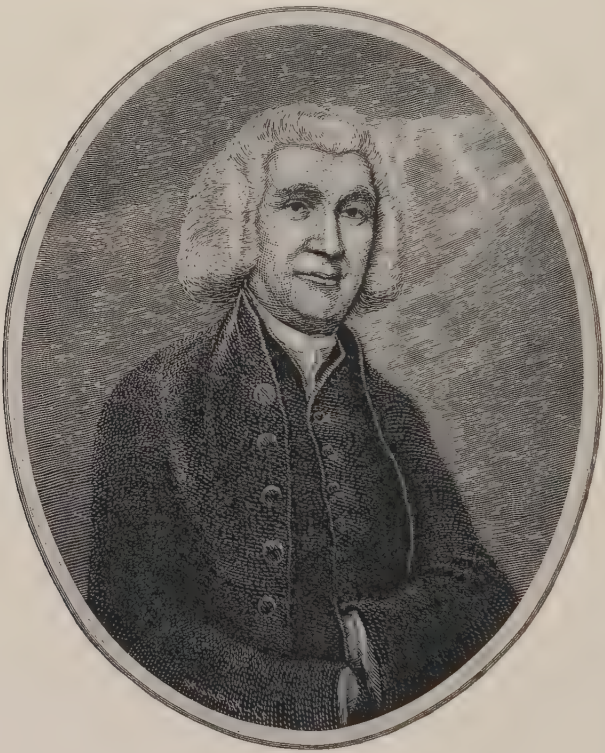
[11] P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, i. 127, 128, 283.

[12] Cf. Bancroft in *N. Am. Rev.*, April, 1838, p. 477.

[13] Edmund Quincy, *Haunted Adjutant, etc.*, 343.

William Gordon, when a man of about forty years, came to America in 1770, drawn thither, perhaps, by his love for the American cause, and known in some measure from a correspondence which he had begun with James Bowdoin.[1] He was soon settled as a preacher at Roxbury, near Boston, and a sermon which he delivered in December, 1774, on a Thanksgiving Day, marked the urgent nature of his adherence to the popular cause.[2] He was made chaplain of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress in 1775, and was given for a while the custody of the Hutchinson Papers, from which he extracted for Bowdoin[3] the passages objectionable to the patriots. He preached the election sermon at Watertown in July, 1775, and gave the discourse before the General Court on the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1777.[4]

He seems to have begun to make his collections on the American Revolution in 1777, and we have a letter to him of that year from John Adams,[5] in which he tells Gordon that his own habit had been so far from collecting papers that he had often destroyed such, and even his own minutes of events and their causes. Adams advises him to begin his story as far back at least as 1761. Adams took his measure of Gordon as a very well-meaning, very zealous man, but too talkative, indiscreet, and vain.[6] Washington at first refused to let him have access to his papers, because it was not becoming to throw them open to historians before Congress had unbarred the public archives for the same period. This was early in 1784.[7] His application to Congress was equally unsuccessful, but a second attempt prevailed, and in June of that same year he was at Mount Vernon examining Washington's papers. "He is indefatigable, and will make a valuable collection," wrote Ebenezer Hazard of him at this time.



WILLIAM GORDON.*

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[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vii. 291.

[2] Thornton's *Pulpit of the Rev.*, 188.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vii. 293.

[4] The only attempt we have of a biographical memoir of Gordon is a scattering essay by Mr. James S. Loring in the *Hist. Mag.*, Feb. and March, 1862. Gordon died in 1807, aged seventy-seven.

[5] *Works*, ix. 461.

[6] *Works*, ii. 424.

[7] *Washington's Works*, ix. 29. Washington had earlier written (Oct. 23, 1782) to Gordon, who had applied to see his papers, saying, "Mine, while the war continues, I consider as a species of public property, sacred in my hands. When Congress shall open their register, and say it is proper for the servants of the public to do so, it will give me much pleasure to afford aid to your labors" (*Sparks MSS.*, no. lxv. vol. iii. p. 359).

* Reproduced from an engraving by Chapman after Hayter. Cf. *Catal. Cab. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, no. 118.

In the preface of his history, Gordon speaks of the encouragement he had had from the late commander-in-chief to collect material, oral and written, and that Congress, as well as Washington, Gates, Greene, Lincoln, and Otho Williams, had opened their papers to him. It is alleged that his maps of the Southern campaigns were drawn by Ramsay and revised by Greene.[1] He is supposed to have written his history in the main before he returned to England, and to have made the first draft more pronounced against the English government and certain officers than he thought prudent to let stand in the printed work.[2] Finally, in 1788, his book appeared in London in four volumes under the title *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America.*[3] His preface is dated at London, Oct. 28, 1788.[4]

The earliest copies reached New York in February, 1789. In March Hazard was telling Belknap that it was a valuable book, and that its author wished corrections for a second edition.[5] The New York newspapers soon began to print large extracts from it, day after day, and an American edition in three volumes was put to press. Hazard before long was writing to Belknap[6] that Gordon was "a valuable friend, but an indifferent historian. His collection of facts will be useful to some future writer, who will hold a better pen." Belknap[7] quite agreed with his friend, and says that Samuel Adams was hurt at Gordon's representation of his being engaged at one time in an effort to remove Washington, and considered Gordon to indulge in reminiscences "which are below the dignity of history," and thought it a pity the author could not have let his book be seen by some judicious friends. "I am persuaded," Belknap says, that Gordon "might have profited by their advice; but he had too much of the self-sufficient principle in him." Again he speaks[8] of Gordon's giving offence in what he said of Washington. "Gordon was not much beloved nor regarded while he was here, and the stories he has told of one and another in his book have helped to sink him in the general estimation, though now and then I find some who are rather inclined to speak favorably of him." Hazard in reply says, "I know that Gordon's intention was to state facts truly," and he cites Ramsay as praising Gordon's valuable collection of materials.[9] In England, if we may believe a correspondent of John Adams,[10] it was "a story that nobody liked to read," and in America there was a suspicion, probably groundless, that Gordon had by his subserviency in England injured his record as an advocate of the American cause.

Gordon was the earliest to work in an historical spirit among the original records that had not been made public during the progress of the war, and therefore had advantages which he availed himself of with inquisitiveness and pertinacity, so that subsequent writers have found him valuable for material which is difficult to find elsewhere.[11] In his treatment of his story he was at times far from wise; but Bancroft is content to pronounce his book on the whole invaluable.[12]

W. B. Reed[13] says: "Gordon's ponderous history of the war is a curious and ill-digested collection of materials. He had access to much that was authentic, but made strange and often mischievous use of what he had." One of the most temperate of English writers, Wm. Smyth, in his *Lecture on Modern History*, calls him "impartial."

A better trained writer, and one better supplied with the historic sense and capable of broad and condensed expression, placed himself on record as a contemporary authority of the first importance. This was David Ramsay, who undertook first his history of the part sustained by South Carolina[14] to the conflict.

He said in his preface that "his knowledge of the affairs of the Middle and Northern States was not sufficiently particular to warrant his attempting the history of the whole." He then states that as a witness to many of the events in the South, from his official connections, his acquaintance with the actors, his familiarity with the fields of battle, and also from his access to official papers, he had been better qualified for the more local task.

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[1] There are specimens of the kind of inquiries which Gordon made of Greene in his letters (G. W. Greene, *Life of Gen. Greene*, ii. 417). See, also, *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 24, 160. G. W. Greene (i. 516) says Gordon "was generally well informed; and though he sometimes mistakes, seldom if ever invents."

[2] John Adams to Gerry, April 20, 1813; Dr. Waterhouse's *Junius*; J. W. Francis, *Old New York* (1858), pp. 112–13; Niles' *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 516. Sam. Adams thought Gordon went back to England with undue hopes of a speedy reconciliation of the two peoples (*John Adams' Works*, ix. 547).

[3] Sabin, vii. p. 347. It was reprinted in New York, 1789, in 3 vols.; again in 1794. Brinley, ii. no. 4018.

[4] He writes to Washington, Feb. 16, 1789, that the printing of 1200 copies (200 on best wove paper) had cost him £700. *Sparks MSS.*, no. lxvi.

[5] *Belknap Papers*, ii. 102.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 144.

[7] *Ibid.* ii. 151.

[8] *Ibid.* ii. 161.

[9] Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 91.

[10] *Works*, ix. 550.

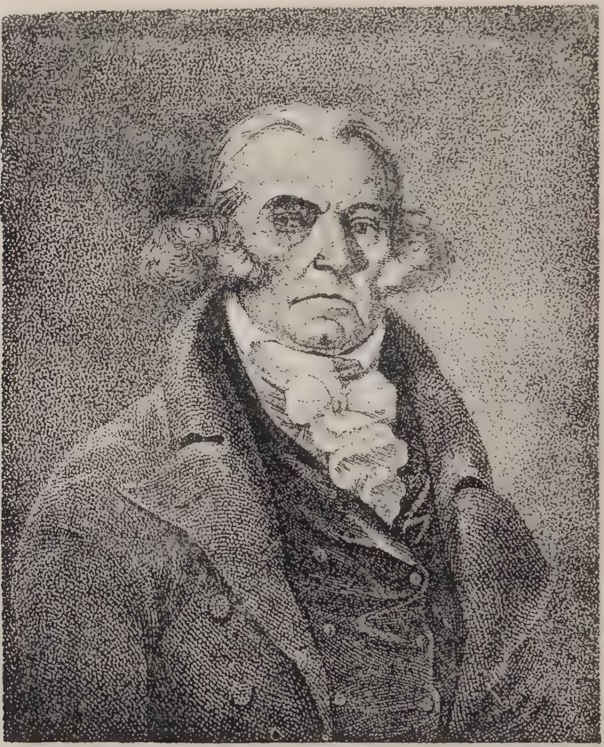
[11] C. F. Adams in *John Adams' Works*, ii. 423.

[12] Original ed., iv. 376; ix. 123, — saying that Gordon always cites documents correctly. "Notwithstanding all its faults, the book is invaluable, but by no means free from tales that on examination are found untrustworthy." James Sullivan says that Gordon never obtained political confidence here, and returned to England to exhibit his ill-nature and revenge. "There are in his work," says Sullivan, "very few facts truly stated, and these are badly arranged, while the effects for which he assigns causes are generally as much estranged to what he supposes they flow from as his is from a pure historical style" (*Life of Sullivan*, by T. C. Amory, i. 258). Hamilton had such an opinion of Gordon as might be expected from the resentment he expressed at what he deemed a slander. *Hamilton's Works*, Lodge ed., vii. 570–76, 586.

[13] *Life of Joseph Reed*, i. 240.

[14] *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina from a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton, 1785, in two volumes). It was reprinted in London in 1787, and appeared in a French version by Lefort, the same year, both at London and Paris, and again at Paris in 1796, in five volumes. Continued to 1808, it was republished at Charleston in 1809 in two volumes, and in 1858 at Newberry (S. C.) and Charleston (Sabin, xvi., nos. 67,686, 67,705).

He was, nevertheless, beginning even then to collect material for a wider study of the times, and when he was a member of Congress, in 1785–86, he increased his opportunities by the access which he then had to the national archives, many of which he hoped, as he said, one day to print as documentary proofs in a separate publication, — a labor which he never performed, though a few years later he made public his *History of the American Revolution.*[1] Ramsay brought an ardent patriotism[2] to the task, and a literary skill hardly surpassed among his compatriots. He had a reputation for justness, and Gen. Greene is said to have expressed satisfaction with his narrative so far as his personal acquaintance with the events qualified him to judge it. Smyth, in his *Lectures*,[3] gives a long summary of his early chapters, as best showing on the American side the motives and impulses of the earlier periods of the Revolution; and while he finds him candid and impartial, he criticises him in no respect but as being forgetful of the training of the king's soldiers, which the American raw levies had to encounter, and thinks, consequently, that Ramsay's palliation of the defeats which the Americans received was in some degree needless.



DAVID RAMSAY.*

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[1] It was published at Philadelphia in two volumes, in 1789; and later at London, 1791, 1793; Dublin, 1793 and 1795; Trenton, 1811; and Lexington, Ky., 1815. There are French, Dutch (1792), and German (1794) translations (Sabin, xvi., nos. 67,687–67,688). A letter of Charles Thomson, addressed to Ramsay and criticising his history in the manuscript draft, is in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878, p. 215. The substance of this book was made the basis of the second volume of a *History of the United States*, 1607–1808, which Ramsay did not live wholly to complete, but which was finished by S. S. Smith, and printed at Philadelphia in 1816–17, and in a second revised edition in 1818 (Sabin, xvi. no. 67,694). There was in the Rush C. Hawkins sale, March, 1887, a copy of the proofs of Ramsay's *United States*, with his corrections. Cf. *Madison's Letters*, iii. 205.

[2] Cf. his oration at Charleston, S. C., in July, 1778, on the advantages of independence, cited in Niles' *Principles and Acts*, 1876 ed., p. 374.

[3] Lecture xxxiii.

* After an engraving in the *Analectic Mag.*, vol. vi., marked "I. B. White, pt., Gimbrede, sculpt." There is a likeness in Independence Hall.

A memoir of Ramsay appeared in the *Analectic Mag.*, vol. vi. p. 204; was reprinted in vol. i. of his *Hist. of the U. S.*, and again in the *Nat. Portrait Gallery*, 1836, vol. iii., and 1852, vol. ii. Cf. Vol. V., *Index*.

The next contemporaneous general account of the war was Thomas Pemberton's so-called *Historical Journal of the American War, 1765–1784*, published first in the second volume of the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, and then separately at Boston in 1793. Two years later (1795) the little work of John Lendrum appeared in two editions, the first at Boston and the second at Philadelphia: *A concise and impartial history of the American revolution. Prefixed, a general history of North and South America* [*etc.*], in two volumes; and *The history of America, in two books. Containing 1. A general history of America. 2. A concise history of the late revolution.* [*Anon.*] *Extracted from the American edition of the Encyclopædia.* 2d ed. in one volume.[1]

MRS. MERCY WARREN.*

The *Monthly Military Repository* of Charles Smith, which reached two volumes (New York, 1796–97), shows six maps of the war, and its descriptions are said to have been supplied by Gates and Steuben.[2] It appeared in 1797, independently, as *The American War from 1775 to 1783* (New York, for Charles Smith), and is now a very rare book.[3]

A *History of the British Empire, 1765–1783, containing an impartial history of the origin, progress, and*

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[1] Sabin, x. 207.

[2] Sabin, xii. 50, 185.

[3] Brinley, no. 4151; Menzies, no. 1841.

* After a painting owned by Winslow Warren, Esq., of Dedham. Cf. Perkins' *Copley*, p. 116, and the engravings in Higginson's *Larger History*, p. 353, and in Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, vol. i.

termination of the American Revolution, was prepared "by a society of gentlemen," and was published in Philadelphia in 1798, in two volumes, reaching a second edition in 1803.[1]

As early as 1773, John Adams had written to Mercy Warren, the sister of James Otis and wife of James Warren, that "the faithful historian delineates characters truly, let the censure fall where it will. The public is so interested in public characters that they have a right to know them, and it becomes the duty of every good citizen who happens to be acquainted with them to communicate his knowledge."[2] At the time this was written Mrs. Warren was a woman ripe in the experience — she was forty-seven — of familiarity with the leading spirits in Massachusetts, and flattered by John Adams to believe that her powers were neglected only for the world's loss.[3] In 1778 she seems to have been contemplating a history of the Revolution, in which she had known so intimately so many of its principal actors, and was sketching the characters of some of these actors to her correspondents.[4] "As to portraits," says John Adams to her in reply, "I dare not try my hand as yet, but my design is to retire, like my friend [Mrs. Warren], and spend all my leisure hours in writing a history of this revolution."[5] From notes which during these years she had collected, and from a voluminous correspondence with those who had been foremost in the active scenes of the struggle, as well as from the papers of her husband and her own recollections, she wrote finally, and was at the advanced age of seventy-seven when she published, her *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution; interspersed with biographical, political, and moral observations* (Boston, 1805).

It was a woman's vivacious yet dignified, and sharply drawn yet lightly touched narrative of events not yet faded from the personal memories of such as then survived of the makers of that revolution. She had been early and late a close friend of John Adams and his wife. The politics of the United States had by this time divided them, as newer differences of opinion during the later years had arisen. John Adams was now retired from political life, and under a load of calumny from the Jefferson party, with which the Warrens sympathized. He was quick to see present antagonisms in what she had said of him in her history, as respects his conduct of the earlier time, and, restraining little his passion, he addressed her a series of indignant and in some parts insolent letters. She replied with more dignity and hardly less vigor. An estrangement followed, only healed by the good offices of Elbridge Gerry in due time. This correspondence, barring some passages in the Adams part of it which merited oblivion, was printed in 1878 in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. xliv.[6]

Bancroft in 1838 said,[7] "Take it all for all, the *Annals* of Holmes constitute a work which in its kind has never been equalled among us, and has few parallels anywhere;" and this judgment is as good to-day, the portion relating to the Revolution being of the general excellence of the rest of the volume, and strengthened by references to authorities.[8]

A. Holmes.

A work by Bernard Hubley, *History of the American Revolution, including the most important events and resolutions of the Honourable Continental Congress during that period, and also the most interesting letters and orders of Washington, etc.* (Northumberland, Penna., 1805), was never continued, — begun Oct. 9, 1775, only one volume being published.[9]

Another incompleted work was a *History of the American Revolution*, of which the first volume, and part one of a second, were printed at Charleston, S. C., in 1806.[10]

Benjamin Trumbull's *General History of the U. S.* (Boston, 1810) was necessarily in part concerned with the war.

A work which passes under the name of Paul Allen, who was the projector, was written in fact (vol. i.) by John Neal and (vol. ii.) Mr. Watkins,[11] and is called *A history of the American revolution. To which are added, the most important resolutions of the continental congress, and many of the most important letters of General Washington.* It was published at Baltimore in 1819, and was reprinted in 1822.[12]

Adam Seybert's *Statistical Annals of the United States, 1789–1818*, was published at Philadelphia in 1818.

Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes of the American Revolution* appeared in a first series at Charleston, S. C., in 1822, and in a second in 1828.[13] What is known as William Bailey's *Records of Patriotism and Love of Country* (Washington, 1826) is founded on, and in large part a reprint of, Garden's book, made in England and printed with an American title-page.[14] Garden was honestly reprinted, in three volumes, with additional matter, under the editing of Thomas W. Field, as *Anecdotes of the American Revolution, illustrative of Talents and Virtues of the Heroes of the Revolution* (Brooklyn, 1865).[15]

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[1] Sabin, viii. no. 32,163.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. p. 329.

[3] Adams's *Works*, ix. 356; also see p. 335.

[4] Adams's *Works*, ix. 369.

[5] *Ibid.* ix. 475.

[6] The originals are owned by Charles Francis Adams and Winslow Warren. Cf. Duyckinck's *Cyclop. of Amer. Lit.*, i.; Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, i. 74.

[7] *No. Amer. Rev.*, April, 1838, p. 481.

[8] The first edition (1805) was succeeded by a second (1829). See the present *History*, Vol. V. p. 619, for an estimate of Holmes.

[9] Sabin, viii. no. 32,156.

[10] Sparks, no. 1291; Brinley, no. 4034.

[11] Kettell, *Amer. Poets*, ii. 186.

[12] The *Brinley Catal.* (no. 3933) dates the first edition in 1817.

[13] Sabin, vii. nos. 26,597, 26,598.

[14] Brinley, no. 3968.

[15] Sabin, vii. no. 26,599.

A popular book fifty years ago was Jedidiah Morse's *Annals of the American Revolution, or a record of the cause and events, which produced and terminated in the establishment and independence of the American Republic* (Hartford, 1824).

Timothy Pitkin[1] published in 1828 a *Political and Civil History of the United States, 1775–1797*, in two volumes, which Sparks calls a first attempt to disconnect political events from the military record.

Samuel Perkins's *Historical Sketches of the United States, 1815–1830*, was printed at New York in 1830.

"The great merit of Mr. Sparks," wrote Bancroft in 1838,[2] "giving him the first rank among the critical students of our history, consists in his candor and his completeness." Mention is made elsewhere of Sparks's eminent assistance in giving an orderly presentation of the great mass of material illustrating the Revolution, by his editions of the *Writings of Washington* and *Franklin*, and by his *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, and of the *Letters addressed to Washington*. His other contributions to the history of the Revolution and later times consist of his *Life of Gouverneur Morris, with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers* (Boston, 1832, in three volumes),[3] and the lives contributed by himself — those of Charles Lee, Pulaski, Ethan Allen, and Benedict Arnold, to say nothing of those of an earlier period — to his *Library of American Biography*.[4]

Sparks had formed the intention — as early as 1840 — of writing the history of the American Revolution, or of the period between the Peace of Paris in 1763 and the adoption of the Federal Constitution.[5] When he learned that Bancroft was intending to continue his narrative to the peace of 1783, he abandoned the more general purpose for devoting himself to the history of the foreign relations of the United States during the Revolutionary period, and upon this theme he was engaged to the last.[6]

Bancroft began what he called the *History of the American Revolution* with the fourth volume of his *History of the United States*, treating as a first epoch the overthrow of the European colonial system, between the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 and the Peace of Paris in 1763, — a space covered by the preceding volume of the present *History*. Not until he undertook his fifth and sixth volumes did he reach the more commonly reckoned preliminaries of the Revolution in the story of the growing estrangement of the colonies from 1763 to 1774, closing the narrative of the causes of that political struggle with the penal acts of 1774 which dissolved the moral connection and began the civil war.

It was in 1852 that he published his fifth volume; and his tenth, ending with the peace, appeared in 1875. For nearly twenty-five years his narrative of the Revolution was in progress.[7] In the sixth and ninth volumes he has told of his facilities, and they were more extensive than any other writer on our Anglo-American history has enjoyed, and can only be approached by those of Sparks. Of collections of printed books he names, beside his private library, those of Harvard College, the Boston Athenæum, — rich in pamphlets, — and the British Museum as having been his chief dependence.[8] It is, however, in respect to manuscript sources that

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[1] There is a portrait of Pitkin in the *Pitkin Family of America*, Hartford, 1887, p. 50. Cf. C. K. Adams' *Man. of Hist. Lit.*, p. 574.

[2] *No. Am. Rev.*, April, 1838, p. 483.

[3] A French version by Augustin Gaudais was published in Paris in 1842. Sparks worked from Morris's papers, which were carefully preserved, after his mission to Europe. C. F. Adams thinks that Sparks "fell short of giving the full history and character" of Gouverneur Morris (*Mem. of J. Q. Adams*, i. 137). There is a characterization of Morris by H. T. Tuckerman in his *Biog. Essays*.

[4] This publication was begun in Boston in 1830, the first series growing to ten volumes, and the second to fifteen. The twenty-five volumes cover the following lives: —

Contents. — Vol. i., John Stark, by E. Everett; C. B. Brown, by W. H. Prescott; R. Montgomery, by J. Armstrong; E. Allen, by J. Sparks. ii., A. Wilson, by W. B. O. Peabody; Capt. J. Smith, by G. S. Hillard. iii., Life and treason of B. Arnold, by J. Sparks. iv., A. Wayne, by J. Armstrong; H. Vane, by C. W. Upham. v., J. Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, by C. Francis. vi., W. Pinkney, by H. Wheaton; W. Ellery, by E. T. Channing; C. Mather, by W. B. O. Peabody. vii., Sir W. Phips, by F. Bowen; I. Putnam, by O. W. B. Peabody; Memoir of L. M. Davidson, by C. M. Sedgwick; D. Rittenhouse, by J. Renwick. viii., J. Edwards, by S. Miller; D. Brainerd, by W. B. O. Peabody. ix., Baron Steuben, by F. Bowen; S. Cabot, by C. Hayward, Jr.; W. Eaton, by C. C. Felton. x., R. Fulton, by J. Renwick; J. Warren, by A. H. Everett; H. Hudson, by H. R. Cleveland; Father Marquette, by J. Sparks. xi., R. C. de la Salle, by J. Sparks; P. Henry, by A. H. Everett. xii., J. Otis, by F. Bowen; J. Oglethorpe, by W. B. O. Peabody. xiii., J. Sullivan, by O. W. B. Peabody; J. Leisler, by C. F. Hoffman; N. Bacon, by W. Ware; J. Mason, by G. E. Ellis. xiv., R. Williams, by W. Gammell; T. Dwight, by W. B. Sprague; Count Pulaski, by J. Sparks; xv., B. Thompson, Count of Rumford, by J. Renwick; Z. M. Pike, by H. Whiting; S. Gorton, by J. M. Mackie. xvi., E. Stiles, by J. L. Kingsley; J. Fitch, by C. Whittlesey; A. Hutchinson, by G. E. Ellis. xvii., J. Ribault, by J. Sparks; S. Rale, by C. Francis; W. Palfrey, by J. G. Palfrey. xviii., C. Lee, by J. Sparks; J. Reed, by H. Reed. xix., L. Calvert, by G. W. Burnap; S. Ward, by W. Gammell; T. Posey, by J. Hall. xx., N. Greene, by G. W. Greene. xxi., S. Decatur, by A. S. Mackenzie. xxii., E. Preble, by L. Sabine; W. Penn, by G. E. Ellis. xxiii., D. Boone, by J. M. Peck; B. Lincoln, by F. Bowen. xxiv., J. Ledyard, by J. Sparks. xxv., W. R. Davie, by F. M. Hubbard; S. Kirkland, by S. K. Lothrop.

[5] See *Madison Letters*, iii. 582–583.

[6] His library, having been kept for a few years after his death (1866), was catalogued, and in 1871 a *Catalogue* of it was printed at Cambridge under the supervision of Mr. Chas. A. Cutter of the Boston Athenæum. The volume contained also a record of his collection of bound historical manuscripts, which under his will and by the consent of his son were soon transferred to the library of Harvard College, where they now are, and of them that library has printed a somewhat particular calendar. The printed books and the collection of maps were purchased for Cornell University, where they now are. His correspondence and journals were retained by the family, and have lately been entrusted to Professor Herbert B. Adams for editing and publishing some parts of them.

[7] The course of opinion regarding his labors can be traced through *Poole's Index*, p. 1350.

[8] The Ebeling collection gave the college library its

GEORGE BANCROFT (1853).*

distinction (see "Americana" in the first volume of this *History*). The riches of the Boston Athenæum appear in the catalogue published 1874-1882, as finally edited by Chas. A. Cutter, the leading authority in the science of cataloguing in the United States. The catalogue of the British Museum is now printing slowly, and is made public by instalments.

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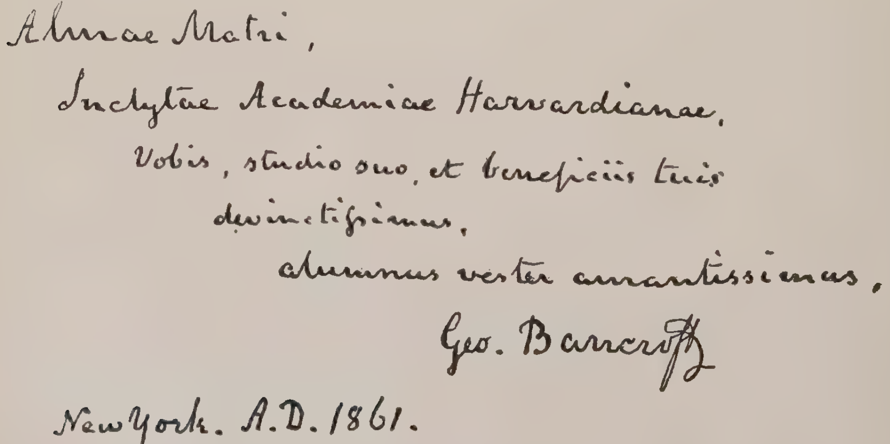
* After a photograph, which Mr. Bancroft considers on the whole the best picture of his most vigorous years. Cf. another engraving in J. C. Fremont's *Memoirs of my Life*, i. 414. The large-paper edition of his original edition, published in 1861, has a photograph of a few years later. The copy of this edition in Harvard College library bears the following inscription: —



Almae Matri,
Inclytae Academiae Harvardianae,
Vobis, studio suo, et beneficiis tuis
devinctissimus,
alumnus vester amantissimus,
Geo. Bancroft
New York. A.D. 1861.

The final volume of his last revision has an engraving, not altogether satisfactory, of the superb painting of him made in Berlin during his term as American minister there, and which now hangs in his house in Washington, as a pendant to the large portrait of the Emperor of Germany. (Cf. B. G. Lovejoy on "Bancroft at Home" in *The Critic*, vi. 67.)

his opportunities have been most remarkable. Nothing was refused him in the English State-Paper Office nor at the Treasury. The manuscripts of the British Museum and the Royal Institution, such of the Chatham Papers as had not been printed, the Shelburne Papers, including the letters of Shelburne and the king, an autobiography of the third Duke of Grafton, a journal of the Earl of Dartmouth, the letters which passed from the king to Lord North,[1] not to mention others of lesser importance, were placed at his disposal. In France the archives were thrown open to his search without restraint, and the treasures of the Marine and War Department were largely drawn upon. On the negotiations for the peace, the French archives offered him the richest material. From Germany his acquisitions were more peculiarly valuable, as Sparks had scarcely reaped anything from that field. He found the archives of Hesse-Cassel closed to him as to others, but through the instrumentality of Friedrich Kapp and others he secured possession of private journals and reports of the Hessian officers, and caused searches to be made in the wide field of the contemporary publications in Germany for letters and criticisms on the part of the German auxiliaries in the war, which he considers "in the main the most important of all that have been preserved."[2] From Berlin he got the reports made to the Duke of Brunswick by his officers, which have finally found a lodgment in the Russian archives; and he also secured the collections which Max von Eelking, the writer on the Hessian story, had amassed in his studies. He likewise obtained copies of the correspondence of Frederick the Great with his foreign ministers, so far as it touched upon the affairs of America. From Moscow and Vienna, from Holland and from Spain, other documents came to swell the records, which have enabled him to make his account of the foreign relations of the Confederacy the best by far which has been prepared.[3]

His wealth of American papers is probably for their scope unsurpassed in private hands. He had of course at his command the resources of the government archives and those of the original States; he could examine the papers of the Revolution gathered in public libraries, and in the cabinets of historical societies; and besides these, he had his own gatherings: the correspondence of the agents of the various colonies in London prior to the outbreak of actual war, like Bollan, Jasper Mauduit, Richard Jackson, Arthur Lee, Franklin, W. S. Johnson, and others; the papers, more or less extensive, of Hutchinson, Israel Mauduit, Pownall, Hollis, Mayhew, Andrew Eliot, Colden, Bernard; and above all the papers of Samuel Adams, which passed into Mr. Bancroft's hands some years ago.

He speaks also of two volumes of papers of Greene, and the papers of Anthony Wayne, which were submitted to his inspection.

In volume vii. Bancroft departed from the plan which he had pursued in earlier volumes, and began to omit all notes, whether of reference or explanation, — which he has explained in the original edition of 1858. During the course of the three remaining volumes, while he is not constant in withholding these helps, and seems to return at times to their use in a somewhat irregular way, the text is left in the main to stand on its own merits, though there is a tendency towards the end to revert to the earlier habit. The original octavo edition was hardly completed for the period of the war when their author gave, as he says, a solid year to a revision, which appeared in a smaller size, called the *Centenary Edition*, of which vols. iii. to vi., issued in 1879, constitute the history of the Revolution.[4] He made the revision in the light of later developments, and carried it much farther than he had been able to do from time to time, in such alterations as could be made in the plates of the original editions, which can be readily traced in the earlier volumes by the change in the cut of the type employed. "A few statements disappear," he says, "some new ones find their place." He omits the older prefaces, and retains scarcely any of the notes, — the absence of which has rendered the original edition for scholarly use generally more acceptable than the revision; and the same reason is in some degrees also to affect the comparative value of his final revision, from which the notes are perhaps still more rigidly excluded. This final edition was issued between 1883 and 1885, restored to the octavo shape, and condensing in six volumes the matter of the original twelve (including two on the *History of the Constitution*, — his last contribution), and coming down to the organization of the federal government under the Constitution. The process of this "author's last revision," as he calls it, has been a chastening one. The changes in arrangement and subdivisions are considerable, and all tend to a better ordering of the narrative. The language s toned to a riper quality; repetitions and redundancies are removed; there are frequent omissions and condensations, while the story is more nearly a pure narrative, in which the historian is content, as he should be, "to leave events, as they sweep onward, to speak their own condemnation or praise." The history of the Revolution begins in the middle of the second volume. It is apparent that these final changes have better itted the historian's labors for permanent favor. His learning and the extraordinary resources of his material are likely to make his work necessary for the student till another with equal or better facilities shall compass he subject in a way to gain wider sympathy. The opposition which some of his views have met thus far may indicate that political affiliations and cherished beliefs may continue at times to be crossed by his judgments and strained by his sympathies. Lecky, in his *England in the Eighteenth Century* (vol. iii. 369), peaks of the "violent partisanship which so greatly impairs the value of Bancroft's very learned history." An ncisive way, even if devoid of advocacies, is sure to invite such criticism.[5]

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[1] These have since been published, edited by Donne.

[2] Cf. Critical Essay to Edw. J. Lowell's chapter i. of Vol. VII. of the present *History*.

[3] Cf. J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years among Authors*, p. 323, for Mr. Bancroft's conversations on the subject.

[4] Cf. on the original edition C. K. Adams's *Manual of Historical Literature*, p. 530.

[5] Cf. references in Allibone, i. 110; and in *Poole's Index*, p. 1350.

Some of the principal arraignments of Bancroft's judg-

Alden Bradford, of Massachusetts, published a *History of the Federal Government, 1789–1839*, at Boston in 1840. Bradford was a busy compiler, and this work has little distinctive merit.

ments may be mentioned. In respect to the conduct of Col. Timothy Pickering in his failure to assist in the rout of the royal troops on April 19, 1775, Bancroft took a view which had been early held respecting Pickering's dilatoriness in bringing up the Essex regiment, or a portion of it, to intercept the British. Col. Samuel Swett published a *Defence of Col. Timothy Pickering against Bancroft's History* (Boston, 1859). The testimony and opposing judgments on this point have since been canvassed in the *Life of Col. Pickering*, by Octavius Pickering.

In what Bancroft had to say of General Greene, in his ninth volume, the general's grandson found fourteen points to complain of. Chief among them are criticisms upon Greene's conduct in respect to Fort Washington and Brandywine, as to which exceptions were taken in *An examination of some statements concerning Maj. Gen. Greene, in the ninth volume of Bancroft's History, by George Washington Greene* (Boston, 1866).

To this Bancroft made a *Reply*, which was printed in the *North Amer. Review*, April, 1867, and to this Greene made a *Rejoinder*, in the same periodical (vol. cv. 332), and all three papers are reprinted by Greene in the Appendix (vol. ii.) of his *Life of Gen. Greene* (cf. *Hist. Mag.*, xi. 124; xii. 78, 131), — an elaborate biography, based on the Greene Papers, without the aid of which Geo. W. Greene had earlier produced the life which makes part of Sparks's *Amer. Biography* (vol. xx.). (Cf. also *No. Am. Review*, Jan., 1867, espousing Bancroft's side, and *Harper's Mag.*, Feb., 1867, on Greene's.)

A charge by Bancroft, also, in his ninth volume, that General Schuyler was suspected of cowardice during the progress of the Northern campaign in 1777, led to a correspondence begun with him by Geo. L. Schuyler, during which Bancroft furnished what seemed to him sufficient ground for the allegation, though it did not so seem to his questioner. The result was a pamphlet published by Geo. L. Schuyler, called *Correspondence and Remarks upon Bancroft's History of the Northern Campaign of 1777 and the Character of Maj.-Gen. Schuyler* (N. Y., 1867).

The defence of Schuyler was further undertaken by Lossing, in his *Life and Times of Maj.-Gen. Schuyler* (vol. ii. 325, etc.). Bancroft in his final revision (vol. v. 164, etc.) has changed his treatment somewhat, substituting in one place "want of spirit" for "cowardice," but not in any large degree softening the expressions that provoked the censure. Cf. note by John C. Hamilton in his *Life of Hamilton* (1879 ed , vol. i. Appendix).

The character of General Sullivan was another point upon which Bancroft elicited criticism. The military record of this officer had early been the subject of animadversions. O. W. B. Peabody, in the life of Sullivan in Sparks' *Amer. Biography* (new series, vol. iii.), had undertaken to correct the traditional censure, and had called Gordon's estimate too invariably severe. Peabody had had access to the *Sullivan Papers*, then in the custody of the Hon. John Sullivan of Exeter, N. H., and he had used such of Sullivan's letters to Washington as Mr. Sparks had in his collections (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xx.). This remained for some time the most considerable record of Sullivan's career, and was not added to in any essential parts by the memoir in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (vol. vii. 137) and in the centennial sketch by T. C. Amory in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (vol. ii. 196). Bancroft's ninth volume questioned Sullivan's character and military conduct with some sharpness. A defence was now laboriously undertaken by Mr. Thomas C. Amory, a descendant, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (Dec., 1866, p. 380) and in the supplement of the *Hist. Mag.* (1866, p. 161), — the last also printed separately as *Gen. John Sullivan, a Vindication of his Character* (Morrisania, 1867); and again Mr. Amory's views were systematically presented in his *Military services and public life of Gen. John Sullivan* (Boston and Albany, 1868). A more serious charge — that of mercenary dependence on a foreign power, though an ally — was made by Bancroft in his tenth volume (p. 502), where, speaking of the settlement of the fishery question, he said that the fact of New Hampshire abandoning her claim was due to Sullivan, "who at the time was a pensioner of Luzerne." At the demand of Mr. Amory, Bancroft produced a letter of Luzerne to Vergennes, May 13, 1781, in which the minister explains to the home government that, finding Sullivan needy, he had assisted him with money, which so far met the approval of the French ministry that they directed Luzerne to carry the amount to his account for "extraordinary expenses." (This letter is in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii. vol. i.) Amory printed Luzerne's letter with a translation in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (Dec., 1874, p. 383), and sought to explain that the loan in no way compromised Sullivan's independence. Cf. *Legal Gazette*, vii. 100. He also presented his explanation or extenuation in the *N. H. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1876–1884, p. 100), and in a separate brochure, *Gen. Sullivan not a pensioner of Luzerne* (Boston, 1873, two editions), to which was appended an apologetical report by a committee of the New Hampshire Historical Society. It seems hard to escape the conviction that no sensitive or sensible patriot would under any circumstances have thus compromised his independence of character. Bancroft modified his language in his Centenary edition (vi. 377), and said, "It fell, therefore, to Sullivan, who was in the pay of France, to carry the amendments by the vote of his State;" and in his final revision (vol. v. 473) the passage reads: "But Sullivan, who had borrowed money from the minister of France, secured the amendments by the vote of his State."

It was already known that Peter Livius, a well-known New Hampshire Tory, in a letter from Montreal, dated June 2, 1777 (Amory's *Sullivan*, 302), had written to Sullivan, as to one to whom he could dare propose, in terms that rendered it necessary to conceal the epistle in its transit, and that it had been intercepted by Schuyler (*Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist.*, vi. 245).

When the secret journal of Sir Henry Clinton was published in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vol. xi. 157–158, 538), other evidences were disclosed that seemed to implicate Sullivan in seeking personal or family ends, even at the sacrifice of his patriotic standing, and led to further explanations by Mr. Amory, in the *Mag. of Amer. History* (vol. xi. 353) and in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1884, p. 48), where, however, the reader is in no way put in possession of the exact charge which the defence is intended to meet, though the "information" recorded in Clinton's journal, dated July 4, 1781, and signed Daniel Sullivan, is printed in an Appendix to this paper as published separately under the title of *Daniel Sullivan's visits, May and June, 1781, to Gen. John Sullivan in Philadelphia, to explain declarations in Sir Henry Clinton's Secret Journal* (Cambridge, 1884).

Papers of Gen. Sullivan respecting charges against him for bad conduct in the Staten Island expedition and at the Brandywine (1777), and as transmitted by him to Gov Langdon (*N. H. State Papers*, viii. 743), are printed in *Ibid.* xvii. p. 154, etc.

The course of what is known as the Reed-Cadwalader controversy may be thus traced: In a time of high political excitement at the end of the war, when Joseph Reed and John Cadwalader, who had been companions in arms during the war, were now politically opposed in Pennsylvania politics, a communication appeared in the *Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia, Sept. 7, 1782), signed "Brutus," charging upon Joseph Reed an inclination towards defection at the gloomy period just preceding the battle of Trenton (reprinted in W. B. Reed's *President*

The third volume (New York, Harpers, 1849) of Richard Hildreth's *History of the United States* covers the period of the Revolution; it is judicious, definite, based on good research mainly as regards printed authorities; but it is too condensed and dry to be engaging.[1] The new and revised edition (copyrighted 1877 and 1879) embraces not only the three volumes of his first series, but also the three which he subsequently published (originally in 1851), bringing the recital down to 1821. He gives his authorities in a mass in the third and sixth volumes, — not a desirable way, — and explains his purpose to write "undistorted by prejudice, and uncolored by excitement," and a merit of this kind is commonly awarded to him, and though his book is not an attractive one, it is one to be treated with deference. Lecky[2] praises his impartial method and severe truthfulness.

Reed). This drew from Joseph Reed a denial in *Remarks on a late publication in the Independent Gazetteer, with a short address to the people of Pennsylvania on the many libels and slanders which have lately appeared against the Author.* Gen. Cadwalader, being charged with being "Brutus," denied it; but reaffirmed the charges made by that anonymous writer more explicitly in *A Reply to Gen. Joseph Reed's Remarks on a late publication . . . with some observations on his Address to the people of Pennsylvania* (Philad., 1783, — Sabin, iii. no. 9836). The charge here was direct that Reed had thought at one time of making peace with the enemy, and that he had entered into correspondence with Count Donop, a Hessian officer, to that end; and such charges were in the main held to be substantiated by the evidence of respectable contemporaries introduced by Cadwalader in his tract. Much sympathy was expressed for Reed by Washington and others. (Cf. Washington to Reed, Sept. 15, 1782.) In 1842 the controversy was revived by a series of letters in the *Evening Journal* of Philadelphia, signed "Valley Forge," in which letters purporting to be written by Gen. Samuel Smith, Anthony Wayne, and others were made to support the charge of Cadwalader with considerable detail, calculated to create animosity against Reed's memory. An investigation seemed to make it conclusive that the quoted letters were forgeries, and William B. Reed in a tract, *The Valley Forge Forgeries*, made it so appear. Before this, however, W. B. Reed had published his *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, by his grandson* (Philad., 1847, in two volumes),* in which he had barely alluded to the Cadwalader charges, out of an unwillingness — as he says — to rekindle the embers of an old strife; leaving the reader to infer that the political animosities of 1782 so entered into the opposing tracts that they had lost all value as historical evidence. The grandson subsequently betrayed the belief that the forgers of 1842 were responsible for the reprints of the Cadwalader tract which appeared at Trenton in 1846, and at Philadelphia in 1848, and of the preface to them, which endorsed the charges of the letters of 1842. Again, in 1856, Mr. Horace W. Smith reprinted at Philadelphia the Cadwalader tract and the Valley Forge letters, with a preface, reflecting on Joseph Reed's character, in a tract styled *Nuts for future historians to crack* (*Cooke Catal.*, no. 2297). It was this publication that induced Mr. W. B. Reed to print the evidences of the "Valley Forge forgeries." Both the Joseph Reed and Cadwalader tracts were once more reprinted at Albany, but without name of editor or publisher, in 1863. (The bibliography of Joseph Reed is traced by Sabin, xvi. 68,568, etc.)

When Mr. John C. Hamilton published the second volume of his *Hist. of the Republic of the United States*, his views of Joseph Reed revived the controversy once more, and resulted in *President Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania, a correspondence between Wm. B. Reed and J. C. Hamilton* (Morrisania, 1867), separately printed from the *Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1866. (Cf. also *Ibid.*, April and Dec., 1867, and Jan., 1869.)

In 1866 also appeared vol. ix. of Bancroft's *History of the United States*, in which all the old charges against Joseph Reed were renewed, with characterizations that attached to his reputation the faults of vacillation and pusillanimity. An extract from the diary of Count Donop was adduced to show that a Col. Reed had received a protection from the British in 1776, and Bancroft never at that time recognized that this could be other than Joseph Reed, or that the report could be other than determinate. Mr. Wm. B. Reed in Feb., 1867, published two editions of a response called *President Reed of Pennsylvania, a reply to Mr. George Bancroft and others* (Philad., 1867). The chief points that he made against Bancroft's new allegation were that the Donop story was a mere rumor, and that there were other Col. Reeds of whom the Hessian journal might have spoken. (Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1867, p. 762, — unfavorable to Bancroft.) Bancroft replied in *Joseph Reed, an historical Essay* (N. Y., 1867), reiterating the charges, and claiming that the Donop language in the particular passage in question was descriptive, and not part of the attendant hearsay. Mr. W. B. Reed closed the controversy, as between him and Bancroft, in his *Rejoinder to Mr. Bancroft's Historical Essay on President Reed* (Philad., 1867, — cf. also *Hist. Mag.*, xi. 249).

Mr. Reed in his first pamphlet had charged Dr. Benjamin Rush with being the "Brutus" of 1782, and with otherwise abetting the Cadwalader charges. This called forth two rejoinders. One was *A Criticism on Mr. Wm. B. Reed's aspersions on the character of Dr. Benjamin Rush, and an incidental consideration of Gen. Joseph Reed's character, by a member of the Philadelphia bar* [John G. Johnson] (Philad., 1867) — in which the arguments and proofs of the Cadwalader tract were largely reproduced. The other was Benjamin Rush's *William B. Reed of Chestnut Hill, Expert in the art of Exhumation of the Dead*, which was printed in London and reprinted in Philadelphia in 1867. This last is an unfortunate exhibition of personalities, of no assistance in the examination of the points at issue, except so far as it shows that present social and political variances were not wholly apart in some minds from the consideration of the subject. In 1869, Mr. H. B. Dawson, in the January number of the *Hist. Mag.* (vol. xv. p. 45, etc.), examined the Donop charge, reaching conclusions against Bancroft, and intimating that the language of the Hessian record must apply to some other than Col. *Joseph* Reed. In 1876 the question, so far as the reference in Donop goes, was settled by a discovery made by Adj.-Gen. W. S. Stryker of New Jersey, who found in the records of his office evidence to show that it was a militia Col. *Charles Read* to whom the Hessian rumor referred. This was made to appear in *The Reed controversy: Further facts with reference to the character of Joseph Reed, adjutant general on the staff of General Washington. Printed for private distribution* (Trenton, N. J., 1876). The effect of this disclosure was that Bancroft modified his language in his Centenary Edition, 1876, so far as to remove the distinct charge of applying for a protection; but in other respects his characterization of Joseph Reed appears in this, and in his final revision, much the same. He omits altogether the note of his original edition (vol. v. 478) in which he had cited the various references to a Col. Reed in the Hessian diary (Gay's *United States*, iii. 527; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 114).

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* This life of Joseph Reed was the earliest book on the Revolutionary history of Pennsylvania, if we except Alexander Graydon's *Memoirs of a life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1811), which is called in a second edition, edited by J. S. Littell, *Memoirs of his own time, with reminiscences of men and events of the Revolution* (Philad., 1846).

[1] C. K. Adams' *Manual of Hist. Lit.*, p. 533.

[2] Vol. iv. 105.

In 1851–52, the *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, by Benson J. Lossing, was published in New York in two volumes. The author, as he journeyed over the country in making his record, had the advantage of gathering many of the local traditions and even the recollections of survivors of the struggle. In this way the book is a pleasing commentary on the regular histories of the war;[1] and the author adds much to the intelligibility of the campaigns and actions by his study of the topography of the country. "To gather the pictorial and other material, I travelled more than 8,000 miles in the old thirteen States and Canada," says the author. When he issued his *Pictorial Fieldbook of the War of 1812* (N. Y., 1869), he filled the intervening space in this later narrative, so that the two works constitute a history of the United States from the opening of the war of the Revolution to the close of that with England in 1815. In the second work there is a good deal more freedom from the trammels which his itinerary method imposed on his earlier work, and it is in the main a progressive narrative, richly illustrated, and embodying a large amount of local detail.

The first volume of Geo. Tucker's *History of the United States from their colonization to 1841* (Philad., 1856) embraced a condensed account of the Revolution, formed in the main upon Gordon, Marshall, the *Annual Register*, and Sparks's *Washington*. It is chiefly valuable, however, for its later periods, and while Southern in temper, is not violently so. It is a good offset to Hildreth.[2]

In 1858, Mr. Henry B. Dawson published his *Battles of the United States by sea and land: embracing those of the revolutionary and Indian wars, the war of 1812, and the Mexican war; with important official documents* (New York), in two volumes. The first volume is devoted to the Revolution, and it tells the story of ninety-nine actions, great and small. His plan is to give an authority for every statement, and to follow each important fight, with an appendix of the official despatches on both sides, and with an occasional biographical sketch of a leading actor in the scene. The references are very useful.[3]

In 1859, Mr. Frank Moore published his *Diary of the American Revolution from newspapers and original documents* (New York). In two octavo volumes of about 1100 pages in all he puts in chronological sequence his abundance of excerpts "from the Whig and Tory newspapers, private diaries, and other contemporaneous writings," urging that "the errors and lampoons of a period belong as much to its history as the facts and flatteries."[4]

The conscientious and painstaking work of Richard Frothingham, the *Rise of the Republic of the United States*, was published in 1872, and passed to a third edition in 1881.[5] Most of the book is given to a clear exposition of the growth of the sentiment of union and independence between 1760 and 1776, with a final chapter on the working out of the forms of republican government in the States and in their confederacy and union.[6]

Respecting the earliest of the military histories of the Revolution, Thomas McKean, writing from Philadelphia to John Adams in 1815, tells him that he had just heard that Gen. James Wilkinson had written the history of the American Revolution, and judges that he may be well qualified to give good descriptions of the purely military aspects of the war, and that he had been writing it at Germantown during the last seven or eight months, and that he had kept himself so retired and private that McKean, who knew him, was hardly aware of his being so near him. The book was published at Philadelphia in 1816, as *Memoirs of my Own Times*, in three volumes. The work was eagerly accepted, and the 1500 copies which were printed were not sufficient to supply the subscribers.[7] The book, however, deals very largely with Wilkinson's later career, and is in part a vindication. It is to be used with caution, and is defective in its method, with more or less disturbance of a chronological order.

The most important of the military histories of the Revolutionary War is Col. Henry B. Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution, 1775–1781; historical and military criticism, with topographical illustrations* (New York, copyrighted 1876). He gives 41 eclectic maps of campaigns or engagements, and acknowledges the great personal assistance of Lossing, who had visited and sketched every battlefield described. He lays down at the beginning the principles of military science, which he applies to his consideration of the several battles.[8]

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[1] The volumes were of somewhat unequal thickness when first issued, and in later issues, by equalizing the size, the original pagination was disarranged, so that references do not always agree. Cf. Duyckinck's *Cy. Am. Lit. Supplement*, 106; J. C. Derby's *Fifty years among Authors*, p. 686.

[2] C. K. Adams' *Man. of Hist. Lit.*, p. 537.

[3] Cf. Sabin, v. 268; Duyckinck, *Supplement*, 140; portrait and memoir of Dawson, by John Ward Dean, in *Hist. Mag.*, xiv. 257 (Dec., 1868). Mr. Dawson did not originate the *Historical Mag.*, which was begun in Boston in 1857, but he later assumed charge of it, and held it till it ceased with the no. for Jan., 1874. Cf. *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, 1878, p. 116. The magazine had for some years a precarious existence, and the numbers for Sept.-Dec., 1871, and April, 1872–March, 1873, were never issued. Mr. Dawson as an editor had a tendency for episodes of the Revolution, and the magazine is often of much assistance to the students of that period. As an historical writer he is fearless and searching; but he finds it impossible to differ unless with acrimony. Pitkin and Hildreth are about the only ones to receive his commendations, and Bancroft and J. C. Hamilton are the particular objects of his aversion. Mr. Dawson died in 1889, after a long illness.

[4] There were later editions, two volumes in one in 1863, and large paper in 1865. It has an index.

[5] Cf. reviews noted in *Poole's Index*, p. 1350.

[6] Cf. Thaddeus Allen's *Inquiry into the views, principles, services, and influences of the leading men in the origination of the American Union* (Boston, 1849); and J. A. Jameson's *Constitutional Convention* (1866, third ed., revised, 1873). The references in Barry's *Massachusetts* are useful.

[7] *Cooke Catalogue*, iii. no. 2729. Letters (copies) of Wilkinson, April 9 and 13, 1817, on his memoirs are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxix.

[8] Henry B. Carrington's *Battle Maps and Charts of the American Revolution, with explanatory notes and references* (New York, 1881), is a later issue of his plans, illustrations, etc.

The latest considerable narrative of the Revolution and the later periods is contained in the third (1879) and ourth (1881) volumes of the *Popular Hist. of the United States*, published by the Scribners in New York, nd, with daring unusual even in the book trade, it purports to have been prepared by Wm. C. Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay. The care of Mr. Bryant in the work was scarcely more than any friend would do for n author, and unfortunately it is not a solitary instance of such unwarranted presentation of his distinguished ame. He was dead, moreover, during the progress of more than half of the book. The main responsibility ests upon Mr. Gay, but he had in some parts the assistance of Edward Everett Hale. The work is in four arge octavos, and as respects the Revolutionary period is an excellent book for the general reader. The narative in the last volume is continued to the close of the Civil War of 1861–65, and is far more condensed han in the earlier volumes.

There are now in course of publication two important histories of the United States since the organization f the government, those of Schouler and McMaster. The *History of the United States of America under he Constitution*, by James Schouler, having in an introductory way followed the course of events from the lose of the war to 1789, enters upon its subject with the inauguration of Washington. The first volume, ringing the story down to the close of John Adams's administration, was published in 1880; the second volme, in 1882, ended with 1817; the third, in 1885, with 1831; and the fourth, in 1889, with 1847.[1] The work s closely studied, founded on a large range of printed sources, and upon such unpublished material as the Ionroe Papers in the Department of State, which he is the first to use to a considerable extent. The author s not without sympathies, but they are not extravagant ones; and he sometimes reverses the judgments of Iildreth, particularly upon party leaders. He has a tendency to character-painting, and is usually successful n the effort; his method is graphic, and his manner helps the method. His vividness of style is for the most art confined to salient occasions. There is perhaps a tendency in the last volume, as his hand becomes more ractised, to rely more upon his skill than upon his investigations.

While Schouler has not by any means neglected the study of the life of the times, of which he tells the olitical history, these details are in his book more particularly subordinated to the course of governmental rogress than is the case with John Bach McMaster's *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War, in five volumes*, two of which (N.Y., 1883 and 1885) have thus far been published, ringing the narrative into Jefferson's administration. McMaster's method is of the modern kind, which does ot ignore the things once deemed below the dignity of history,[2] and his manner is of a sort that aims to hold reader with the startling groupings and contrasts of the varied and possible interests of the subject. The angers of such a habit are patent, — a picturesqueness and epigrams that tire the scholar a little, and unsetles his faith while it fascinates the pastime reader. His study has been laborious; but one asks if newspapers ere more trustworthy then than now, that so much should be granted to their evidence. To weave his multitudinous learning together makes him sometimes diffuse and repetitionary; and he is not free from sharp haracterizations that seem to lack the evidence of their justness, and bear the signs of a rhetorical origin.[3]

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[1] It is intended to carry the narrative to the outbreak of he Civil War.

[2] The method of Green in his *History of the English People*, and of McMaster, is challenged in Seeley's *Exansion of England.* It is a fair question what to call uch books which can but show some of the ill effects of ubordinating history to philosophy and manners. There no question that books like Green's and McMaster's hould be written, call them what you will. Cf. Judge Iellen Chamberlain's review of McMaster in the *Andover Review*, June, 1886, and separately. Asa Bird Gardiner everely criticises McMaster in the *U. S. Mil. Service ust. Journal*, 1887.

[3] It has not been the purpose in this review of the histo- es of American progress under the federal organization to onflict with sections which are given in other places in the resent work to histories of confined periods, or of special stinction. Cf. *Our National Centennial Jubilee ora- ons, poems, etc. Delivered July 4, 1876, in the several tates of the Union, ed. by Frederick Saunders* (N. Y., 77).

The histories of lesser importance respecting the Revolu- onary war and later periods are numerous, a few of which ay be mentioned: —

Geo. W. Greene's *Hist. View of the American Revolu- m* (Boston, 1865) embodies public lectures which group e story by its divisionary phases, rather than in chrono- gical order.

Of a popular character also is J. F. Schroeder's *Life and imes of Washington*, which was revised and enlarged by enson J. Lossing (New York, 1879).

L. Carroll Judson's *Sages and Heroes of the American Revolution* (Philad., 1852).

A distinctive military character has been a frequent characteristic of the more popular histories, like John Lewis Thomson's *Hist. of the Wars of the United States* (Philad., 1854), in two volumes; Thomas Y. Rhoads' *Battlefields of the Revolution* (Boston, 1856); Robert Tomes' *Battles of America by sea and land* (New York, 1861, etc.), a subscription book in three quarto volumes, with steel plates; B. J. Lossing's *Hist. of our Wars with Great Britain* (New York, 1876), in three volumes; Joel T. Headley's *Washington and his Generals*; H. C. Watson's *Campfires of the Revolution*, a book which has passed through many editions; and Willard Glazier's *Heroes of Three Wars* (Philad., 1882).

There are a large number of compendious histories of the United States of little or of no original value. Only a few can be mentioned. At the beginning of the century we find E. G. Marsh's *Supplement to Dr. Priestley's Lectures on History, exhibiting a series of American histories* (New Haven, 1801). A past generation was more or less familiar with C. B. Taylor's *Universal Hist. of the U. S.* (Buffalo, 1834); Salma Hale's *Hist. of the U. S. to 1817*, making two volumes of Harpers' Family Library, which was originally published at Keene, N. H., in 1830; and Ezekiel Sandford's *Hist. of the U. S.* (Philad., 1819). Emma C. Willard's school history was long popular, but it was attacked in Marcius Willson's *Report on American histories* (N. Y., 1847, — from *Bibl. Repository*, July, 1846), which led to controversy between its author and her critic. There is no elaborate Roman Catholic history of the United States; but the key to such a treatment can be gained from

The military aspects of the Revolutionary and later periods necessarily form the staple of the memoirs of the military leaders, which need not be repeated here.

For the Revolutionary times, the lives of the principal aides of Washington, like the *Life of Hamilton*, Col. John Trumbull's *Autobiography* (New York, 1841), and the *Memoir of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman* (Albany, 1876), let us into some of the more secret counsels of headquarters.

Washington said, in a letter to Noah Webster, July 31, 1788, "Notwithstanding most of the papers which may perhaps be deemed official are preserved; yet the knowledge of innumerable things of a more delicate and secret nature is confined to the perishable remembrance of some few of the present generation."[1]

No statement can be easily formed of the entire force constituting the Continental line and the militia of the American army during the war. Gen. Knox, in 1790, when secretary of war, made a report disclosing the number on the rolls for each year, by States, and as divided between the line and the militia; but the table does not serve to show the whole number in service during the war. His figures, however, have been repeatedly aggregated and used for this purpose, giving currency to very erroneous ideas of the extent of the service.[2]

The officers of the several wars and of the regular service are rated after 1779 in T. H. S. Hammersly's *Army Register of the United States* (Washington, 1880).[3]

Thomas D'Arcy McGee's lectures on *The Catholic Hist. of North America* (Boston, 1855). There is, however, a later Catholic school history by J. R. G. Hassard, of which the 8th edition was issued as a *History of the United States, with a preface by J. L. Spalding* (New York, 1887). An outline of general history, followed by sections in which each State is treated separately, is the method of J. W. Barber and Henry Howe's *Our Whole Country* (N. Y., 1861), in two large volumes. A narrative constructed to make evident "the divine guidance" constitutes a large octavo *History of the United States to Pierce's Administration*, by J. H. Patton (N. Y., 1860), which in 1876 reappeared as a *Concise History of the American People* (N. Y.), and with the same title, in two volumes, in 1883.

The fervor of the centennial period gave the public a large number of memorial histories of the country. Occasionally a competent hand for such work was shown, as when Benson J. Lossing, having published a *Hist. of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1857; Hartford, 1873), issued at Philad., in 1876, *The American Centenary: a history of the progress of the Republic of the U. S. during the first hundred years.* Mr. E. Edward Lester published a single volume, *Our first hundred years* (to 1815 only, — N. Y., 1875), but the period was wholly covered in his *Hist. of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1883). J. A. Spencer's *Hist. of the U. S.*, coming down to the administration of Buchanan, made three quarto volumes, issued originally in parts, beginning in 1856. Mrs. Abby Sage Richardson's *Hist. of our Country* (Boston, 1876). J. C. Ridpath's *Popular Hist. of the U. S.* (Cincinnati, 1877). J. T. Peck's *Great Republic* (N. Y., 1876), "written from a Christian standpoint." James D. M'Cabe's *Centennial Hist. of the U. S.* (Philad., 1876). C. B. Taylor's *Centennial Hist. of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1876). Jos. W. Leeds' *Hist. of the U. S.* (Philad., 1877). None of these is of use to the student. C. C. Coffin's *Building the Nation* (N. Y., 1883) covers the period from 1783 to 1860, and, though intended for youth, has some pictorial and other attractions for older readers.

A. H. Stephens's *Compendium of the History of the U. S. to 1872* (N. Y.), as coming from a leading Southern public man, has some distinctive traits.

There were published in *Harper's Magazine* a series of papers which were collectively issued as *The first Century of the Republic, a review of American progress* (N. Y., 1876). These papers, coming from special students, had more than a temporary value. The subjects were: Colonial progress, by Eugene Lawrence; Mechanical progress, by E. H. Knight; Progress in manufacture, by D. A. Wells; Agricultural progress, by W. H. Brewer; The development of our mineral resources, by T. S. Hunt; Commercial development, by Edward Atkinson; Growth and distribution of population, by F. A. Walker; Monetary development, by W. G. Sumner; The experiment of the Union, with its preparations, by T. D. Woolsey; Educational progress, by Eugene Lawrence; Scientific progress: I. The exact sciences, by F. A. P. Barnard; II. Natural science, by Theodore Gill; A century of American literature, by E. P. Whipple; Progress of the fine arts, by S. S. Conant; Medical and sanitary progress, by Austin Flint; American jurisprudence, by B. V. Abbott; Humanitarian progress, by C. L. Brace; Religious development, by J. F. Hurst.

A recent compendious history of literary merit is the *Larger History of the U. S. to the Close of Jackson's Administration*, by Col. T. W. Higginson (N. Y., 1886). Edward Eggleston has published a school history which particularly emphasizes the social aspects, and he has also embodied his studies in a history for family use. Horace E. Scudder has written a general school history, preserving the proportions of interest in all the periods, while that of Alexander Johnston gives particular prominence to the later political history.

Among various books of ready reference value may be mentioned Edward Abbott's *Paragraph Hist. of the U. S.* (Boston, 1875); Edward Howland's *Annals of N. America* (London and Hartford, 1877); E. E. Childs' *Hist. of the U. S. in chronological order, 1492–1885*; E. O. Haven's *American Progress* (N. Y., 1876), — but such compilations are commonly made without much verification of statement. The publication arranged by F. W. Hewes and H. Gannett, and known as *Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the U. S., showing by graphic methods their present condition, and their political, social, and industrial development* (N. Y., 1883, 1885), is an excellent companion in historical study. Cf. the "Tabulated History of the General Government" in Cooper and Fenton's *American Politics.*

Another book of particular reference value is J. J. Lalor's *Cyclopædia of political science, political economy, and of the political history of the United States* (Chicago, 1881–84, in 3 vols.), in which the articles relating to American political history are excellently well prepared by the late Alexander Johnston (died 1889). Other convenient table-books are G. H. Getchell's *Our nation's executives and their administrations* (New York, 1885), which covers the growth of the government from 1775 to 1885; and Charles Lanman's *Biographical Annals of the civil government of the United States, 1776–1886* (Washington, 1886).

History is linked with biography in *The American Statesmen Series*, edited by John T. Morse, Jr.; and for more confined periods in Joseph G. Baldwin's *Party Leaders* (N. Y., 1855); R. T. Craighill's *Virginia Peerage* (Richmond, 1880); and Charles Mackay's *Founders of the American Republic* (Edinburgh, 1885).

[1] *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, i. 327.

[2] Cf. paper by Justin Winsor in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1886, and separately in his *Two Brief Papers.*

[3] Cf., on the army of the Revolution, Winthrop Sargent in the *No. Amer. Rev.*, lxxvii., and a chapter in G. W. Greene's *Historical View of the Amer. Revolution.* There are occasional regimental histories, like F. Kidder's *First New Hampshire Regiment*, Balch's *Maryland Line*, and a paper on the Ninth Virginia Regiment of the Continental

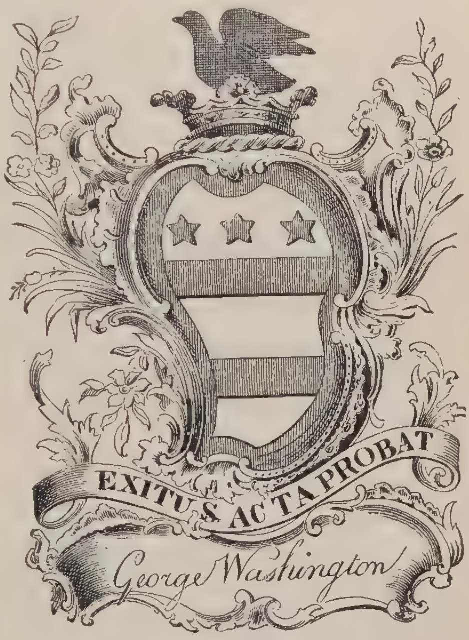
The Pension Act of Sept., 1775, is given in *5 Force's Amer. Archives*, ii. 448;[1] and for similar provisions of the survivors of later wars, see the references in B. P. Poore's *Descriptive Catalogue of Governmental Publications.*

On the uniforms of the Revolutionary army, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. p. 461 (by Asa Bird Gardner), 417, 754; *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 353; *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vi. 31; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1859 (by C. H. Warren).[2]

It is probable that the flags used in the early conflicts of the Revolutionary war were local ones, belonging to town and colony organizations. By some of the Southern people, a figure of a snake, with the motto "Don't tread on me!" seems to have been used. In New England, the pine-tree flag, usually shown in the upper inner square of the union, quartered by a cross, was usual. It was the flag borne in the earliest armed vessels sent out by Washington from Massachusetts ports (Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 103, 261; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 541). On the first of Jan., 1776, Washington at Cambridge hoisted what was known as the Union flag, indicating the banding of the colonies together, but not yet expressing independence. It was not absolutely determined what this device was till there was found among General Schuyler's papers a drawing of the schooner "Royal Savage," an armed vessel, which bore this flag on Lake Champlain in Aug., 1776. Lossing gives a cut of this drawing in his *Life of Schuyler* (ii. 114). The flag preserved the British union, but had the red and white stripes as now borne (*Siege of Boston*, 283; Gay, *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, 420–21). It was not till June 14, 1777, that Congress adopted the present flag, with a star for each of the thirteen States.

Admiral George H. Preble published in 1872 his *Our Flag; Origin and progress of the flag of the United States of America*, which in the revised edition as *History of the flag of the United States of America, and of the Naval and Yacht Club Signals, Seals, and Arms, and principal National Songs of the United States* (Boston, 1880) is an elaborate presentation of multifarious data on the subjects expressed in the title.[3] There is a somewhat curious coincidence in the three stars and bars which constitute the arms borne by Washington; and the inference has often been drawn that this shield suggested the flag adopted in 1777, but Admiral Preble thinks that proof of this is wholly wanting (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1884, p. 28).[4]

Respecting the Commissary Department, we have: *The legislative history of the subsistence department of the United States army, 1775–1876, by J. W. Barriger* (Washington, 1877). Benjamin Rush published at Philadelphia in 1831 a *Life of Christopher Ludwick, the baker-general of the Army of the United States during the Revolution.*



WASHINGTON'S BOOK PLATE.*

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line, in *Hist. Mag.*, vii. 172. On the expenses of the war, see Secretary Eustis' *Executive Reports, 12th Congress, 1st session*, Dec. 18, 1811; and G. W. Greene's *Historical View*, p. 455. On the manufacture of cannon, see a paper by J. D. Butler in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1887. A committee reported on a cannon foundry as early as Nov. 2, 1776 (Force's *Amer. Archives*, iii. 424).

[1] Cf. references in B. Perley Poore's *Descriptive Catal. of Government Publications*, p. 1342, the *Revolutionary Pension Laws, compiled by W. S. Franklin under a resolve of the House of Representatives, Apr. 11, 1836*; and *A Census of Pensioners for Revolutionary or military services* (Washington, 1841). E. B. Hillard's *Last Men of the Revolution* (1864) is an account of seven Revolutionary pensioners then surviving. For an account of William Hutchings, the last Revolutionary pensioner in N. E., and the last but one on the rolls, see *Me. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ix. 165. For the last survivor, see Poore's *Descriptive Catal., Government Publications*, p. 430; Lossing's *Empire State*, 329. There is a speech in the *Writings of Levi Woodbury* (i. 29) on the assistance (1828) to be given to the officers of the Revolution.

[2] Each man was allowed $23 for his uniform in Sept., 1775 (5 *Force's Am. Archives*, ii. 470), and the dress of both soldier and sailor established, Sept. 5, 1776 (*Ibid.*, ii. 182). On the buff and blue as Whig colors, see Lord Stanhope's *Miscellanies*, pp. 98, 116. It served the purpose of the Tories in Parliament to accuse the Whigs of wearing the rebel colors of buff and blue, as Fox did; but it would seem that the Americans had borrowed the Whig colors (*Mem. of Rockingham*, ii. 276; Wraxall's *Memoirs*, ii. 2, 229; May's *Const. Hist.*, ii. 151; Lecky, iv. 75). On the uniform of the War of 1812, see *Amer. Hist. Record*, i. 507.

[3] It includes a chapter on the State seals, arms, flags, and colors.

[4] Compare further, Schuyler Hamilton's *History of the*

* Reproduced from the fac-simile in Smith and Watson's *Hist. and Lit. Curiosities*, 1st series, 6th ed., pl. 1.

On the subject of martial law during the Revolution there are papers by G. N. Lieber and A. B. Gardiner in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 538, 705.

On the secret intelligence service of the Revolutionary war see *Mag. of American Hist.*, Feb., 1882, p. 95, and 1883, p. 58, and for personal experience in it, *The Spy Unmasked, or memoirs of Enoch Crosby, alias Harvey Birch; the hero of Mr. Cooper's Tale of the Neutral Ground, being an authentic account of the Secret Services which he rendered his country during the Revolutionary War, taken from his own lips, in short hand, containing many interesting facts and anecdotes never before published, by H. L. Barnum* (Cincinnati, 1831, second edition). Cf. G. W. P. Custis's *Recollections*, ch. x.

Respecting the employment of negroes in the Revolutionary army Col. Hays made a report to Congress, July 19, 1776, which is printed in *5 Amer. Archives*, i. p. 452. When the question of enlisting soldiers in the Federal army during the late civil war was under consideration, an elaborate examination of the status which they held as soldiers during the Revolution was made by Mr. George Livermore in his *Historical Research respecting the opinions of the founders of the Republic on negroes as slaves, as citizens, and as soldiers*, which was printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings* (Aug., 1862, vol. vi. p. 86), and separately (Boston, 1862).[1]

For further considerations on this topic, see George H. Moore's *Historical notes on the employment of negroes in the American Army of the Revolution* (New York, 1862), and Joseph T. Wilson's *The black phalanx; a history of the negro soldiers of the United States in the wars of 1775–1812, 1861–65* (Hartford, 1888).[2]

A History of the Negro Race in America, 1619–1880 (N. Y.), by George W. Williams, covers the service of negroes as soldiers in the Revolution and subsequent wars. Cf. also his *History of the negro troops in the war of the rebellion, 1861–1865; preceded by a review of the military services of negroes in ancient and modern times* (New York, 1888).

There have been published a large number of narratives of personal experiences of less known actors in the Revolutionary War, — some of which may be mentioned in a note.[3]

National Flag of the United States (Philad., 1852), and an abridgment, *Our National Flag* (1887); also his paper in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1888, p. 150; *The History of our Flag, from the earliest period of our colonial existence down to the present time*, by Ferdinand L. Sarmiento (Philad. [1864]); *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vi. 31; viii. 89; *Amer. Hist. Record*, vols. i. and ii.; *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 113; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vol. i.; *Appleton's Journal*, xv. 19; Cooper and Fenton's *American Politics*, book v.; J. F. Reigart's *Hist. of the first U. S. flag and the patriotism of Betsey Ross* (Harrisburg, 1878); documents in *4 Force's Archives*, iv.; W. H. Wilcox's *One hundred years ago; the history of the American flag* (New York, 1876); and Benjamin F. Prescott's *The stars and stripes. The flag of the United States of America; when, where, and by whom was it first saluted? The question answered* (Concord, 1876).

An emblematic picture in the *London Mag.* (Aug. 1778) shows the American flag as a standard with thirteen red stripes and twelve white ones, without a union.

Elkanah Watson tells a story of Copley, in Dec., 1782, painting in the American flag on a ship on the background of a portrait which he had made of Watson. The picture is engraved in Watson's *Life and Reminiscences* (Appleton, N. Y.) and in Preble's *Flag*, 2d ed., p. 297.

In Aug., 1776, John Adams retails to his wife the fancies prevailing in Congress for a seal. *Familiar letters*, 211.

Preble (2d ed., p. 683) also gives the history of the great seal of the United States, adopted June 20, 1782. (*Journals of Congress*, iv. 39.) There is an early engraving in the *Columbian Mag.*, i. 33, 50. Cf. Lossing's *Field-book of the Rev.*, ii. 862; a paper by Lossing with illustrations in *Harper's Mag.*, xiii. 179; J. D. Champlin in *The Galaxy*, xxiii. 691; some original papers on the device in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix. 351. On the origin of the motto "E Pluribus Unum," cf. *Amer. Jour. of Numismatics*, v. 27; xiii. 49; *Coin Collectors' Journal*, iv. 64; *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 121, 255; 2d ser. iv. 317; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, ii. 444, 568, 636; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 39; Hale's *Franklin in France*, 307.

On the seals of the departments of the government see B. J. Lossing in *Harper's Monthly*, xxxviii. 319.

Accounts of the medals struck by order of the government will be found in J. F. Loubat's *Medallic Hist. of the U. S., 1776–1876* (N. Y., 1878); C. H. Hart's *Hist. Sketch of the National Medals, 1776–1815* (Philad., 1867); R. M. McSherry's *National Medals of the U. S.* (Md. Hist. Soc. Fund, Publ. no. 25, Baltimore, 1887). Cf. *Harper's Monthly*, xi. 159; vii. 443; xxii. 163.

We find also in Preble the completest accounts of the several national songs — like "Hail Columbia" (cf. also *Poole's Index*, p. 565); "Adams and Liberty," by Robt. Treat Paine, sometimes called "The Sons of Columbia;" Jos. Rodman Drake's "American Flag;" and S. F. Smith's "America." Cf. Hopkinson's letter (1840) in the *Wyoming Hist. Soc. Proc.*, no. 3, p. 12; Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, ii. 106; Schouler, i. 388; McMaster, ii. 379, 384, 406; Duyckinck's *Cy. Amer. Lit.* He also tells the story of the most famous of all, "The Star-Spangled Banner," written at the time of the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Cf. also Lossing's *War of 1812*, p. 958; Preble in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. and Oct., 1874, and Jan., 1877; S. Salisbury in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 21, 1872; Stockbridge's *Harris Coll. Amer. Poetry*, p. 277; *Poole's Index*, no. 1244. On F. S. Key, the author of the song, see Boyle's *Marylanders*. Higginson (*Larger Hist. U. S.*, 378) gives an interesting portrait of Key at seventeen.

Preble also traces the origin of "Yankee Doodle" (ii. p. 746). Cf. further, Elias Nason's *Monogram on our National Song* (Albany, 1869); *Hist. Mag.*, i. 86, 124, 221; ii. 214, 280; *Lippincott's Mag.*, xviii. 127; *Democratic Review*, v. 213; xxxv. 125; *Littell's Living Age*, lxx. 382. On the origin of the term Yankee, see *Hist. Mag.*, i. 58, 91, 156, 375; *Colburn's New Monthly Mag.*, ii. 213.

[1] See on Mr. Livermore, a paper by Chas. Deane in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vol. x.; and *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1865.

[2] Cf. J. G. Whittier's *Prose Works*, ii. 175; *Continental Monthly*, ii. 324; *Anthropological Review*, vii. 40; *Galaxy*, iii. 249; and W. C. Nell's *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1855).

[3] Charles Hersey's *Reminiscences of the Military life and sufferings of Col. Timothy Bigelow* (Worcester, 1860).

E. W. Caruther's *Life and character of Rev. David Caldwell* (Greensborough, N. C., 1842), relating to events in North Carolina.

The personal experiences of the later wars seem as a rule to be more particularly connected with special events, and are accordingly mentioned in connection with such.

There is among Rufus Choate's occasional addresses one on the Eloquence of the Revolution; and this feature of the political fervor of the time is illustrated in Elisha L. Magoon's *Orators of the American Revolution* (3d ed., New York, 1848), which includes James Otis, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, John Adams, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Alexander Hamilton, Fisher Ames, William Pinkney, William Wirt, Thomas Addis Emmet, and John Randolph.

The best arranged of the comprehensive collections is Alexander Johnston's *Representative American Orations to illustrate American political history, 1775–1881* (N. Y., 1884, in 3 vols.).[1]

The influence of the clergy upon the politics of the Revolution has been set forth in several books: Joel T. Headley's *Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution* (New York, 1864); F. Moore's *Patriot Preachers of the Revolution* (N. Y., 1862); J. Wingate Thornton's *Pulpit of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1860), the last being characteristic sermons, with introductions and notes.[2]

The position of the Church of England clergy at the opening of the war is exemplified in the sermon of Archbishop Markham before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Feb. 21, 1777, which when published was accompanied by a statement of the conditions in 1776–1777.[3]

Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, an officer of the Revolutionary and Indian wars, with an introductory memoir (Philad., 1859).

John Smith Hanna's *History of the life and services of Samuel Dewees, a soldier of the revolutionary and last wars* (Baltimore, 1844).

Elijah Fisher's journal while in the war for Independence, 1775–1784 (Augusta, Me., 1880, pp. 29), edited by Dr. Wm. B. Lapham.

Mrs. Williams' *Biography of Revolutionary heroes — Stephen Olney and William Barton* (Providence, 1839).

The services of Constant Freeman, a captain of artillery in the Continental army, are related in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vol. ii. 349).

E. M. Stone's *Life of John Howland* (Providence, 1857).

K. M. Hutchinson's *Memoir of Abijah Hutchinson, a soldier of the Revolution* (Rochester, 1843), — a captive among the Indians of Canada.

Haws' *Military Journal* (Poughkeepsie, 1855, published with Lyon's journal of Ticonderoga in 1758).

Geo. Inman's narrative published in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (vii. 237).

The *Life of Captain David Perry, a soldier of the French and Revolutionary wars, written by himself* (Windsor, Vt., 1822).

Life and remarkable adventures of Israel R. Potter, who was a soldier in the American revolution (Providence, 1824).

Daniel Goodwin, Jr.'s *Memorial of the lives and services of James Pitts and his sons, John, Samuel, and Lendall, during the American revolution, 1760–80. With genealogical and historical appendix* (Chicago, 1882).

John C. Clyde's *Rosbrugh, a tale of the revolution; or life, labors, and death of Rev. John Rosbrugh* (Easton Pa.], 1880).

The adventures of James Sharan (Baltimore, 1808).

The life of the Rev. M. Schlatter, chaplain in the French and Indian War and War of the Revolution, 1716–1790, by the Rev. H. Harbaugh (Philad., 1857).

Authentic narrative of the life of Joshua Slocum, containing a succinct account of his revolutionary services Hartford, 1844).

The journal of Lieut. John Trevet, 1774–1782, in the *Rhode Island Hist. Mag.* (1885 and 1886).

John Wm. Wallace's *Old Philadelphian, Col. William Bradford, the patriot printer of 1776; sketches of his life.* Philad., 1884, "one hundred copies, all for presentation.")

The Personal narrative of an officer in the revolutionary war in the *United Service* (xi. 200, 269).

Narrative of some adventures of a Revolution soldier Hallowell, 1830).

Artemas Bowers Muzzey's *Reminiscences and memorials of men of the Revolution and their families* (Boston, 1883), is merely a conglomerate and eclectic record made by a recent writer.

I have seen in catalogues MS. copies of the *Journal of Thomas Blake, of Dorchester, Mass., ensign in the First New Hampshire Regiment from May 13, 1777, to Oct. 25, 1780*, but I have not seen that it has been printed.

The personal reminiscences of the Revolutionary war, by the late Thomas Painter, of West Haven, edited by Henry Howe, is printed in the *New Haven colony historical society papers*, iv. (New Haven, 1888).

Charles I. Bushnell in *Crumbs for Antiquarians* (1859–1866) has printed several of these Revolutionary narratives: —

Memoirs of Samuel Smith, a Soldier of the Revolution, 1776–1786; Journal of Solomon Nash, a Soldier of the Revolution, 1776–1777; Memoirs of Tarleton Brown, a Captain in the Revolutionary Army; A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Levi Hanford, a Soldier of the Revolution; The Narrative of Major Abraham Leggett, of the Army of the Revolution; Narrative of the Exertions and Sufferings of Lieutenant James Moody in the Cause of Government, since the year 1776; The Narrative of John Blatchford, detailing his Sufferings in the Revolutionary War while a Prisoner with the British; The Narrative of Ebenezer Fletcher, a Soldier of the Revolution. Also: *A memoir of Eli Bickford, a soldier of the Revolution* (New York, 1865, — privately printed, 30 copies).

W. C. Watson's *Men and times of the Revolution, or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York, 2d ed., 1857).

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[1] Other collections are: John W. Williams' *American Oratory* (Philad., 1836); S. C. Carpenter's *Select American Speeches* (Philad., 1836, in 2 vols.); S. H. Peabody's *American Patriotism; famous orations and patriotic papers connected with American history;* G. M. Whitman's *American orators and oratory*, with an introduction by Frank Gilbert (Chicago, 1884); W. C. Roberts' *Leading Orators of twenty-five Campaigns* (N. Y., 1884); David A. Harsha's *Most eminent orators and statesmen of ancient and modern times* (N. Y., 1854), including some Americans from Fisher Ames to Everett; a few "great speeches on great issues" in Cooper and Fenton's *American Politics*, book iii.

[2] Cf. G. W. Greene in *Historical View of the Amer. Revolution*, p. 387, and in *No. Amer. Rev.*, vol. xcii. The sermons of the time often displayed an historical spirit, as in David Avery's at Greenwich, Conn., Dec. 18, 1777, reviewing the war; and the more extended surveys in Benjamin Trumbull's at Northampton, and President Willard of Harvard College at Boston, both Dec. 11, 1783, on the Thanksgiving for the peace.

[3] Cf. also Perry's *Amer. Episcopal Church*, vol. i.; and

The relations of the Catholics to the Revolution are traced in J. L. Spalding's "Catholic Church in the United States, 1776–1876," in his *Essays and Reviews;* and by J. G. McGee in the *Catholic World* (vol. xxiii. p. 488).

C. A. Briggs, in his *American Presbyterianism* (New York, 1885, p. 344, etc.), treats of the position of that sect as respects the war.

The Baptists and their relations are explained in Rev. Wm. Cathcart's *Baptists and the American Revolution;* in *Chaplain Smith and the Baptists;* and in *The Baptists and the National Centenary, 1776–1876, edited by Lemuel Moss* (Philad., 1876), being articles by various writers.[1]

Mr. H. B. Dawson, in the *Historical Mag.* (vols. x. 361; xi. 291, 338; xii. 147), took issues with most of the Methodist historians in claiming that the early Methodists were disaffected towards the Revolution. Cf. Stevens' *Hist. of Methodism*, ii. 129, etc.; and the references in the lives of Wesley in the present *History*, Vol. V. p. 403.

Proud, in his *History of Pennsylvania*, does not touch the Revolutionary epoch; but some references to it near the close of his work, which was not published till 1797, show, as Grahame (III. 262) points out, that "the principles of the Quaker prevailed over the sentiments of the patriot." The Quakers of Philadelphia announced their position in various broadsides; such as, among others, *Apology for People called Quakers*, published June 29, 1757, and republished April 27, 1776; *Testimony of People called Quakers given forth at a Meeting of the Representatives of said People in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, at Philadelphia*, January 21, 1775; *To our Friends and Brethren in Religious Profession*, Dec. 20, 1776; and *The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the People called Quakers, renewed with respect to the King and Government, and touching the commotions now Prevailing in these and other Parts of America*, dated *Philadelphia, the 20th day of the First Month, 1776.*

In 1777, when Howe was approaching the city, the trying time came, and Sullivan had captured papers which implicated some of the leading members of that sect. A considerable number of such persons were arrested and put in confinement, whence they issued *An address to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania by those Freemen of the City of Philadelphia, who are now confined in the Masons' Lodge by virtue of a general warrant, signed in Council by the Vice-President of the Council of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1777).[2] The temper of the ardent patriots is shown in the way that John Adams wrote to his wife. "We have been obliged," he writes, "to attempt to humble the pride of some Jesuits, who call themselves Quakers, but who love money and land better than liberty and religion. The hypocrites are endeavoring to raise the cry of persecution, but they can't succeed."[3]

The result was that some representative Quakers were sent to Virginia under surveillance, the experience of whom is commemorated in Thomas Gilpin's *Exiles in Virginia: with observations on the conduct of the Society of Friends during the revolutionary war, comprising the official papers of the government relating to that period. 1777–1778.* (Philadelphia, 1848.)[4]

Regarding the period subsequent to the war, it seems evident that the repeated subdivision of the Protestant body has been a safeguard in the progress of America, as preventing what might have become the headlong antagonism of two great religious counter-movements which could hardly have failed to assume contrary political affiliations. The relations of the church to the state are considered by Dr. J. P. Thompson in *Church and State in the United States* (1873), and by Dr. Philip Schaff in two papers in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Oct. and Nov., 1887. The progress of the Protestant bodies during our entire history is more compactly presented, side by side, and at the same time with considerable fullness, in Dr. Wm. B. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit* (N. Y., 1857–1869, in nine vols.).[5]

The principal works on the progress of the Roman Catholic Church are Dr. John G. Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (N. Y., 1887, vol. i., but the succeeding volumes, ii.–v., are not yet published); Henri de Courcy de Laroche-Héron's *Catholic Church in the United States*, translated and enlarged by John Gilmany Shea (N. Y., 1856; and 2d ed., revised), and John O'Kane Murray's *Popular Hist. of the Catholic Church in the U. S.* (3d ed. revised, N. Y., 1876).[6]

for the Church in South Carolina, *Ibid.*, ch. xxi. on Commissary Garden; and Hawks and Perry's *Hist. of the Church, — documents relating to the Church in South Carolina.*

[1] Cf. Armitage's *Hist. of the Baptists* for a chapter on the war.

[2] Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 3117.

[3] *Familiar Letters*, p. 306; cf. also *John Adams' Works*, ix. 459.

[4] Compare further on this matter Wallace's *Col. Wm. Bradford*, 139; *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 277; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vi. 364.

[5] There are less extensive records, like I. D. Rupp's *History of the Religious Denominations in the U. S.* (Philad., 1844); R. Baird's *Progress and Prospects of Christianity in the U. S.* (Lond., 1851); Joseph Belcher's *Religious Denominations in the U. S.* (Philad., 1861); and the cursory sketch by John F. Hurst in *The First Century of the Republic.* The two later historians, Schouler and McMaster, have included surveys, more or less extensive, of the religious movements during the earlier part of that same period. There is a *Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the South-west*, by John C. Jones (St. Louis, 1866).

[6] For special or local treatment there are J. G. Shea's *Hist. of Catholic Missions among the Indian tribes, 1592–1854;* Fitton's *Sketch of the Establishment of the Church in New England;* sections in the histories of large cities, like the *Mem. Hist. Boston* (iii. 515); various historical papers in the *Amer. Catholic Quarterly Review* (like that on the Catholics in Kentucky by B. J. Webb, v. 653); O. A. Brownson's *Writings;* and the papers in the *Amer. Catholic Historical Researches* (Pittsburg, Philadelphia, 1884, etc.).

The most comprehensive history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is that edited by W. S. Perry, Bishop of Iowa, *The History of the Amer. Episcopal Church*, 1587–1883, in two volumes, the second of which is given to the period since 1783. It has appended monographs by various writers. Dr. F. L. Hawks published in 1830–1830 two volumes of *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the U. S.* The English bishop Samuel Wilberforce has written a *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*. This was the only general work before Bishop Perry's *History*.[1]

The beginnings of Methodism as an organized episcopal body date from the consecration of Francis Asbury as first bishop in 1784, and the literature pertaining to his career traces the development of his power. Cf. W. C. Larrabee's *Asbury and his Coadjutors*, and the references under "Asbury" and "Methodist Episcopal" in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop. of Bibl., Theol., and Eccles. Literature*. The references under subjects of biography and denominational names in this work will be found of use in pursuing the study of all religious movements in the United States. The earliest *History of Methodism in America* was the small volume published by Jesse Lee at Baltimore (1807–1810). Lee was the chief mover in the introduction of Methodism in New England, the part of the country latest invaded by the new spirit.[2] Stevens's *Hist. of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1864–1867) is the principal single work on the subject (cf. Allibone, p. 2246), and Bishop Matthew Simpson's *Cyclopædia of Methodism* (Philad., 1878) is useful for reference.[3]

The standard work as respects the Baptists is D. Benedict's *Hist. of the Baptist Denomination in America* (Boston, 1813, in 2 vols.), and largely rewritten in 1848 (N. Y.). It may be supplemented by T. F. Curtis's *Progress of Baptist Principles in the last hundred years* (Boston, 1857). For further references, see McClintock and Strong, i. 655; and especially Crowell's "Literature of the Amer. Baptists during the last fifty years," in the *Missionary Jubilee* (N. Y., 1865).[4]

For the Presbyterian Church, see references in the present *History*, V. p. 132; and those in McClintock and Strong, and *Poole's Index*.

In the "Collections towards a bibliography of Congregationalism" which forms the Appendix of Henry M. Dexter's *Congregationalism as seen in its literature* (N. Y., 1880), there are found in the widest sense (see his p. xiv) the references for the relations and history of American Congregationalism, which may be supplemented by the references in *Poole's Index* for periodical literature.[5]

The beginnings of organized Unitarianism lie in the determination of the episcopal King's Chapel in Boston, in 1785, to sustain their minister, James Freeman, in his views.[6] McMaster (ii. 239) gives the beginning in New York in 1794. Cf. Geo. E. Ellis's *Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy* (Boston, 1857); E. H. Gillett, "History and Literature of the Unitarian Controversy," in the *Hist. Mag.*, April, 1871, and references in *Poole's Index*, and the lives of preachers like W. E. Channing, J. S. Buckminster, Orville Dewey, Ezra S. Gannett, and others.

Richard Eddy's *Universalism in America* (Boston, 1886) has a bibliography.[7]

The movement which acquired the name, chiefly in New England, of Transcendentalism is followed in O. B. Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*. This chief work on the subject may be supplemented by C. A. Bartol's *Radical Problems;* a paper by Geo. Ripley and George P. Bradford in the *Mem. Hist. Boston* (iv. 295–330); the articles referred to in *Poole's Index*, and the lives of R. W. Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Geo. Ripley, Theodore Parker, and others.[8]

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[1] Of the earliest American bishop there is the *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury, first bishop of Connecticut*, by E. E. Beardsley (Boston, 1881 — reviewed by W. I. Seabury in *Amer. Church Review*, April, 1881, p. 161). There is a paper on the Seabury Centenary in the *Church Quarterly* (xix. 426). Bishop Perry privately printed in 1862 a paper on *Bishop Seabury and Bishop Provoost;* and delivered a *Discourse* (Davenport, Iowa, 1884) on the Centenary, and also printed an historical review of *The Election of the first bishop of Connecticut at Woodbury, 1783* (Davenport, 1884). We have from Bishop Perry also *The Men and Measures of the Massachusetts Conventions of 1784–85* (Boston, 1785). Beardsley gives us the *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, in two vols., and there are many other local records; and historical papers can be found in the church periodicals (see *Poole's Index*, p. 421).

[2] Cf. *Life and Times of Rev. Jesse Lee*, by Reroy M. Lee (Richmond, Va., and Louisville, Ky., 1848); a chapter in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii. 433; and Abel Stevens's *Memorial of the introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States* (Boston, 1848; 2d series, 1862).

[3] There are published Minutes of the Conferences of the Church from 1773 down, and numerous references in *Poole's Index*, under "Methodism," and the names of leading preachers.

[4] There are numerous works on divisionary subjects, like Stewart's *Hist. of the Freewill Baptists* (Dover, N. H., 1862); Robert B. Semple's *Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond, 1810); J. Millet's *Baptists in Maine* (Portland, 1845); the histories of the principal cities, and the lives of leading preachers, like Dr. Wayland. There are many references in *Poole's Index*. The earliest enumeration of the churches of the denomination in America is in John Asplund's *Annual Register of the Baptist Denomination in America* (dated in Va., July 14, 1791). The author, a Swede, is said to have travelled 7,000 miles to collect his data. The relations of Isaac Backus to the denomination in New England are noted in the present *History*, Vol. V. p. 159.

[5] The *Congregational Quarterly* and the *New Englander* are rich in historical papers.

[6] Cf. H. W. Foote's *Hist. of King's Chapel* (when complete); Dr. A. P. Peabody in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 467.

[7] It may be only necessary to make special mention of Abel C. Thomas's *Century of Universalism;* J. G. Adams's *Fifty Notable Years* (Boston, 1882); a paper in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston* (iii. 483), by A. A. Miner; and such personal records as the lives of John Murray and Hosea Ballou, and periodical contributions noted in *Poole's Index*.

[8] The Fourier experiment at Brook Farm, near Boston, made a temporary impression upon thought and literature

Noyes, with some aid from Dixon and Greeley, may be taken as the sources for the study of those forms of American life which result in Communities; and other help will be got from Nordhoff's *Communistic Societies of the U. S.* (1874), with a bibliography.[1]

The most conspicuous work from a surgeon of the Revolution is Dr. James Thacher's *Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, 1775-1783, with an appendix containing biographical sketches of general officers* (Boston, 1823; a revised second edition, 1827).[2]

An account of Benjamin Church, the first director-general of the hospitals, is given in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 37.

A portrait and memoir of Dr. John Morgan, the medical director of the Revolutionary army, who succeeded Dr. Church at Cambridge in 1775, is given in Geo. W. Norris's *Early Hist. of Medicine in Philadelphia* (Philad., 1886), ed. by W. F. Norris. An anonymous picture of Dr. John Morgan, belonging to Mrs. Wm. Biddle, was exhibited in the Philad. Loan Exhib. in 1888. Morgan issued at Boston in 1777 *A vindication of his public character in the station of Director-General of the Military Hospitals and Physician-in-chief to the American Army, anno 1776.*

An account of Dr. John Cochran, director-general of the hospitals of the United States in 1781, is given by W. L. C. Biddle in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. (1879), p. 241, and in a paper on the Medical Department of the Revolutionary army by John Cochrane, with a portrait of the director-general John Cochran, in the *Mag. of American Hist.*, Aug., 1884.

Dr. Joseph M. Toner published his *Medical Men of the Revolution* in 1876, giving the names of nearly 1,200 physicians who served in the army. Edw. D. Neill furnished a sketch of Dr. Jonathan Potts, the director-general of the hospitals of the Northern department, to the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1864, p. 21.

Dr. Geo. B. Loring has a paper on the medical profession in Massachusetts during the war in the *Medical and Surgical Journal*, June 17, 1875; and Edward H. Clark and others traced the development of medical science during and since the Revolution in *A Century of American Medicine*, 1776–1876 (Philad., 1876), — papers which had first appeared in the *Amer. Journal of Medical Sciences.*

A paper by Austin Flint on medical and sanitary progress is contained in *Our First Hundred Years* (also *Harper's Mag.*, June, 1876).

Cf. *The Medical Department of the United States Army from 1775 to 1873*, by Harvey E. Brown (Washington, D. C., 1873), and a chronological history of the early years of the medical department of the Revolutionary army in Geo. W. Norris's *Early Hist. of Medicine in Philadelphia* (Philad., privately printed, 1886).

The most considerable treatment of the relations of the women to the times is in Mrs. E. F. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*,[3] which first was published serially in *Godey's Magazine* (vols. xxxvi. to xlii.), and then independently in 1848, but a third volume was later added; and in the same author's *Domestic Hist. of the Amer. Revolution* (New York, 1850). Mrs. Ellet gathered the material for this work while she was engaged upon her *Women*, and says her purpose was to give "a short and comprehensive narrative of the successive events of the war, interspersed with domestic details and anecdotes." She enters more especially into events in the upper districts of South Carolina, "because no history has done justice to that section of the country," and for this purpose she uses manuscripts furnished by Mr. Daniel G. Stinson, of Chester District, S. C. This tendency to enlarge upon the Revolutionary history of the South, which appears in both her books, she says was instigated mainly by the greater abundance of material furnished to her from that quarter. See other treatment in *Hist. Mag.*, xv. 105; *Southern Review*, new series, xxi. 31; Bishop's *Amer. Manufactures*, i. 394.

There are various books that express individual experiences, a few of which may be mentioned as typical. The *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife* exemplify a patriot's helpmeet, and they were for a long time the only, and perhaps still are the best, exponent which we have of the womanly side of the patriotic fervor of the time. The rugged career of Deborah Sampson is told in *The Female Review, or memoirs of an American young lady, whose life and character are peculiarly distinguished, being a Continental soldier for nearly three years in the late American War* [by Herman Mann] (Dedham, 1797). The book has been edited and annotated of late years (Boston, 1866) by John A. Vinton, who discusses the questions of its authorship and credibility. Mrs. Ellet characterizes it as "half tale, half biography."

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in some circles, and beside the work of O. B. Frothingham, it may be studied with more or less sympathy in papers referred to by Poole under "Brook Farm Community," and particularly by a paper by Miss Amelia Russell in the *Atlantic Monthly*; and in another by R. W. Emerson in the number for Oct., 1883 (p. 570). Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* was doubtless suggested by his connection with the company at the farm. Cf. M. D. Conway's introduction to the English edition of Hawthorne's *Note Books*; Greeley's *Recoll. of a busy Life*; Dixon's *New America*; and Noyes' *American Socialisms.*

[1] Cf. Dixon's *Spiritual Wives*, and R. D. Owen's *Threading my Way*. Cf. *Westminster Review*, April, 1870, and references in Poole under "Socialism," etc.

[2] Cf. his *American medical biography; or memoirs of eminent physicians who have flourished in America. Prefixed a succinct history of medical science in the United States, from the first settlement of the country* (Boston, 1828).

[3] Reviewed by Mrs. C. M. Kirkland in *N. Amer. Rev.* vol. lxviii.

Womanly experiences, North and South, amid the turmoils of the war are shown in the *Personal Recollections of the American Revolution, a private journal, prepared from authentic domestic records, with reminiscences of Washington and Lafayette, edited by Sidney Barclay* [Lydia Minturn Post] (New York, 1859). The preface says that the diary and letters were written by the wife of an officer and the daughter of a clergyman of the Church of England, and they pertain to the war as experienced and observed in Long Island from Sept., 1776, to 1783.

The *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson*, arranged by Mrs. Gilman, were published in New York in 1839, and gave the experiences of the siege of Charleston, S. C., when that city was unsuccessfully defended by Lincoln.

Benson J. Lossing has recently prepared the best account which we have of the lives of *Mary and Martha, the mother and wife of Washington* (New York, 1886).

The Catal. of the Egerton MSS. (no. 2423) in the British Museum discloses a paper called "The Experiences of a lady during the war," and the *Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* describes as at Patshull, Staffordshire (Earl of Dartmouth's), various letters written by Judith Reed from Philadelphia in 1773–75.

Some of the graphic aspects are noted in John T. Smith and John F. Watson's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, two series, enlarged in successive editions, and in James Parton's paper on the Caricatures of the Revolution in *Harper's Monthly*, July, 1775, — later included in his *Caricature and other comic art* (N. Y., 1877).

For the medals of the history of the United States, see J. F. Loubat's *Medallic History of the United States, 1776–1876* (N. Y., 1878); Charles Henry Hart's *A historical sketch of the national medals issued pursuant to resolution of Congress, 1776–1815* (Philad., 1867), also in the *Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia: Proceedings* (Philad., 1867); H. W. Harrison's *Battlefields of the Republic* (Philad., 1857); and Thomas Wyatt's *Memoirs of the generals, commodores, and other commanders, who distinguished themselves in the American army and navy during the wars of the Revolution and 1812, and who were presented with medals by Congress for their gallant services. Illus. by 82 engravings on steel from the original medals* (Philad., 1848).

The best sources for the study of manners are the lives of public characters, particularly familiar letters and personal diaries.[1] Use of such material is made in Horace E. Scudder's *Men and Manners.* There are no good comprehensive accounts of the development of social manners in the United States, and one is disappointed at the lack of a predominating interest in this way in such books of confined range as Rufus Wilmot Griswold's *Republican Court, or American Society in the days of Washington, with 21 portraits of distinguished women* (new revised ed., N. Y., 1856). Cf. Mrs. Ellet's *Queens of American Society.*

To enumerate the principal of such personal records would require too much space, but a few more particularly of a social character may be mentioned: Richard Rush's *Washington in Domestic Life* (Philad., 1857); Mrs. Randolph's *Domestic Life of Jefferson;* H. W. Pierson's *Jefferson at Monticello;* John Randolph's *Letters to a Young Relative, 1806–1822* (Philad., 1834); Sargent's *Public Men and Events, 1817–1853;* Josiah Quincy's *Figures of the Past;* Harriet Martineau's *Society in America.*

The two most prominent of the later general historians have drawn pictures of the condition of society at the opening of this century. (Schouler, ii. 269; McMaster, ii. ch. 12.) Local histories specialize the field (Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii. ch. 5; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. iv.; Henry Baldwin in *Mem Hist. Hartford Co. Com.*, i. 574; Cable's *Creole Days;* P. F. de Gournay on Creole peculiarities in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1886, p. 549). We get the architectural externals as well as the internal life in Mrs. M. J. Lamb's *Homes of America;* and the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* had given various pictures of the mansions with occasional descriptions of the life within them, — as for instance of the Wadsworth estate at Geneseo (Nov., 1885); that of Col. John Eager in Baltimore (April, 1879); the Verplanck House (Sept., 1883); Gardiner Manor House (Jan., 1885) — not to name others. There are some such cuts in *Appleton's Journal*, as the Hampton House, Maryland (xiii. 577), and the Morris House (viii. 169). A series of old Virginian mansions is described by Marion Harland in *The Home-maker*, vol. i.

The accounts of sundry travellers add to this material. It seems better to include here those of European origin, to complete the conspectus, rather than to put them under the later heads of this paper.

The *Travels* of the Rev. Andrew Burnaby have elsewhere been referred to,[2] as covering a period a little earlier than the period we are now considering. Hazard says of the book to Belknap[3] that it gives much the best account of both persons and things of any English author, "and upon the whole a very just one."[4]

The work of J. Hector St. John Crèvecœur, purporting to describe the condition of the country during the period 1770–1781, proved, just after the close of the war, to be popular in Europe and to induce immigration. The author was a Frenchman who had lived on a farm not far from New York since 1754, but finding his land to be within the range of the British foragers, he left his estate in 1780 and returned to France; but came back in 1783 and remained till 1793. His book was called *Letters from an American farmer, describing certain provincial situations, manners, and customs . . . written for the information of a friend in England* (London, 1782; reprinted with little change, Philadelphia, 1793). A French version, by himself, a good deal enlarged and revised, — a copy with his corrections is in Harvard College Library, — was published in Paris in 1784. A new French edition in three volumes, the first two somewhat extended over the edition of 1784, and the third entirely additional, appeared in Paris in 1787. There was a German translation issued at Leipzig in 1788–89.[1]

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[1] One of the most curiously minute and laboriously dull of such records of a New England life is the *Diary of Thomas Robbins, 1796–1854, Ed. by I. N. Tarbox* (Boston, 1886), in two volumes.

[2] Vol. V. p. 284.

[3] *Belknap Papers*, i. 22.

[4] It is characterized in H. T. Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, 173.

John F. D. Smyth was a captain of the Queen's Rangers in the British service, and experienced the severities which his neighbor patriots in Maryland visited upon him as a Tory. In the latter part of his *Tour in the United States, containing an account of the present situation of that country, anecdotes of several members of the Congress, and general officers in the American Army, and many other very singular and interesting occurrences, with a description of the Indian Nations, the general face of the country, mountains, forests, and the most beautiful, grand, and picturesque views throughout that vast continent* (London and Dublin, 1784) he tells the story of his personal experiences at the outbreak of the war and during its progress; and in the earlier parts of his narrative he intersperses various recitals of events of the war, tinged generally with his Tory views. In his preface he makes many professions of fairness, and announces his purpose to be more curious in the details of the life of the people than any preceding writer had been; but the book hardly confirms the promise. A French version made by L. de Barenton-Montchal was published in Paris in 1791.[2]

The *Travels in the Interior of America* (London, 1789, in two vols.) of Thomas Anburey,[3] 1776–1781, who was an officer of Burgoyne's army, and shared the detention of the Convention troops, was published in London in 1789; and was annotated by M. Noël, in the French translation published in Paris in 1793, as *Journal d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique septentrionale. Ouvrage dans lequel on donne des détails précieux sur l'insurrection des Anglo Américains, et sur la chute de leur papier-monnoie.*[4] Anburey as an observer was too candid to allow his privations as a prisoner-of-war invariably to color his narrative, and in much of what he says the record is temperate and discriminating.[5]

The *Letters from America, historical and descriptive, comprising occurrences from 1769 to 1777, inclusive*,[6] written by William Eddis, were published in London in 1792. The author was surveyor of customs at Annapolis, and makes an intelligent record of the rise of the patriot party in that colony.

The Abbé C. C. Robin, one of Rochambeau's chaplains, published in Philadelphia and Paris, in 1782, his *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, en l'Année 1781; et Campagne de l'armée de M. le Comte de Rochambeau.* The book was printed in Paris. An English translation was printed at Boston in 1784.[7]

A book by Jean Francois, Marquis de Chastellux, which has since become famous, was written by one of Rochambeau's officers during his sojourn here.[8] He said of his production, in writing to Franklin in 1786, "I could not see your country in any but a favorable light, and if my love of truth occasionally called forth a gentle censure, my best wishes always took the place of my admiration, when the latter was compelled to be silent." The little work called *Voyage de Newport à Philade[l]phie, Albany, etc.*, was printed at Newport "de l'imprimerie royale de l'escadre." In this form it is very rare, as only 24 copies are said to have been struck off on the fleet-press,[9] one of which, given by Ed. Laboulaye to Charles Sumner, is now in Harvard College Library.[10] It was surreptitiously reprinted in 1785 at Cassel as *Voyage de M. le chevalier de Chastellux en Amérique.*[11] The first authorized reprint was made in Paris in 1786, as *Voyage de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique septentrionale dans les années 1780, 1781, et 1782*, in two volumes.

Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville published at London the same year an *Examen critique des Voyages dans de Amérique Septentrionale de M. le marquis de Chatellux; ou lettre à M. le marquis de Chatellux, dans laquelle on réfute principalement ses opinions sur les Quakers, sur les Nègres, sur le peuple & sur l'homme.*

The Chastellux was again reprinted at Paris in 1788 and in 1796. An English translation was published in London, and reprinted in Dublin in 1787, as *Travels in North America in the years 1780–82, translated from the French by an English gentleman, with notes.* This version has been attributed by Watt and others to John Kent; but Ebeling's copy in Harvard College library says it was made by George Greive, and investigations of Dr. J. H. Trumbull seem by circumstantial evidence to confirm that view.[1] It was reprinted in New York in 1828, with "a biographical sketch of the author, letters from Gen. Washington, and notes and corrections by the American editor."[2]

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[1] Sabin, v. p. 77; J. A. Allen's *Bibliog. of Cetacea, etc.*, nos. 372, 382, 402, 431; Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators*, p. 89; Delesdernier's *Fannie St. John;* Duyckinck, *Cycl. Am. Lit.*, i. 173. He also published a *Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'état de New York, par un membre adoptif de la nation Onéida, traduit et publié par l'auteur des Lettres d'un cultivateur Américain* (Paris, 1801, in three volumes) — which was in reality by Crèvecœur himself. (Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 388.) There is an account by Wm. Seton of "St. John de Crèvecœur, the first French consul to New York after the Revolution," in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1889.

[2] Cf. Vol. V. p. 284; Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, 188.

[3] See Vol. V. p. 284.

[4] Sabin, i. no. 1367. There was another French version (1790).

[5] Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators*, p. 187.

[6] Sabin, vi. no. 21,801.

[7] Sabin, xvii. p. 381.

[8] H. T. Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators* (1864), p. 59. Cf. *Madison's Letters*, iii. 499.

[9] It is said that only 10 of these 24 reached the persons to whom they were addressed in Europe.

[10] *Bibliog. Contributions of Harvard University Library*, no. vi. p. 8; Quérard's *La France litteraire*, ii. 147; Dufossé, *Americana*, 3d series, no. 10.

[11] Now very rare. Dufossé, 1885, no. 14,086, at 20 fr.

The critic of Chastellux, Brissot de Warville (Ouarville), spent a year in the country a few years after the war closed, when he gathered and has recorded his observations of many of the actors of the war, and of its traditions. Lafayette had introduced him to Washington as a clever writer who was bent on writing a history of America, but his impulse only ended in a book describing his single year's experience, and called *Nouveau Voyage dans les États Unis fait en 1788* (Paris, 1791), in three volumes.[3] An English version appeared in London in 1792 as *New Travels in the United States of America*, and passed to a second edition, with revisions and corrections, in 1794. The first American edition was issued at Boston in 1797, but the printers seem to have been ignorant of the later corrections and followed the first edition. The London edition includes, in its second volume, *The Commerce of America and Europe*, by Brissot and Etienne Clavière, which is represented as "from the last French edition, revised by Brissot, and called the second volume of his View of America." It has a life of Brissot and an appendix by the translator, together with a somewhat striking portrait.[4]

When the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt journeyed through the country in 1795–97, he also found not a little to record of the eminent men of the Revolution who were still living, — in his *Voyage dans les États Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, — l'an vii, — 8 vols.), of which there is an English translation (London, 1799; 2d ed., 1800). Dwight (*Travels*, iv. 235) points out various errors of Rochefoucault.

The travels after the peace are hardly of the same interest, and it is not necessary to mention all the published accounts of journeys during the first years of the Republic: —

Luigi Castiglioni, *Viaggio negli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, 1785–1787* (Milano, 1790). Cf. Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators* (p. 338), on Italian travellers in America.

André Michaux, *Portions of the journal* [in French] *of André Michaux, botanist, written during his travels in the United States and Canada, 1785 to 1796. With an introduction and explanatory notes by C. S. Sargent* (Philadelphia, 1889). This is taken from the *Proceedings American Philosophical Society*, vol. xxvi. no. 129. "The information which it contains in regard to various plants first detected by Michaux is valuable even now; and his remarks upon the condition of the remote settlements which he visited in the course of his wanderings are interesting and often amusing."

John Penn's journal in Pennsylvania in 1788 is in the *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, iii. 284.

Samuel S. Forman's *Narrative of a journey down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789–90. With a memoir and illustrative notes by Lyman C. Draper* (Cincinnati, 1888), and various other accounts of travel in the Ohio region at this time, enumerated in *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 536.

The *Voyage en Amérique* of Chateaubriand (1791–92) will be found in his *Œuvres.*

F. M. Bayard's *Voyage dans l'intérieur des États Unis, 1791* (Paris, 1797).

William Bartram, *Travels through North Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee country, the extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, and the country of the Choctaws. Containing an account of the soil and natural productions of those regions* (London, 1792; Dublin, 1793; in French, Paris, 1801).

Col. John Pope, *Tour through the southern and western territories of the United States of North-America; the Spanish dominions on the river Mississippi, and the Floridas; the countries of the Creek nations; and many uninhabited parts* (Richmond, 1792; New York, 1888).

William Priest, a musician of the theatres of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, *Travels in the United States, 1793–1797* (London, 1802).

C. W. Jansen, *Stranger in America, 1793–1805* (London, 1807).

T. Cooper, *Some information respecting America, 1793–1794* (London, 2d ed., 1795). There is a French translation, Paris, 1795.

John Drayton's *Letters during a tour through the Northern and Eastern States* (Charleston, S. C., 1794).

H. Wansey, *Journal of an excursion to the U. S., 1794* (Salisbury, Eng., 1796, 1798).

W. Gould, journal of a tour into Penna., 1794, in *N. Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii.

Pictet de Rochemont, *Tableau de la situation actuelle des États Unis* (Paris, 1795, in two vols.).

W. Winterbotham, *Historical, Geographical, etc., view of the U. S., 1795* (N. Y., reprinted 1796).

Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of N. America, etc., 1795–1797* (London, 1799, 1807). There are German (Berlin, 1800) and Dutch (s'Haage, 1801) translations. Cf. Dwight's *Travels*, iv. 226.

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[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vi. 251; xi. 5; *Hist. Mag.*, . 90.

[2] Sabin, iii. 534.

[3] The third volume is *De la France et des États-Unis, u de l'importance de la Revolution de l'Amérique pour e bonheur de la France, par Etienne Clavière et J. P. Brissot de Warville* (London, 1787).

[4] See also account and portrait in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (March, 1884), xi. 244; Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, 82; Sabin's *Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 495; *Belknap Papers*, ii. 282–3, 288. There is a German version in J. R. Forster's *Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen, übersetzt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen begleitet* (Berlin, 1790–1800, in 20 vols.).

Reponse aux principales questions qui peuvent étre faites, sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique, par un citoyen adoptif de la Pensylvanie (Abbé J. E. Bonnet) (Lausanne, 1795, — in two vols.).

Francis Baily, *Journal of a tour in the unsettled parts of No. America, 1796–1797* (London, 1856). Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 55, calls the book "intelligent and truthful."

Gilbert Imlay, *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of America* (London, 1792, 1797; New York, 1793).

Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (New Haven, 1821, — in four vols.). Dr. Dwight began his travels in 1796, using his successive vacations while president of Yale College.

John Bernard (a player), *Retrospections of America, 1797–1811* (N. Y., 1887).

Travels of Heckewelder and others in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, July, 1886.

R. Parkinson, *Tour in America, 1798–1800* (London, 1805), — particularly illustrative of agricultural matters. Cf. Sparks's *Washington*, xi. 340.

John Davis, *Travels of five years and a half in the U. S., 1798–1800, 1802* (London, 1803). He met Jefferson and Burr, and dedicates his book to the former.

A *Poetical picture of America, being observations made during a residence of several years at Alexandria and Norfolk in Virginia, illustrative of the manners and customs of the inhabitants; with anecdotes, from 1799 to 1807. By a lady* (London, 1809).

For the early years of the present century: —

L. P. F. De Beaujour, *Aperçu des États-Unis, 1800–1810* (Paris, 1814; and in English, London, 1814).

F. A. Michaux, *Voyage à l'ouest des monts Alléghanys, 1801–1803* (Paris, 1804, 1808; in English, London, 1805, two editions, translated by B. Lambert, and another English translation the same year). His route was in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee (Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 822–824; Sabin, xii. p. 139).

Historical review and directory of North America. With tables. In 2 v. By a gentleman immediately returned from a tour of that continent (Cork, 1801).

C. S. Rafinesque, *A life of travels and researches in No. America, 1802–1835* (Philad., 1836).

C. F. Volney, *Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis* (Paris, 1803; in English, London, 1804; Philad., 1804, transl. by C. B. Brown). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 1170; Dwight's *Travels*, iv. 216.

The letters of a British Spy, by William Wirt, were originally published in the *Virginia Argus* in August and Sept., 1803, and were soon collected in a volume (Richmond, 1803, in two editions of this date), and subsequently appeared in various editions, the last as late as 1848 (Allibone's *Dictionary*, iii. 2799; Kennedy's *Wirt*, i. ch. 9). The letters purport to be written to a member of the British Parliament by an English traveller, and depict the persons and spirit of the time in Virginia. It was the most successful literary venture of its day in America. At a later day, Wirt, with the aid of some friendly hands, printed in the same local newspapers a series of papers, which were collected in 1812, with later editions, under the title of *The old bachelor*, in which, with other purposes, he portrayed the manners and current views of Virginians, and took occasion to review with some sharpness the criticisms on his countrymen which had been printed in English books and periodicals.

Robert Sutcliff, *Travels in some parts of No. America, 1804–1806* (York, Eng., 2d ed., 1815). Experiences among the Quakers.

John Lambert, *Travels through Canada and the United States of North America, 1806–1808.* (Second edition, corrected and improved. 2 vols. London, 1814.) Cf. Dwight's *Travels*, iv. 257.

John Melish, *Travels in the U. S., 1806–1807, 1809–1811* (Philad., 1812, in two vols.; in German, transl. by J. E. L. Brauns, Weimar, 1819).

Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America, 1806* (London, 1808). Exploration of sources of the Ohio and Mississippi. Cf. *Mag. Western Hist.*, Aug., 1887, p. 407. It is considered in large part an imposition (Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 45).

F. Cuming, *Sketches of Tour to Western Country, through Ohio and Kentucky, a Voyage down Ohio and Miss. rivers, and Trip through Miss. Territory and part of West Florida, 1807–1809.* With Notes and Appendix, containing some interesting facts, with notice of an expedition through Louisiana (Pittsburg, 1810), — an interesting book, said to have been edited by Zadok Cramer. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 286.

E. A. Kendall, *Travels through the northern parts of the U. S., 1807–1808* (N. Y., 1809).

Christian Schultz, Jr., *Travels, or an inland voyage, 1807–1808* (N. Y., 1810).

H. Kerr, *Travels through the Western interior of the U. S., 1808–1816* (Elizabethtown, N. J., 1816).

Thaddeus Mason Harris, *Journal of a Tour into the Territory northwest of the Alleghany Mountains in 1809; with a Geographical and Historical Account of the State of Ohio* (Boston, 1805).

J. Bradbury, *Travels in the interior of America, 1809–1811* (Liverpool, 1817; London, 1819). His tour was in Upper Louisiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Tennessee, Illinois, etc. It is a truthful description, and was intended for emigrants. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 111.

Charles J. Ingersoll's anonymous *Inchiquin, the Jesuit's letters, during a late residence in the U. S. of America, accidentally discovered in Europe, containing a favorable view of the manners, literature, and state of society in the U. S., and a refutation of many of the aspersions cast upon this country by former residents and tourists, by some unknown foreigner* (N. Y., 1810).

A review of the Inchiquin letters in the *Quarterly Rev.* brought out *Remarks* by Timothy Dwight (Boston, 1815) and a *Reply* by J. K. Paulding (N. Y., 1815).

H. C. Knight, *Letters from the South and West, 1814–1819* (Boston, 1824). It purports to be by A. Singleton.

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the last ten years in the valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, 1826). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 421, etc., for this and other books by Flint on the West.

F. Hall, *Travels in Canada and the U. S., 1816–1817* (Boston, 1818).

Le Baron de Montlezun, *Voyage, 1816–1817, de New Yorck à la N. Orleans* (Paris, 1818).

David Thomas, *Travels through the Western Country, 1816* (Auburn, 1819).

Samuel R. Brown, *Western Gazetteer or Emigrants' Directory* (Auburn, N. Y., 1817). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 124.

W. T. Harris, *Remarks on a tour through the U. S., 1817–1819* (Liverpool, 1819; London, 1821). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 511.

Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America, from the coast of Virginia to the territory of Illinois, 1817* (Philad., 1817, 1819; London, 2d ed., 1818; 5th ed., 1819; Dublin, 1818; Cork, 1818.) Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 96. Birkbeck also printed *Letters from Illinois* (2d ed., London, 1818), and *Extracts from a supplementary letter* (London, 1819). Richard Flower, *Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, containing a brief account of the English settlement in the latter territory, and a refutation of the misrepresentations of Mr. Cobbett* (Lond., 1819). This settlement is commemorated in George Flower's *Hist. of the English settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded in 1817 and 1818 by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, with preface by E. B. Washburne* (Chicago, 1882, — being vol. i. of the *Chicago Hist. Soc. Coll.*).

Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Narrative of a Journey through the Eastern and Western States of America, 1817* (London, 1818; 2d ed., see *Brinley Catal.*, iii., no. 4478). Written for emigrants, and taking an unfavorable view. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 406.

John Palmer, *Journal of travels in the United States of America, and in Lower Canada, 1817;* particulars relating to the prices of land and provisions, remarks on the country and peoples, etc., and an account of he commerce, trade, and present state; to which are added a description of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and a variety of other useful information (London, 1818). Largely borrowed from other books. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 902.

J. Flint, *Letters from America, 1818–1820* (Edinburgh, 1822). Describes the Ohio region for the benefit of emigrants. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 420.

John Monson Duncan, *Travels through the U. S. and Canada, 1818–1819* (Glasgow, 1823; N. Y., 1823).

J. Bristed's *Resources of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1818).

W. Darby, *Tour from N. Y. to Detroit, 1818* (N. Y., 1819). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 308, for *Emigrant's Guide* (N. Y., 1818).

Benjamin Harding, *A Tour through the Western Country, 1818–1819* (New London, 1819). For the use of emigrants.

Frances Wright, *Views of society and manners in America; in a series of Letters from that country to a friend in England, during the years 1818, 19, and 20* (N. Y., 1821).

F. Darusmont, *Society and Manners in America, 1818–1820.*

Adam Hodgson, *Remarks during a Journey through No. America, 1819–21* (N. Y., 1823). *Letters from N. America* (London, 1824).

W. Faux, *Memorable days in America, 1819–1820* (London, 1823). Faux was an English farmer, examin-ng the country for emigrants.

L. Gall, *Meine Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten in Nord Amerika, 1819–1820* (Trier, 1822). Advises against emigration. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 434.

E. Mackenzie, *Hist., Topog., and Descriptive View of the U. S.* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1819).

B. Silliman, *Remarks made on a tour between Hartford and Quebec, 1819* (New Haven, 2d ed., 1824).

D. B. Warden, *Statistical, political, and historical account of the U. S.* (Edinburgh, 1819).

William Dalton, *Travels in the U. S. and part of Upper Canada, 1819, etc.* (Appleby, 1821).

William Cobbett's *Year's Residence in the United States of America, treating of the country, the land, abor, people, and their institutions* (London, 1819).

William Tudor, *Letters on the Eastern States* (N. Y., 1820; Boston, 1821). Cf. Allibone's *Dictionary.*

Emanuel Howett, *Selection from letters written during a tour through the U. S., 1819* (Nottingham, 820).

William Lindsay, *View of America: comprehending a general description of the extent, limits, situation, imate [etc.]. Prefixed a narrative of a voyage from Dumfries to Saint John, in New Brunswick, in 1819* Hawick, 1824).

Robert Walsh, *An appeal from the judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States* (Philad. 819, and later eds.). This was the earliest considerable remonstrance against the derogatory estimates of merica, then the fashion with English travellers. Irving, in his *Sketch Book*, shortly afterwards administered gentle reproof. Cf. Madison's *Letters*, iii. 148; Allibone on Walsh; and the chapter on the abuse by the nglish travellers in Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators.*

Isaac Holmes, *Account of the U. S., derived during a residence of four years* (London, 1823).

William Amphlett, *The Emigrant's Directory of the Western States* (London, 1819). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 16.

Zerah Hawley, *A Journal of a tour through Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, the north part of Pennsylvania and Ohio, including a year's residence in that part of the State of Ohio styled New Connecticut or Western Reserve* (New Haven, 1822).

A. Welby, *Visit to North America and the English settlements in Illinois, with a winter residence at Philadelphia* (Lond., 1821).

Since 1820 the published travels are too numerous for particular mention.

The principal record of the advance of trade, manufactures, and material progress in general is Albert S. Bolles' *Industrial Hist. of the U. S. from the earliest settlement to the present time* (Norwich, Conn., 1878, etc.). See, also, J. L. Bishop's *Hist. of American Manufactures, 1608–1860* (Philad., 1861); *The First Century of the Republic;* J. D. B. DeBow's *Industrial resources of the South and West* (New Orleans, 1852, in 3 vols.); L. Stebbins's *Eighty Years' Progress of the U. S.* (1861–1864 — in divisions by different writers); George Tucker's *Progress of the U. S. in Population and Wealth in fifty years, 1790–1840* (N. Y., 1843); T. Pitkin, *Statistical view of the Commerce of the U. S., 2d ed., with additions* (N. Y., 1817); A. Seybert, *Statistical Annals of the U. S., 1789–1818* (Philad., 1818); D. B. Warden, *Statistical, political, and historical account of the U. S.* (Edinburgh, 1819, in 3 vols.).

The development of the United States is also the main theme of John Macgregor's *Progress of America* (London, 1847, in two vols.). McMaster has given more than usual attention to this aspect in his history, so far as published; and it is in some measure touched by the other general historians. The divisionary topics of the general subject are treated in monographs, like the following: Samuel Batchelder's *Introd. and early progress of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States* (Boston, 1863); cf. letters in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 221. B. F. French, *Hist. of the Rise and progress of the Iron trade in the U. S., 1621–1857* (N. Y., 1858). Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery to 1876* (Waltham, Mass., 1878).

We must look to local histories for the accounts of the opening of trades and commerce specially associated with places, as in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston* for the earliest ventures on the northwest coast and the trade in ice.[1] Hunt's *American Merchants*, and *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* are useful aids. The histories of our larger cities and industrial centres are necessary in investigations of this progress.

The successive censuses of the United States are the basis of tracing the increase of population, with the steady march of its centre westward along the parallel which lies neighboring to Baltimore and Cincinnati. Cf. W. J. Bromwell's *Hist. of immigration to the U. S. 1819–1855* (N. Y., 1856); and on the "Redemptioners," see McMaster (ii. 558) and references.

There is no good history of the whole course of American literature since the combining of the colonies in 1776. It is concisely traced by E. P. Whipple in *Our First hundred years;* and *Poole's Index*, under "American Literature" and "Literature," will indicate the abundant periodical ventures on this and the other phase of the subject; which can be supplemented by such books as R. W. Griswold's *Prose Writers of America*, his *Poets*, and *Female Poets of America;* and similar books on the poets of the West by Gallagher, Coggeshall, and better still by Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, and by references to the alphabetical arrangement of Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors.* Unfortunately Moses Coit Tyler's *History of American Literature* is not yet continued into the period of the Revolutionary war. The lives of the leading writers are, in fact, for the present, the best source of the study of the progress of letters. Geo. W. Greene gives a chapter to the Revolutionary period in *Historical View* (Boston, 1864).[2]

Apart from the political essay, the best known productions of the Revolutionary period proceeded from a group of poets. It is not easy to give them any order of precedence from merit.

Joel Barlow had been encouraged in his college days by Noah Webster and by others to attempt a national epic, and at Northampton (Mass.), during the year following his graduation at Yale (1778), he had made a draft of his *Vision of Columbus.* For the next three years he was a chaplain in the army, and his letters describe his camp life. The *Vision* was not published till 1787.[3]

The *McFingal, a modern epic poem*, by John Trumbull, was begun in 1774, when the poet found the subject for his satire in the actions of the Tories of those days, but he did not complete it and publish it entire till 1782 at Hartford.[1]

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[1] Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1856.

[2] The bibliography of the Revolution has not been adequately prepared. Haven's list appended to Thomas' *Hist. of Printing* (Amer. Antiq. Soc. Ed.) only comes down through 1775. Catalogues like the Brinley and Carter-Brown are of use, and titles can be picked out in Sabin. The only thorough piece of work yet done for the whole period is confined to one State, namely, C. R. Hildeburn's *Century of printing; the issues of the press in Pennsylvania, 1685–1784* (Philadelphia, 1885–86, in two vols.). The best key to the scattered mass of local historical literature is A P. C. Griffin's *Index of Articles upon American local history in historical collections in the Boston Public Library* (Boston, 1889).

[3] It passed to a second edition, and was also reprinted in England the same year; and appeared in other and revised editions in Paris. Recast and augmented it became known as *The Columbiad* in 1808. Mr. C. B. Todd, who gave some account of Barlow in his *History of Redding, Conn.*, in 1880, later published the extended memoir, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow, with extracts from his works and hitherto unpublished poems* (New York, 1886). Mr. Todd had the use of the papers and letters of Barlow, which had been gathered during fifty years by the poet's grand-

Philip Freneau was of Huguenot stock and was born in New York in 1752, and graduated at Princeton in 1771, a classmate of James Madison. His commencement part, a *Poem on the rising glory of America*, was printed at Philadelphia in 1772. (Cf. Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 248.) He was captured by the British on the coast of Delaware and confined in a prison-ship, and commemorated his experience in a poem published at Philadelphia in 1781, *The British Prison Ship*. The first edition of *The Poems of Philip Freneau, written chiefly during the late war* (Philad., 1786), is a book now become rare.[2]

PHILLIS WHEATLEY, NEGRO SERVANT to Mr. JOHN WHEATLEY, of BOSTON.

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

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nephew, Prof. Lemuel G. Olmsted, and these papers were in the possession of the late Mr. S. L. M. Barlow of New York. Cf. a paper on "The forgotten American worthies" in *Lippincott's Magazine*, July, 1880; and the *Mem. Hist. of Hartford County*. For bibliography, see Sabin's *Dictionary;* the *Harris Collection*, p. 19; and the *Brinley Catal.*, iv. 6782, etc. Cf. *Poole's Index*, p. 99.

[1] Cf. J. H. Trumbull on the origin of *McFingal*, in the *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. p. 1. The poem has passed through many editions since, and the *Poetical Works of John Trumbull*, with *McFingal* revised and corrected, and a memoir — seemingly by himself — was edited by S. G. Goodrich at Hartford in 1820, but it did not prove a successful venture. It has a portrait of the author by his kinsman, Col. John Trumbull. Trumbull soon removed to Detroit (1825), where he lived with his daughter, and died in 1831. Cf. "Pleiades of Connecticut" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, xv. 187, and the *Memorial Hist. Hartford County, Conn.*, i. 157. The bibliography is given in the *Brinley Catal.*, iv. no. 6959, etc.

[2] It sometimes brings in these days $30 to $50 (Brinley, iv. no. 6864). A second volume followed in 1787 — the

Timothy Dwight, David Humphreys, and Francis Hopkinson are the only other names to complete this early group.[1]

Of the other sex the most conspicuous are of the two extremes of the social scale. Mercy Warren represented the social wit of the higher circles of life in Massachusetts; and Phillis Wheatley, a young negress, slave to a Boston merchant, attracted the attention of Washington, and has since elicited the sympathy of such as have become interested in her sad career.[2]

The ballad literature of the time has had special treatment in Duyckinck (i. p. 427), in Frank Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Revolution*, and in his incomplete *Illustrated Ballad History of the American Revolution* (six parts). Winthrop Sargent has collected the *Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution.*

For the period immediately following upon the close of the war, there is a cursory survey in Schouler (ii. 259), but it took the ripening of many years to bring American literature into competition with that of older peoples.[3]

There is a paper on the colleges in the Revolution by Joel T. Headley in the *Knickerbocker Mag.*, lvii. p. 353. Duyckinck follows their progress in a summary manner; and the histories of the principal ones, like Harvard and Yale, disclose their relations to the Revolutionary struggle.

To the later life of the Republic several series of publications, sustained for restricted periods, have been given to the printing of original Revolutionary documents, like the *Publications of the Seventy-six Society* (Philad., 1855–57), in four volumes,[4] 150 copies printed; C. I. Bushnell's *Crumbs for Antiquarians* (1862–1866, in 2 vols.); Munsell's *Historical Series* (Albany, 1857–61) and his *Series of American Local History* (Albany, 1863, etc.) only in part pertain to the Revolution;[5] only two numbers were issued by *The Club* (New York, 1857,[6] one hundred copies), which was then merged in the *Bradford Club*, which issued seven numbers, only four of which, however, pertained to the Revolution.[7] Only one number was issued of a series purporting to be published by the *Zenger Club* (New York, 1861).[8]

H. B. Dawson's *Gleanings from the Harvest-field of American history* (New York, 1860, etc. — 250 copies printed).

Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau (Brinley, iv. 6864). The most complete of his own editions was *Poems written between the years 1768 and 1794, a new edition, revised and corrected by the author* (Monmouth, N. J., 1795 — Brinley, iv. 6865). In 1809 the third edition appeared at Philadelphia, — *Poems written and published during the American Revolution, and now republished from the original manuscripts* (Brinley, iv. 6866). A volume containing his productions written after 1797 appeared at New York in 1815. The greatest activity of Freneau's life came after the Revolution, and a full account is given in Duyckinck (i. p. 327–348) and in the introductory memoir by Evert A. Duyckinck, given in an edition of his *Poems relating to the American Revolution* (New York, 1865), bringing together in one volume these special poems which appeared in Freneau's different volumes. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1887, p. 121, for an account of Freneau, with a fac-simile of an early portrait and of the title of the edition of 1809.

[1] For Dwight, see the *Mem. Hist. Hartford Co.*, i. 157. For Humphreys, see the bibliographical data in the *Brinley Catal.*, iv. no. 6876, and H. P. Johnston's *Yale and her honor roll in the American Revolution* (New York, 1888). For Hopkinson, see Sanderson's *Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, vol. ii. (with portrait by Pine; cf. also Delaplaine's *Repository*, 1815; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 237). His house at Bordentown is depicted in Brotherhead's *Book of the Signers*, 1861, p. 31. Cf. Allibone's *Dictionary* and Duyckinck's *Cyclop. Amer. Lit.* His best known poem of the Revolution is his *Battle of the Kegs* (Hildeburn, no. 3887; Lossing's *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, i. 109).

[2] *Poems on Various subjects, religious and moral, by Phillis Wheatley, Negro servant to Mr. John Wheatley of Boston in New England* (London, sold in Boston, 1773). It has the profile figure of the writer sitting at a writing table, engraved on copper, "published Sept. 1, 1773, according to act of Parliament." A fac-simile of this print is herewith given. There are two copies of the book in Harvard College library, both of which have the neat and easy autograph of Phillis on the reverse of the title, — and most if not all of the known copies are so marked.

In 1834 a *Memoir of Phillis Wheatley*, by B. B. Thacher, was published in Boston, which has become very scarce (Brinley, iv. 6990). A memoir by Miss M. M. Odell was also prefixed to a collected edition of her poems (Boston, 2d and 3d ed., 1835 and 1838). An account of her, with some of her letters, was printed by Dr. Chas. Deane in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1863 (separately 100 copies, Boston, 1864), who gives a bibliography of the subject, which may be supplemented by the titles in Brinley, iv. 6983, showing some which had escaped Dr. Deane.

[3] The fullest bibliography of any part of American literature is the *Harris Collection of American Poetry*, edited by J. C. Stockbridge (Providence, 1886), — an unworthy record, as it proved, of the assiduous attention of Mr. C. Fiske Harris of Providence, in gathering a collection valuable for its extent, if not in any great part for its merit. The collection was bought after Mr. Harris's death by Senator H. B. Anthony of Rhode Island; and was bequeathed by him to the library of Brown University.

[4] Brinley, no. 4140; Cooke, no. 2245.

[5] Alofsen, nos. 10, 11.

[6] The first number was *Melvin's Journal of the Kennebec Expedition* (1775), and it was reprinted ostensibly by the Franklin Club, Philad., 1864. Cf. *Alofsen Catal.* (1876), nos. 12, 13. The second number was the *Diary of Washington, 1789–1790*, edited by Lossing (1858). The originator of The Club was Mr. William J. Davis.

[7] Mr. John B. Moreau was the originator of the Bradford Club. Its publications were: 1. F. B. Hough's *Papers concerning the attack on Hatfield and Deerfield* (1859); 2. J. R. Drake and Fitz-Greene Halleck's *Croakers*, ed. by J. B. Moreau (1860); 3. John G. Shea's *Operations of the French fleet under Count de Grasse* (1864); 4. Henry C. Murphy's *Anthology of New Netherland* (1865); 5. *Career of De Soto in Florida*, transl. by B. Smith (1866); 6. F. B. Hough's *Northern Invasion of Oct., 1780* (1866); 7. Wm. G. Simms' *Army correspondence of Col. John Laurens* (1867). It also issued as an extra number E. A. Duyckinck's *Memorial of John Allan* (1864), a New York antiquary. Cf. *In Memory of J. B. Moreau* (N. Y., 1886), and the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1887.

[8] Alofsen, no. 16.

The effect of the newspapers of the country upon its political progress has had some significant recogni-ions. Books like Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic* and McMaster's *United States* have drawn largely rom the contemporary press to elucidate that progress. The *History of Printing*, by Isaiah Thomas, and the *istory of Journalism in the United States*, by Frederick Hudson, offer something like historical treatment f the subject. The spirit of Thomas is purely that of an antiquarian, and he has little to say of anything fter the war. Hudson's method, unfortunately, discloses the brisk and somewhat sensational habit of a ewspaper office, in which the author had his training, but he had the political editor's apprehension of the elation of the press to the current politics of the later years. Mr. S. D. North contributed to the publica-ions of the Tenth Census an extensive paper on *The History and Present Condition of the newspaper and eriodical press of the U. S.* (Washington, 1884). The summary in Andrews's *Hist. of Journalism* is cant.

Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, in two papers on "A Group of Pre-Revolutionary Editors," and "Notable Editors etween 1776 and 1800" (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Jan. and Feb., 1887), has rapidly sketched the careers of some nen noted in their day, and in his second paper he tells the story of Rivington, Hugh Gaine, Matthew Carey, nd other leading controversialists of the Revolution. All these may be supplemented by references in *Poole's Index*, under "Press," "Newspapers," and "Journalism." The story of the first newspaper pub-ished west of the Alleghanies, *The Kentucky Gazette*, is told in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1887. Hudson p. 195) says *The Centinel of the North West Territory*, begun in Cincinnati in 1793, was the earliest West-rn newspaper.

The most considerable account of the New England press is Joseph T. Buckingham's *Specimens of News-aper Literature* (Boston, 1850, in two volumes), though the book also contained some accounts of newspapers f other parts of the country. Delano A. Goddard published at Boston in 1880 a paper on the *Newspapers nd newspaper writers of New England, 1787–1815*. The histories of all the larger cities contain as a rule istorical sketches of their respective presses.

The newspapers most commonly encountered in the history of politics for the first half century under the Constitution are these: —

Benjamin Russell, *Massachusetts Centinel* (Federal), Boston, 1784; known after 1790 as the *Columbian Centinel.*

John Fenno, *Gazette of the United States* (Federal), N. Y. and Philad., 1789, etc.[1]

Philip Freneau, *National Gazette* (Republican), Philad., 1791, etc.[2]

Benjamin F. Bache, and, later, William Duane, *General Advertiser and Aurora* (Republican), 1790, etc.

The *Boston Gazette*, which during the war had been a power, became anti-federal and lingered till 1798.

Noah Webster (and others), *Minerva* (Federal), 1797, etc., later known as the *Commercial Advertiser.*

Colman, *Evening Post* (Federal), N. Y., 1800.[3]

James Cheetham, *American Citizen* (Republican), N. Y., 1800, etc. It had previously been the *N. Y. Journal.* Adverse to Burr.

Smith and, later, Gales, *National Intelligencer*, Washington, 1800.

Peter Irving, *The Morning Chronicle* (Republican), N. Y., 1802. Friendly to Burr.

Austin and others, *Independent Chronicle* (Republican), Boston, 1789. It was originally started in 776.

Park, *Repertory*, 1803.

Thomas Ritchie, *The Enquirer* (Republican), Richmond, Va., 1804.

The Patriot (Republican), Boston, 1809. It was united with the *Independent Chronicle* in 1817.

Nathan Hale, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1813.

The Massachusetts Mercury (Federal), Boston, 1793; later the *New England Palladium*, 1801.

The first daily was the *American Daily Advertiser* (Philad., 1784), and the earliest penny paper was the *Morning Post* (N. Y., 1833).

The particular histories of the press need to be supplemented by the lives of the leading journalists, like Wallace's *Col. William Bradford;* the memoir of Isaiah Thomas, prefixed to the Amer. Antiq. Society's ed. f his *Hist. of Printing;* H. E. Scudder's *Noah Webster; Recollections of the Life of John Binns, written y himself* (Philad., 1854); the *Personal Memoirs* of Joseph T. Buckingham; a *Life* of William W. Seaton Boston, 1871) by his daughter; the *Autobiography* of Amos Kendall, ed. by Stickney; the *Life of Gerard Hallock;* the *Memoirs* of James Gordon Bennett, and the paper on Bennett by James Parton in his *Famous Americans;* notices of George D. Prentice (cf. Lippincott's *Magazine*, Nov., 1869); Charles T. Congdon's *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston, 1880); the life of William Lloyd Garrison by his sons; the *Recol-ections of a busy life*, by Horace Greeley, and Parton's memoir of Greeley; A. Maverick's *Henry J. Raymond nd the N. Y. press*, and a paper in *The Galaxy*, April, 1870. The measure of the influence of one of the trongest American journalists, though his active share in political history began only with the annexation of Texas, can be got from Geo. S. Merriam's *Life and Times of Samuel Bowles* (N. Y., 1885) of *The Spring-ield (Mass.) Republican.*

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[1] Hudson, p. 181; McMaster, ii., etc.

[2] Hudson, p. 185, McMaster, ii. 49; Rives' *Madison*, ii. 193.

[3] *Reminiscences of the first half century of the N. Y. Evening Post* (N. Y., 1851).

The controversial spirit of the years preceding the outbreak of the war in 1775 had given rise to a kind of publication that the advance of the newspaper press after many years finally superseded. A few of these, beginning with some of these earlier ones, may be mentioned: —

A *Collection of Tracts from the late newspapers* (N. Y., 1769) was a selection of essays from the newspapers of Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts between March 14, 1768, and Jan. 23, 1769, made with impartiality as regards the representation of both sides, and they particularly concerned the controversy over the introduction of bishops. It was a half-sheet weekly, printed for the *N. Y. Thursday Journal* (Sabin, iv. 14,395).

The *Censor* was published in Boston in defence of Hutchinson, beginning Nov. 23, 1771, and was printed weekly for some months. It was at first occupied with replies to the articles signed "Mucius Scævola" in the *Massachusetts Spy*, and these replies are thought to have been written by Lieut.-Gov. Oliver.

Aitken's *General American Register* was printed at Philadelphia for 1773 and 1774, and throws much light on postal service and similar details of life at that time (Hildeburn, ii. nos. 2740, 2847).

The serial publication of Thomas Paine called the *American Crisis* was begun at Philadelphia in 1776 and continued through the war (Hildeburn, ii. 3432, 3595, 3764, 4034, 4227). The papers were reprinted collectively as *The Crisis, being a series of pamphlets in sixteen numbers, written during the American Revolution* (New York, 1877).

The *American Register, a general Repository of History, Politics, and Science*, was published in seven volumes between 1806 and 1810.[1]

The most important of all this kind of publication was Hezekiah Niles' *Weekly Register*, afterwards known simply as *Niles' Register*, which was begun in Baltimore in 1811, and which as a gathering of documents of our political history has never lost its value. It was continued till 1849, when 76 volumes had been published. It has since been republished in 36 volumes.

2. ENGLISH. — Early in the outbreak of the war Almon, a London publisher, began a documentary publication, with a sympathetic leaning towards the colonies, or at least against the ministry, which proved to be a valuable repository. Its purpose was to select from all public prints the best account of every material public event. *Almon's Remembrancer or Impartial Repository of Public Events* was begun in London, June 15, 1775; but the second edition of the first volume has preliminary matter not in the original issue.[2] The editor soon made good his purpose, as Smyth says, of "displaying the injustice of the design and the folly of the councils of Great Britain." Two years later, and in order to preserve the records of the controversy which foreran the outbreak of hostilities, Almon published in one volume (1777), *Prior Documents: or a collection of interesting, authentic papers relating to the dispute between Great Britain and America, showing the causes and progress of that misunderstanding from 1764 to 1775*.[3] He also published in 1776 what is known as *Almon's Tracts*, or, as the general title runs, *A Collection of the most interesting tracts lately published in England and America on the subject of taxing the American colonies and regulating their trade*.[4]

Another periodical, more severe on the ministry than Almon, had already preceded the *Remembrancer*, but failed to attain success. The first number of *The Crisis* was begun in London, Jan. 4, 1775, and the set ends June 8, 1776, making as bound two folio volumes.[5]

A publication more nearly resembling the *Remembrancer*, and in which, according to Barbier and others, Franklin is said to have had a hand, was begun at Antwerp in 1776, though it is thought to have been printed in Paris. The *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* was continued to 1779, making 24 cahiers in 8 tomes, though it is usually found in seventeen volumes.[6] There is an account of it, with a collation, by P. L. Ford, in the *Penna. Mag. of History*, July, 1889, p. 222.

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[1] An *Amer. Annual Register* had been published at Philadelphia for a single year in 1796; and a publication under the same name was printed 1825–1833.

[2] Between 1775 and 1784 there were 17 vols. issued; and with the 2d ed. of vol. i. we have a complete set in 18 vols. Almon is said to have been aided by Geo. Pownall (Sparks, no. 2216; Brinley, ii. no. 3934). It is worth about $5 a volume; though latterly it is often offered in fine binding at much higher prices. A set is quoted in 1887 at $155.

[3] Worth about $10.

[4] Sabin, iv. no. 14,392, who cites also no. 14,385, a *Collection of scarce and interesting tracts, written by persons of eminence upon the most important political and commercial subjects during the years 1763–1770* (London, 1770); Stevens (*Nuggets*, no. 3267; *Catal. of rare books relating to America, 1885*, no. 13) notes *The American Gazette, being a collection of all the authentic addresses, memorials, letters, etc., which relate to the present disputes between Great Britain and her colonies; containing also many original papers never before published.* He says six numbers, each with a separate title, appeared in octavo, between 1768 and 1770, with an appendix in 1769; while the whole, with a collective title and table of contents, was reissued in 1770. He has seen only one complete copy, that in the British Museum.

[5] Some copies are reported as having 98 nos., ending Oct. 12, 1776. It was in part reprinted in New York, in Newport, and in New London. Sabin, v. 17,516–17; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 233.

[6] Sabin, i. no. 491. Sabin notes some other foreign periodicals as throwing a certain reflected light on American affairs, like the *Affiches Américaines*, published at Port-au-Prince in seven volumes, 1777–1783 (*Dictionary*, i. no. 493); *Courier politique et litteraire . . . or French Evening Post*, London, 1777–1785 (*Ibid.*, v. no. 17,165), and *Gazette de Leyde* (*Ibid.*, vii. p. 191).

Some amusing instances of the ignorance of the compilers of the contemporary handbooks, intended to serve the ordinary European reader of American affairs, have been noted. In Don Francisco Alvares' *Noticia del Establecimiento y Poblacion de las Colonias Inglesas en la America Septentrional* (Madrid, 1778), we learn that New England is divided into eleven provinces and four counties, Later in the war the Tory side found expression in such parts of the *Political Magazine, and Parliamentary, naval, military, and literary Journal* as touched the current war in America, the publication beginning at London in 1780.[1]

Referring to the contemporary magazines then issuing in London, Prof. Smyth, in his twenty-sixth lecture, speaks of them as giving "the manners and opinions living as they rise," and they almost always afford a chronicle of events, often give us the official reports of officers in the field, and chronicle the ephemeral tract literature which distinguished the progress of the political changes in England.[2] The *Monthly Review* was generally friendly to the colonies, and its editor is said to have been a Dr. Bancroft, who had lived in America.[3]

A *Calendar of the Journal of the House of Lords* was published in London in 1810. General indexes of the *Lords Journals* before 1779 and after 1780 were printed in 1817 and 1822; and of those of the Commons in 1778 (covering 1714–1774) and 1796 (1774–1790).

Bancroft[4] says that "the proceedings in Parliament till 1774 had something of a confidential character," and he adds that "from sources the most various, private letters, journals, and reports, preserved in France, or in England, or in America, I have obtained full and trustworthy accounts of the debates on the days most nearly affecting America."

The debates of the second parliament of George III (May, 1768, to June, 1774) were recorded privately by Sir Henry Cavendish; and were printed down to 1771 in *Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates of the House of Commons, edited from the original MSS. by J. Wright* (London, 1841–43), in 16 parts or two vols.[5]

Cavendish's manuscript shorthand note-books, forty-eight in number, of his reports of the speeches in Parliament from 1768 to 1774,[6] are among the *Egerton MSS.* in the British Museum. They contain a hundred speeches of Burke, who wrote out, from notes furnished to him by Cavendish, his speech of April, 1774. They contain also speeches of Grenville, Fox, Dunning, North, Barré, and others.

The principal source of the speeches in Parliament during the progress of the Revolutionary war is what is known as *Almon's Parliamentary Register*, of which there are 17 volumes between 1775 and 1780. A new series by Almon and Debrett was begun in 1781, and continued by Debrett. They are put into the shape usually referred to in William Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, which brings them down to 1803, when the title was changed to *Parliamentary Debates* — the collection now called, from the printer, *Hansard*.[7]

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with much else of a similar character (Stevens, *Bibl. Hist.*, 1870, no. 1450). In the *North American and West Indian Gazetteer*, reprinted in 1778 in London, for the use of officers ordered to the colonies, we read of Bristol, R. I., that the king of Spain has a palace there and was killed in it — a very obscure recognition probably of Philip of Pokanoket. We can well believe, after this, that the *North British Review* (vol. xxxi. p. 196) was right in saying that the English of the age of George III "knew little of New England and its people."

Continental ignorance of the conditions of American life is also somewhat amusingly displayed in sundry engravings of the Revolutionary episodes which appeared in the *Historisch-genealogischer Calendar, 1784* (Leipzig). For instance, at the Boston Tea-party, a "Mohawk" is represented naked (in December) sitting on the wharf, smoking his pipe. Washington, in December, 1776, is represented as conducting the Hessians captured at Trenton over the portcullis of a stronghold, with a naked Indian looking on. André is represented as struggling with his three captors in the gloom of night.

[1] Sabin, xv. 63,784. It has many portraits, plans, and views. It was continued to 1790, and was issued at the start in the Tory interest. At the end of its first volume it announced that "a considerable stock of manuscript materials for composing a history of the present war in America has been put into our hands. We shall be glad to receive from the numerous Loyalists from that continent now resident in England, any information."

[2] Smyth (*Lectures*, Bohn's Ed., ii. 391) characterizes this pamphlet literature, citing some of the best of the tracts, like those of Dean Tucker, Robinson, Dr. Johnson, Burke. "To a thorough understanding of the American Revolution by future generations, a general history of the mass of pamphlets which it occasioned is becoming very essential," says C. F. Adams, in a note to John Adams' references to contemporary pamphlets, in his *Novanglus* (*Works*, iv. 15). One of the best collections of tracts of the Revolution is that in the Carter-Brown library, which is described by J. C. Stockbridge, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vi. 310). See *Ibid.* (v. 427) for those in the library of Brown University. The catalogues of the Harvard College and Boston Athenæum libraries are rich in this direction. Cf. A. R. Smith's *Catalogue* (1874), no. 1590, etc.

[3] Sabin, xii. no. 50,198. The other periodicals which were continued during the war were: *The Gentleman's Magazine*, of Sylvanus Urban, which was forty-four years old when the conflict opened. It was begun in 1731, and continued to bear its original character as a repository of historical and antiquarian lore till 1868. The *London Magazine* was begun in 1732, and was of much the same character. Its maps and views are perhaps of more interest to the American student than those of its rival; but its publication was not continued beyond 1783. The *Westminster Magazine* began in 1773, and was continued through the American war. Something of interest can also be found in the *Town and Country Magazine* (London), and in the *Universal Magazine*; but complete sets of these are not easy to find in this country. They both cover the period of the American war, and throw occasional light on special points.

[4] Final revision, iii. 484.

[5] It was not till 1771 that the right of the press to publish reports of Parliamentary debates was conceded (Massey, *England*, ii. 93; Trevelyan, *Early Life of C J. Fox*, ch. viii.). On the history of reporting debates in Parliament, see C. Townshend's *Memoirs of the House of Commons*, ii. ch. 14; and May's *Constitutional Hist. England*, 7th ed. ii. 34.

[6] Cf. Smyth's *Med. History*, ii. 361, 378, on the importance of these debates. There is a French collection of them: *Discussions importantes, débatues au parlement d'Angleterre par les plus célèbres orateurs depuis 30 ans* (Paris, 1790, in four volumes). The third volume is largely concerned with the American war.

Extracts of the debates in Parliament, Mar. 11–15, 1776, as probably made by Roubaud, and sent by Garnier to Versailles, are given in Doniol's *Participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis*, i. p. 473.

[7] Gardiner and Mullinger's *English Hist. for Students*, N. Y., 1881, p. 227. This series, known as *Hansard's*

When we consider the wealth of material brought to light on both sides, we may agree with Erskine May that no part of English history "has received more copious illustration than the revolt of the American colonies."

Of the narrative on the American war in the *Annual Register*,[1] Dr. William Smyth, in his *Lectures on Modern History*, says that it "contains in the most concise form the most able, impartial, and authentic history of the dispute which can be found (1840). The account is understood to have been drawn up by Edmund Burke, and if so (and there is no doubt of it), the arguments on each side are displayed with an impartiality that is quite admirable."[2] Gordon says that these accounts were held by Americans at the time to be the best given in any foreign publication.[3]

The sections from the *Register* were reprinted as *An impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and her Colonies from its Commencement to the end of the year 1779* (London, 1780).

A work having in part much the same text was issued in Dublin in 1779, as *The History of the War in America between Great Britain and her Colonies, from its Commencement to the end of the year 1778*. It is called "in two volumes," but the second volume is "a collection of interesting and authentic papers tending to elucidate the History," — a collection more extensive than was appended to the London edition of 1780. A third volume is sometimes added to the Dublin edition, dated 1785. It continues the story to the close of the war. The editor's preface in the two editions is not the same.[4]

The original text was reprinted in Boston by Fleet in 1780, in three volumes of varying titles, namely: (1) *History of the Origin, Rise, and Progress of the War in America to 1774* (90 pp.); (2) *History of the Rise and Progress of the War in North America to 1777*; (3) *History of the War in America*, etc., to 1778. This third part is called a second volume, because parts 1 and 2 were bound together as the first volume.[5]

The next year (1781) the issue in numbers of a new work was begun in Boston by Nathaniel Coverly and Robert Hodge, with engravings by a Boston artist, J. Norman. The title reads: *An Impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and the United States from its Commencement to the end of the War.* The text, while following in part that which originated in the *Annual Register*, is mostly rewritten and gives a view more in accordance with the sentiments of the patriots. The publication of no. 3 of vol. iii., completing the work, did not take place till 1785. It has an appendix of "interesting and authentic papers."[6]

Another work of similar title, credited to the Rev. James Murray, shows a decided affinity to the side of the rebels, though, as a hurried compilation, there is some mixture in its views.[7] It was issued at first in numbers, and was finally published without date, in two volumes, as an *Impartial History of the present War in America*, with portraits and maps (Newcastle-upon-Tyne; some copies, London, 1778).[8] A third volume was begun, but stopped at p. 332. The titles of the volumes differ somewhat, and some are dated Newcastle, 1780, and a second edition was issued at Newcastle in 1782.

The first volume of *A History of the Civil War in America, by an Officer of the Army* [Capt. Hall, of Howe's regiment], was published in London in 1780, and covered 1775–1777, a second edition appearing the same year. It was not continued.[9]

Charles Henry Arnold's *New and impartial universal history of North and South America, and of the present trans-Atlantic war*, was published in London in 1782.

Two years after the close of the war, John Andrews published his *History of the War with America, France, Spain, and Holland, 1775–1783* (London, 1785–86, in four volumes). It is a hasty compilation, largely from the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, and was for a while the narrative most satisfactory to the Tory party, though, with some exceptions, its recital is not altogether to their credit. The author seems firm in the belief that French intrigue following the treaty of 1763 did much to instigate the revolt, and that the approbation of the opposition in Parliament did quite as much to forward the measures of the Revolution as the acts of the rebels themselves. It has a considerable number of portraits, some of which have been reproduced in the present work.

Thomas Jones, a justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and a loyalist, was living on Long Island during a part of the war, and for another part was a prisoner of war in Connecticut. He left the country in 1781, and lived henceforth in England, and between 1783 and 1788 wrote an account of the war, which is the

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Parliamentary Debates, consists now of over 400 volumes, divided as follows, down to 1885: —

PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY. The Conquest to 43 Geo. III. 1066–1803, 36 vols.

DEBATES, FIRST SERIES. 1803 to Death of George III. 1803–20, 41 vols.

DEBATES, SECOND SERIES. Reign of George IV. 1820–30, 25 vols.

INDEX to First and Second Series, 1 vol.

DEBATES, THIRD SERIES { Reign of William IV. 1830–7.
Reign of Victoria. 1837–85.
301 vols.

[1] The *Annual Register* was begun in 1758, and is still continued. The papers on the American war begin in vol. xix.

[2] Smyth (Bohn's Ed.), ii. 365; and again, p. 433.

[3] They were reprinted in the *Columbian Magazine* in 1789, and afterwards separately (1790).

[4] Sabin, vii. 1785; viii. 32,226. Lowndes gives P. Gordon as the author.

[5] Sabin, viii. 32,193.

[6] Sabin, ix. p. 61.

[7] It is in fact, as Mr. A. M. Davis tells me after making a comparison, to about the extent of three quarters merely a reprint of the text of the Boston edition, with some verbal changes.

[8] Sabin, xii. pp. 493, 494.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, "America," column 8; Brinley, ii. no. 4030.

most extensive narrative which has come down to us from a Tory, to show us the thought and feelings that nfluenced the loyalists. The manuscript came down in the family without being used till, under the editing of Mr. Edward Floyd De Lancey, it was published by the New York Historical Society in 1879. It makes wo large octavo volumes, and one half of each holds the editor's notes. It is called a *History of New York during the Revolutionary War and the leading events in the other colonies at that period.* One is prepared, rom the portrait of the judge which faces its title, for the somewhat satirical and cynical air which pervades he book, and the reader frequently finds the author's tendency to irony not always conducive to a correct estimate of his moral nature. He represents the loyalists as abused equally by the patriots and the government, and deals out his chastisements with the same vigor on both sides.[1]

A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, in thirteen discourses, preached in North America, 1703–1775, with an historical preface, by Jonathan Boucher (London, 1797). The book is very respectfully dedicated to Washington, though the author, once his neighbor and friend, acknowledges himself to have been hostile to the Revolution.

There are six lectures on the American War at the end of William Smyth's *Modern History*, which express he better feeling of seventy years ago, and they are accompanied by some advice on reading about this period; and Sparks, in 1841,[2] says "it would be difficult to find any treatise on the American Revolution, confined within the compass of six lectures, from which so much can be learned, or so accurate an estimate of the merits of both sides of the question can be formed."

The *United States* of James Grahame, first published in 1836, brought the story down only to the Declaraion of Independence.[3] Mahon[4] says that Grahame in his last volume becomes *Americanis ipsis Americanior.*

An anonymous *Hist. of the American Revolution*, ascribed to the Rev. T. Shepherd, though sometimes to one Blake, was published in London (1830, 1834) by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.[5]

A popular narrative is Michael Doheny's *History of the American Revolution* (Dublin, 1846).

Events down to July, 1776, are epitomized in J. A. Doyle's *American Colonies previous to the Declaration of Independence* (London, 1869); and the whole course of the war is summarized in J. M. Ludlow's *War of American Independence, 1775–1783*;[6] and is similarly treated in Tannoch's *England during the European and American Wars, 1765–1820.*

The only general British history of much importance as respects the military conduct of the war, and of ittle value for its political observations, is the work which goes under the name of Stedman, though its author is said by Lowndes (without known authority) to have been a Dr. William Thompson: *The History of the origin, progress, and termination of the American War, by C. Stedman, who served under Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and the Marquis Cornwallis* (London, 1794, in two quarto volumes).[7] Smyth[8] says of Stedman that there "are some facts and anecdotes given by him not to be found in others; and he has the appearance, too, of being honest, and of speaking freely of what he thought." Stedman's view of the ability of Sir William Howe is low, and in his text we have a more deliberate opinion of Howe's incapacity than the equally derogatory judgment which was shared in England by many officers at the time, though Marshall thinks that greater spirit on Howe's part would have led him into conditions that might have exposed him to more danger than the spirit of inaction, which governed him, entailed. Smyth thinks that Lord George Germain's assertion that he would not reinforce Howe, when requested, because he did not think it necessary, was merely a way of avoiding the confession that, in the condition of England, he could not assist him. At Howe's urgency an investigation was held in Parliament, and the Debates record the evidence, mainly by Cornwallis and Grey on Howe's side, and by Robertson and Galloway on the part of Germain.[9]

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[1] Professor Henry P. Johnston published *Observations on Judge Jones' loyalist History of the American Revolution. How far is it an authority?* (New York, 1880). He claims that from 1776 to 1781 Jones was under parole and had no communication with either headquarters, so that he got no information but at second hand.

[2] In his edition of the book, Cambridge, 1841.

[3] Cf. Vol. V. p. 620.

[4] Vol. v. 69.

[5] It was reprinted at Boston in 1832; at Columbus, Ohio, in 1834; and at New York in 1844, 1846, 1847, 1854, 1860, and also in Spanish at New York in 1854 (Sabin, ii. 5783).

[6] One of the *Epochs of Modern History* series.

[7] The book is well supplied with Faden's maps, corrected somewhat from their original state, and is worth now about $15 or $20; but, with extra binding, will go as high as $45.

[8] Vol. ii. 462.

[9] The literature of this controversy consists of the following separate publications, beside the records of the Debates:—

Observations on the conduct of Sir W—— H—— at the White Plains, as related in the Gazette of Dec. 30, 1776 (London, 1779).

Two letters from Agricola to Sir William Howe; to which are annexed, by the same author, Political Observations (London, 1779) — equally severe on Howe and Burgoyne.

Historical Anecdotes, Civil and military, written from America, 1777–78, and Observations on the management of the War and the conduct of the Commanders (London, 1779). This is a loyalist production (Sabin, viii. 32,064).

The Examination of Joseph Galloway before the House of Commons (London, 1779).

Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the middle colonies [by Joseph Galloway] (London, 1779, two editions, and two in 1780).

The Narrative of Lieutenant-General Sir William Howe in a Committee of the House of Commons, 29 Apr. 1779, relative to his conduct during his late command in North America, to which are added some observations upon a pamphlet entitled Letters to a Nobleman (second ed., London, 1780). The volume also includes the testimony of Cornwallis and others. There was a third edition in 1781.

There was a French version of Howe's vindication published at La Haye and Rotterdam in 1781. It was called

Of the military histories of lesser importance, mention may be made of a *History of the War with America, France, Spain, and Holland, 1775–1783* (London, 1787); *A History of all the Engagements by sea and land that happened in America and Europe, 1775–1783*, "from accounts given by the secretaries of state and the admiralty board" (Manchester, Eng., 1787);[1] Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain*, 1804; Grant's *British Battles;* Admiral Charles Ekins' *Naval battles from 1744 to the peace in 1814* (London, 1824), which gives official documents; the various regimental *Historical Records;*[2] and special monographs, like Duncan's *Royal Regiment of Artillery* (London, 1872–73).

The Memoirs of Josias Rogers by Wm. Gilpin (London, 1808) is an account of a British naval officer who was on the coast during the American war, and spent a considerable time as a prisoner among the Americans.

Lieut.-Col. J. G. Simcoe's *Military Journal; a history of the operations of a Partisan Corps called the Queen's Rangers during the Revolution, with a memoir of the author* (privately printed at Exeter, 1787; reprinted in New York, 1844).[3]

Gen. Carrington (*Battles of the Revolution*) gives the official records of the British forces in America from 1775 to 1782, by statements made yearly or oftener.[4] The *London Mag.* (Feb., 1778, copied in *Bay State Monthly*, April, 1884) gives the British losses down to Burgoyne's surrender, as 29,098, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. Gen. Carrington printed in the *Bay State Monthly*, June, 1884, p. 395, a list of the British losses from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, as found in the Public Record Office.[5]

Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1881, pp. 322, 442, notes some of the characteristics of the English officers of the war, using some notes on that subject by Major Wemyss, which are preserved in the *Sparks MSS.* He mentions a rumor, not substantiated, that Lord Clive was thought of as the commander-in-chief, in the beginning. It is known that George III did not approve the selection of Gage, and suggested Sir Jeffery Amherst; and Samuel Quincy, writing from London, Aug., 1778, says Amherst had consented to succeed Gage.

Campagnes militaires du Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Howe en Amérique; d'après le compte rendu par lui-meme dans un comitée de la chambre de Communes, le 29 Avril, 1779. It has a preface, signed Nov. 25, 1780, not in the original.

A reply to the observations of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Wm. Howe on a pamphlet entitled Letters to a Nobleman, in which his misrepresentations are detected, etc.: to which is added an appendix containing, I. *A letter to Sir Wm. Howe upon his Strictures on Mr. Galloway's private character;* II. *A letter from Mr. Kirk to Sir Wm. Howe and his answer;* III. *A letter from a Committee to the President of Congress on the state of the rebel army at Valley Forge, found among the papers of Henry Laurens* [by Galloway] (London, 1780; 2d ed., with additions, Lond., 1781). The last letter is dated Valley Forge, Feb. 12, 1777, and is signed by Francis Dana, and sets forth the embarrassments of the army service.

A view of the evidence relative to the conduct of the American War under Sir Wm. Howe, Lord Howe, and Gen. Burgoyne, as given before a committee of the house of Commons; to which is added a Collection of the celebrated Fugitive Pieces that are said to have given rise to that enquiry (2d ed., London, 1779). It contains the evidence of Cornwallis, Grey, Montressor, Carleton, Balcarras, Robertson, Galloway, and others. The Appendix contains a letter from N. Y., Mar. 9, 1777; remarks on Howe's account of the Long Island fight; various letters appertaining to and criticisms on his campaign of 1777; Gov. Johnstone's speech (Mar. 22, 1779) on Howe's conduct. The third edition was called *The detail and conduct of the American War under Generals Gage, Howe, Burgoyne, and Vice-Admiral Lord Howe, with a very full and correct state of the whole evidence as given before a committee of the House of Commons, and the celebrated Fugitive Pieces which are said to have given rise to that important inquiry: The whole exhibiting a circumstantial, connected, and complete history of the real course, progress, and present state of the American Rebellion* (London, 1780, in three editions). Cf. Sabin, v. 19,774.

Sparks wrote in his copy of this book that its principal object was to attack the Howes and Burgoyne, and that "the facts are everywhere distorted, opinions are perverted by prejudice and a vindictive spirit, and the representations extravagant and often false."

Respecting the naval service, we have by Galloway *A letter to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount H——e on his naval conduct in the American War* (London, 1779), in which he compares the British and American fleets to Howe's disadvantage.

A candid and impartial narrative of the transactions of the fleet under the command of Lord Howe, with Observations by an officer then serving in the fleet (London, 1779).

A letter from Cicero to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount H——e, occasioned by his late speech in the H——e of C——ns [by Galloway] (Lond., 1781).

A copy of Stedman's History, annotated by Sir Henry Clinton, is in the Carter-Brown library, and a transcript of Clinton's notes is among the *Sparks MSS.* De Lancey used these Clinton notes in editing Jones's *New York during the Revolutionary War.* Clinton's *Observation on Mr. Stedman's History of the American War* (London, 1794) was privately reprinted (50 copies) in New York in 1864.

[1] Sabin, viii. 32,121.

[2] Cf. J. H. Lawrence-Archer's *British Army; its regimental records, badges, devices, etc.* (London, 1888).

[3] The original edition, which was without date, is very scarce. F. S. Ellis, *Catal.* (1884), no. 269, £21. Quaritch advertised a copy with the original drawings of the ten maps and MS. notes by Clinton. (*Catal.*, 1885, no. 29,710, £55; 1888, Jan., no. 175, £50.)

[4]

1775 (Boston)	9,147	1780, May	38,002
1776 (New York)	31,626	1780, Aug.	33,020
1777, June	20,957	1780, Dec.	33,766
1778, Aug.	33,756	1781, May	33,374
1779, Feb.	30,283	1781, Sept.	42,075
1779, May	33,458	1782, Jan. 1	40,469
1779, Dec.	38,569		

Cf. Sparks' *Washington*, v. 542. There is a drawing of a British Grenadier in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Jan., 1886; and in Smith's *Lit. and Hist. Curiosities.*

[5] Bunker Hill, 1054; Long Island, 400; Fort Washington, 454; Trenton (including prisoners), 1049; Hubbardton, 360; Bennington (not including prisoners), 207; Freeman Farm, 550; Bemis Heights, 500; Burgoyne Surrender, 5763; Forts Clinton and Montgomery, 190; Brandywine, 600; Germantown, 535; Monmouth (including deserters), 2400; Siege of Charleston, 265; Camden, 324; Cowpens, 724; Guilford Court House, 554; Hobkirk Hill, 258; Eutaw, 693; New London, 163; Yorktown, 552; Cornwallis surrendered, 7963.

John Adolphus wrote his *History of England* (1760–1783) as a continuation of Smollett, and published it in 1802. The last edition appeared 1840–46, in seven volumes. Sparks speaks[1] of the author's "arduous labors at an advanced age in procuring materials for his last and improved edition," but he pronounces the part touching the American war to "abound in important errors." Smyth deems that the writer's Tory instinct makes him always too indulgent to Parliament; but credits him with putting the reader "very fairly in possession of the views and arguments of Lord Chatham and others who opposed the [coercive] system." The aim of Adolphus was to relieve the pride of his countrymen of the charge of political folly, and to make the proceedings of the colonists appear unreasonable. For this he found willing readers, as the publication of four large editions in less than forty years has proved.

The reign of George the Third has had special treatment, more or less illustrating the war and the attendant feelings in England, in a *History of the Second Ten Years of the Reign of George the Third, 1770–1780*, (London, 1782);[2] in *Political Memoirs, or a view of some of the first operations of the war after the French notification, as they were regarded by foreigners* (London, 1782).[3]

Belsham's *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Third* (1760–1793) was published in 1795–1801, and was later embodied in his *History of Great Britain* (1806). It is a somewhat earnest presentation of the antiministerial motives.

George Robertson's *History of the reign of George the Third; in which are narrated the most memorable events of this period; particularly the American war, the French revolution, and the contest closed by the battle of Waterloo* (London, 1815).

As supplementing the regular histories, we must turn to the memoirs of contemporary public characters, and to the lives which have since been written of them. Prominent among such material is the *Memoirs of the Reign of George III., by Horace Walpole, edited with notes by Sir Denis Lemarchant* (London, 1845, in four volumes). It covers the first twelve years (1760–1772), and Walpole's changing estimates of his contemporaries show the shades of opinion through which he passed as the years of its composition went on. His reports of debates in Parliament are valuable. The record may be made complete by his *Last Journals*, or, as the title reads, the *Journals of the Reign of King George the Third, 1771–1783, edited with notes by Dr. Doran* (London, 1859, in two vols., with portraits of John Wilkes and Lord North), and by the *Letters of Horace Walpole*, as edited by Cunningham — in all of which there are frequent comments and records, which show how Walpole's wit made some hard thrusts at the weaknesses of the ministry.[4]

Other important running commentaries on contemporary politics, each more or less touching the American question, are Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall's *Historical and Posthumous Memoirs, 1772–1789;*[5] the lives correspondence, and speeches of Chatham;[6] the *Memoirs of Rockingham;*[7] the *Correspondence of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, selected from the originals at Woburn Abbey, with an introduction by Lord John Russell* (London, 1842, in three volumes), which ceases to be of help after 1770; the *Grenville Papers, being the correspondence of Richard and George Grenville, their friends and contemporaries, edited with notes by William James Smith* (London, 1852, in four volumes); Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, with selections from his Papers and Correspondence* (London, 1875–76, vol. i., covering 1737–1766; ii. 1766–1776; iii. 1776–1805). The *Correspondence of Edmund Burke* has never been entirely published; but we have an edition printed in 1844 (London, 4 vols.), edited by Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Bourke. The various editions of his *Works* enable us to trace his Parliamentary arguments on the American question, but they have none of his private letters. The several accounts of his life examine his position in respect to the American war. The earliest of any importance is Prior's *Memoir of Burke* (London, 1826). The Rev. George Croly's *Memoirs of the political life of Edmund Burke* was published at London in 1840. The most important life is that by Macknight.[8] The latest account is John Morley's *Edmund Burke, a Historical Study* (London, 1867).

Lord John Russell's *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox* (London, 1853–54, in three vols.) is a somewhat disordered work, but of great value, and it has afforded the groundwork of a better book, *The Life and Times of Fox* (London, 1866, in three vols.), likewise prepared by Earl Russell, as the editor was later styled.

George Otto Trevelyan's *Early Hist. of Charles James Fox* (London, third ed., 1881) takes Fox through his connection with the ministerial party, and his secession from it in 1774. "Nowhere else," says C. K. Adams,[9] "are the corruptions of the old methods and the follies of the policy of George III. so graphically and powerfully described."[10]

The inquiries among the English State Papers, which were instigated by Sparks, led to the opinion being entertained by the British government that the English side of the story "would bear telling and ought to be told," and Robert Southey was approached to see if he would undertake it. Southey declined, but in 1832 he recommended the subject as "a fine one" to Lord Mahon, and urged his taking it, as "its history would vindicate the honor of this country, at the same time that it rendered full justice to the opposite cause."[1] In due time Mahon undertook the task as a component part of his *History of England, 1713–1783* (fifth ed. revised, London, 1858), of which the events previous to 1774 are treated in vol. v., those for 1774 to 1780 in vol. vi., and the close of the war in vol. vii.[2] The account of the Revolution is on the whole a temperate one, and the reader is "impressed with the sincerity and general fairness of the writer;" and must recognize "the diligence and depth of his researches."[3] The style of the book is hardly a polished one, and his reflections are mostly too obvious to be called for.

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[1] *Letter to Mahon*, p. 39.

[2] Sabin, vii. 26,998; viii. 32,210.

[3] Sabin, xv. 63,785.

[4] There are some biting characterizations of the several British commanders-in-chief, — in the *Last Journals*, ii. 499, 500, for instance.

[5] See Vol. VII. index.

[6] See Vol. VI. p. 112.

[7] See Vol. VII. index.

[8] See Vol. VII. index.

[9] *Manual of Hist. Lit.*, p. 524.

[10] See further in Vol. VII. index.

Lecky (*Hist. of England*, i. p. vi) says of his predecessor: "Lord Stanhope was not able to bring to his task the artistic talent, the power, or the philosophical insight of some of his contemporaries; but no one can have studied with care the period about which he wrote without a feeling of deep respect for the range and accuracy of his research, for his very unusual skill of selecting facts, and for his transparent honesty of purpose."

Among the more recent general histories of England, reference may be made to the Reign of George the Third in the *Pictorial History of England*, with its decided Tory bearing; Wm. Massey's *History of England during the reign of George III.* (London, 1855–1863, vol. i., covering 1745–1770; ii., 1770–80; iii., 1781–93; iv., 1793–1802), judicial in tone, with a tendency to be severe on the king; Viscount Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations*, in which (vol. ii. ch. 10) is a severe arraignment of Grenville's policy, while in his condensed narrative there is more or less confounding of events, particularly those of local bearing; Knight's *Popular Hist. of England*, which represents the average British view; and for the political changes, Charles Duke Yonge's *Constitutional History of England* (London, 1882). Buckle's *Hist. of Civilization*, chapter vii., dwells on the political degeneracy of the times.[4] Wright traces the daily humors in his *Caricature History of the Georges.*

W. E. H. Lecky, in the third and fourth volumes of his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, tells in most respects the story of the Revolution admirably, and for its extent his narrative is hardly equalled. His foot-notes show that he had used the most essential authorities, and he is both judicious and careful. Reasonable Americans will hardly dispute his principal conclusions. He teaches[5] them to understand that the "patriots" of the Revolution were no more superlative heroes than the men which troublous times amid jealous excitements commonly produce. He gives[6] a very explicit account of the way in which the king dominated the methods of the war.

At a late day of the war appeared a *View of the history of Great Britain, during the administration of Lord North, to the second session of the fifteenth parliament. In two parts. With statements of the public expenditure of that period* (Dublin, 1782). This was recast in a more concise form by Hilliard d'Auberteuil, who added a narrative of the war, and published it in Paris in 1784, in two volumes, as *Histoire de l'administration de Lord North, ministre des finances en Angleterre, depuis 1770 jusqu'en 1782, et de la guerre de l'Amérique septentrionale jusqu'à la paix, suivie du tableau historique des finances d'Angleterre, depuis Guillaume III. jusqu'en 1784* (Londres, 1784).[7]

There is as yet no English general history of the United States of distinctive value. The one prepared by Henry Fergus for *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia* (London, 1830) did its inadequate service fifty years ago. The more pretentious *History and Topography of the United States*, edited by John Howard Hinton, was finished as a subscription serial in 1832, with plates. It told the story of the Revolution without reference to Lexington and Bunker Hill. Samuel L. Knapp revised it, and it was issued at Boston in two quarto volumes in 1834. It passed to later editions in England, and was again amended and extended in another American edition by Dr. John O. Choules. Mr. W. H. Bartlett, the draughtsman, began a *History of the United States* (London, 1856), but the continuation and completion of it fell to B. B. Woodward. It appeared in three large volumes, the first coming down to 1789, the second to the administration, and the third to the period of publication. What is known as *Cassell's United States* (London, 1876) is a three-volume quarto pictorial publication, assigned to Edmund Ollier on the title-page, and Col. Joseph L. Chester, an American antiquary resident in London, is said to have been concerned in it. The latest is Percy Greg's *History of the United*

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[1] Mahon's (Stanhope's) *England*, vi. app: p. i.

[2] It was originally published in six volumes, 1836–51, some of the early volumes undergoing revision before the whole was completed. A third revision took place in 1853–54. Stanhope died in 1875. Cf. Edwards' *Men of Eminence* (London), vol. i.; Doyle's *Official Baronage*, iii. 408. There is an American edition edited by Henry Reed, whom the English author thanks for "his great care and accuracy" (Mahon, v. 73).

[3] R. C. Winthrop, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 193. Palfrey, however, of his earlier edition said that he felt very confident that Mahon had never seen Hutchinson's *History* (cf. N. Amer. Rev., July, 1852; Jan., 1855; *International Mag.*, v. 164).

[4] Buckle (ch. vii.) dwells on the barbarities of the British mode of warfare, and cites his authorities. Lecky (iv. 106) thinks it difficult to measure the barbarities exactly because of the American exaggerations.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 113.

[6] Vol. iv. 76.

[7] There is a German translation by A. Wittenberg (Hamburg, 1783), and a Spanish one (Madrid, 1806). Sabin, viii. 31,901–3. The personal characteristics of the king and the quality of his relations with North have at last been set forth explicitly in *The Correspondence of King George III. with Lord North, 1768–1783, edited from Originals at Windsor, with an introduction and notes by W. Bodham Donne* (London, 1867, in two volumes). In this book it was first made apparent that the minister for five years had, against his own judgment, done the king's bidding in sustaining the war. The popular estimate of North has been by this book considerably changed.

States from the foundation of Virginia to the reconstruction of the Union (London, 1887, in 2 vols.), which has a Southern partisan tone, and some surprising turns of observation.

3. French.— The *Courier de l'Europe*, a French journal published in London, had ceased, owing to a diversity of opinion as to editorial management, and was succeeded in May, 1777, by the *Courier politique et literaire, annoncés et avis divers: a French Evening Post*, to be conducted "on the subject of politics, strictly impartial (with decency) to all parties." It was continued to 1785,—making 18 vols. in all, and contains current records relating to the War of Independence. There is a set in Harvard College library.

The *Mémoires* of Lafayette are noted elsewhere. Scheffer, who wrote a *Histoire des États-Unis* (Paris, 1825), is said by Balch to have received some assistance from Lafayette.

An aid of Lafayette, Comte de Moret de Pontgibaud, is commemorated in the *Mémoires du Comte de M...., précédés de Cinq lettres, ou considérations sur les mémoires particuliers* [par le Comte C. M. de Salaberry] (Paris, 1828).[1]

The *Mémoires politiques, historiques, et politiques de Rochambeau* were published at Paris in 1809, and an English translation of the portion relating to the American Revolution, by M. W. E. Wright, was printed at Paris in 1838.[2]

Of Rochambeau's officers we possess several of their own memoirs. The *Souvenirs du lieut.-général Comte Mathieu Dumas, publiés par son fils* (Paris, 1839, in 3 vols.), and the English edition, *Memoirs of his own Times* (London, 1839). The *Mémoires de Monsieur le duc de Lauzun par lui-même* (Paris, 1822).[3] The *Mémoires du Comte de Ségur* were printed in Paris in 1825 and 1842, and an English translation at London in 1825-27.[4]

Balch, during his sojourn in Paris, brought to light a MS. journal of Claude Blanchard, chief commissary, 1780-83, of the French army, which was translated by William Duane and edited by Thomas Balch, and was printed at Albany in 1876. It has few military details.[5]

Rochambeau probably either wrote himself, or perhaps only dictated, that account of his American expedition[6] which forms a part of the *Histoire des troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise, écrite d'après les mémoires les plus authentiques*,[7] by François Soulès, which was published in Paris in 1787, in four volumes.[8] Sparks[9] calls this history the best written and most authentic in the French language, and says that the portion relating to the movements of Rochambeau's army is nearly identical with a narrative later published in Rochambeau's *Mémoires*. A large part of Soulès' book was, Sparks further says, read in manuscript by Rochambeau and the minister of war.[10]

The *Révolution de l'Amérique* of the Abbé Raynal was issued in 1781,[11] with the imprint of Londres, but the book is thought to have been actually printed at Geneva.[12]

A work of Michel René Hilliard d'Auberteuil was published at Brussels in 1781-82, under the general title of *Essais historiques et politiques*, the first volume reading, in addition, *sur les Anglo-Américains*, and the second, *sur la révolution de l'Amérique septentrionale*.[13]

J. Mandrillon's *Le Spectateur Américain, ou remarques générales sur l'Amérique et sur la République des treize États-Unis* (Amsterdam, 1784; 2d ed., enlarged, 1785).

Odet Julien Leboucher's *Histoire de la dernière guerre entre la Grand Bretagne, les États-Unis d'Amé-*

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[1] Balch, p. 15.

[2] Cf. Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, p. 111. For R. C. Winthrop's visit to the chateau of Rochambeau, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 99.

[3] An edition, under the supervision of Louis Lacour, was printed in 1855; but, interdicted for a while, it was republished in 1858 (Sabin, x. nos. 39,271-72). An edition was published at Paris in 1880, with an introductory study of Lauzun and his memoirs by Georges d'Heylli. There was an English edition in London (1822).

[4] Cf. Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators*, p. 117. The *Mémoires ou souvenirs et anecdotes* form vols. i.-iii. of his *Œuvres complètes*, published at Paris in 33 vols., 1824-1830.

[5] Cf. Balch, *Les Français en Amérique*, p. 8; *Revue militaire française* (1869). The original text has since been printed in Paris (1881) as *Guerre d'Amérique 1780-1783. Journal de campagne de Claude Blanchard, commissaire des guerres principal au Corps Auxiliaire Français sous le commandement du lieutenant-général comte de Rochambeau.*

[6] Balch, p. 16.

[7] Leclerc, *Bibl. Amer.*, no. 1014. A German translation was published at Zurich in 1788.

[8] A "Mémoire sur la guerre de l'independance des États-Unis, à date de l'arrivée du corps français, 1780, ecrit par Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau, par ordre du ministre pour le Sieur François Solés, auteur," is in the *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1884), vol. iv. pp. 343-376.

[9] *Washington*, viii. 135.

[10] Cf. *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii.

[11] Two editions this year, one of 171, the other of 183 pages.

[12] An edition also appeared at Dublin. There was the same year (1781) a Dutch translation at Amsterdam, and an English one, *Revolution in America*, at London. In 1782 another English version, *Revolution of America*, was published at Salem, and at Edinburgh in 1783. Sometimes, but probably falsely, attributed to Raynal is the *Tableau et révolutions des Colonies Anglaises dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1788). Cf. *Letter addressed to the Abbé Raynal on the affairs of North America, in which the mistakes of the Abbé's account of the Revolution of America are corrected and cleared up by Thomas Paine* (Philadelphia; reprinted in London, 1782), and a French version by Cerisier, Brussels, 1783.

[13] Sabin, viii. p. 295. There were octavo editions in 1781 and 1784, and a quarto edition in 1782. The list given (vol. ii. 413) by Hilliard d'Auberteuil on the French officers in the American service is reprinted in the *Mag. of American History*, June, 1879. Hilliard d'Auberteuil sent various copies of his *Essais*, through Franklin, to gentlemen in America, to be corrected for a new edition (Bigelow's *Franklin*, iii. 203).

rique, la France, l'Espagne, et la Hollande depuis son commencement en 1775 jusqu'à sa fin en 1783, was published anonymously at Paris in 1787, and, with a slightly changed title, in 1788. The title was further changed to *Histoire de la guerre de l'indépendance* in the Paris edition of 1830.

Filippo Mazzei, who lived several years in Virginia, is held to be the author of *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale par un citoyen de Virginie, avec quatre lettres d'un bourgeois de New Heaven sur l'unité de la legislation* (Colle, 1788), in four volumes. Lafayette told Sparks that he deemed the book authentic and worthy of confidence.

Guillaume Tell Poussin's *Les États-Unis d'Amérique, 1815-1873* (Paris, 1874), has appeared in an English version.

Count Adolphe de Circourt, in translating and annotating that part of Bancroft's *United States* which contains his account of the French alliance, had published it separately as *Histoire de l'action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1876), making three volumes, in the second of which the translator embodied some *Conclusions Historiques* of his own, in which he gave a summary of the rise and progress of American independence. This paper, translated into English and furnished with a preface by its author, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, Oct., 1876. Circourt's third volume is documentary.

Of the monographs on the Revolution and of those broader histories which include accounts of it, but which are all of little importance, mention may be made of a few: —

Abrégé de la Révolution de l'Amérique Anglaise (1774-1778) par M.... Américain (Paris, 1778). The author was Paul Ulric Dubuisson.[1]

The Abbé Pierre Charpentier de Longchamps' *Histoire impartiale des évènemens militaires et politiques de la dernière guerre [1775-1783], dans les quatre parties du monde* (Paris, 1785; 3d ed., revised and enlarged, Amsterdam, 1787).

Chas and Lebrun's *Histoire politique et philosophique de la révolution de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1802).

Chevalier de Langeac's *Anecdotes anglaises et américaines. Années 1776 à 1783*, published anonymously in Paris, 1813.[2]

P. J. S. Dufey's *Résumé de l'histoire des Révolutions de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1826, in two volumes).

Edward Laboulaye's *Histoire des États-Unis, 1620-1789* (Paris, 1856-66; 2d ed., 1867). The second of its three volumes covers the Revolutionary war, and is the substance of lectures given by him at the College de France, which were planned for the enlightenment of French students, without effort at original research.[3]

Frédérick Nolte's *Histoire des États-Unis de l'Amérique depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1879), in two vols.

The centennial of 1876 brought from the Marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord an *Étude sur la république des États-Unis d'Amérique, 1776-1876* (New York, 1876).

The participation of the French in the Revolutionary war has several special treatments: —

J. F. Milliroux's *Confédération Américaine* (Paris, 1861) gives France the credit of the success of the Revolution.

Thomas Balch's *Les Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'indépendance des États-Unis, 1777-1783* (Paris, 1872), gives notices of the French regiments and officers. Edwin Martin Stone's *Our French allies in the great war of the American Revolution* (Providence, 1884) was occasioned by the visit of the French representatives to Newport at the time of the anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown.

Léon Chotteau's *La Guerre de l'indépendance (1775-1783); les français en Amérique, avec une préface par Edouard Laboulaye*, reached a third edition in Paris in 1882. There is also a paper on the French participation in the *Revue militaire française* (1870, vol. ii.).[4]

The most important contribution of this kind, however, is Doniol's *Participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis*, which is not yet, however, completed.[5]

The naval aspects of the French participation is traced in Edouard Chevalier's *Histoire de la marine Française pendant la guerre de l'indépendance Américaine* (Paris, 1877).[6]

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[1] A German translation, *Historischer Abriss*, etc., was published at Berne in 1779. Cf. *Vorstellung der Staatsveränderung in Nordamerika von den ersten Unruhen im Jahr 1774 bis zu dem Bündniss der Krone Frankreichs mit den Kolonien, von einem Amerikaner* (Zweyte Auflage. Bern, 1784).

[2] Cf. *Amerikanische Anekdoten aus den neuesten Zeiten. Ein Auszug aus dem Französischen* (Leipzig, 1789).

[3] C. K. Adams, *Manual of Hist. Literature*, p. 534. The book is becoming rare

[4] A French critical sketch of the military operations is in the *Political Mag.*, iii. 459.

[5] See Vol. VII. p. 79.

[6] *Extrait du journal d'un officier de la marine de l'Escadre de M. le Comte d'Estaing* (1782); *Relation des combats et des évènements de la guerre maritime, par Y. J. Kerguélen* (Paris, 1796); Hennequin's *Biographie maritime ou notices historiques sur la vie et les campagnes des marins célèbres* (Paris, 1835-1837, in three vols.).

There is a memoir by Sydney Everett of the commander of the French fleet at Newport in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (Oct., 1873, p. 404); and an account of his death there, and monument, in E. M. Stone's *French Allies* (p. 341).

4. GERMAN AND ITALIAN. — The most valuable contributions in German to the history of the Revolution have been the later monographs of Kapp on Steuben and De Kalb, and sundry books respecting the mercenaries of Hesse and Brunswick, of which more detailed mention is made elsewhere.

Julius August Remer published at Braunschweig in 1777-78, in three volumes, his *Amerikanisches Archiv.*[1]

Among the earlier subsidiary works, though not of much importance, are Adam Friedrich Geisler's *Kurze Karakter- und Thaten-schilderungen* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1784), which gives some account of British and of German auxiliary officers of the war;[2] Schlözer's *Correspondenz* (Göttingen, 1781), which gives some characteristics of the American officers;[3] and M. C. Sprengel's *Geschichte der Revolution von N. Amerika* (Speyer, 1785), which is a small treatise with a map of the States based on Faden's.

The most considerable German history of the United States is K. F. Neumann's *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Berlin, 1866, in three vols.), which is enthusiastically Northern in its tone. It comes down to the inauguration of Lincoln.[4]

H. von Holst's *Verfassung und Demokratie der Vereinigten Staaten* (Düsseldorf, 1873, etc.) is more particularly described in another place. See Vol. VII, index.

Some of the military criticisms of Heinrich Dietrich von Bülow, translated from his *Militärische und Vermischte Schriften* (Leipzig, 1853), are in the *Historical Magazine*, ix. 105, 141.

In the early years of this century an Italian, Carlo Botta, instigated by the talk which he heard in a Paris salon,[5] set to work on a history of the American Revolution, and, as the *Storia della guerra Americana*,[6] published it in Paris in 1809, in four volumes.[7] The work was enthusiastically received, and until Bancroft's volumes on the Revolution appeared, was generally held to be the best account of the struggle, though his method of putting long speeches into the mouths of the leading personages provoked some criticism, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson particularly taking exception to them.[8] Adams, though in his letters he expresses no favorable opinion of it,[9] praised it to the American translator. Jefferson called it superior to all others. Grahame, in the preface to his latest edition, says he was deterred from giving the history of the Revolution by the excellence of Botta's work, "of so much merit and so well suited to the present era." Prescott in 1855 still called it the best, and Bancroft so late as 1875 called it admirable.[10]

There is also a *Storia delle Colonie Inglesi in America*, by C. D. Londonio (Milano, 1813, in 3 vols.), which includes the Revolutionary war.

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[1] Sabin, xvii. 69,549.

[2] Sabin, vii. no. 26,843.

[3] *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vi. 125.

[4] C. K. Adams' *Manual*, 535. Von Holst disparages it (Eng. transl. i. 240).

[5] G. W. Greene, *German Element in the War of Independence*, p. vii. Cf. Prescott's *Essays*, p. 209.

[6] *Storia della guerra del independenza degli stati uniti d'America* is the title which Botta gave his book, and the publisher furnished the shorter title. He affixes a list of the English and French books on which he based his work, — among them are Gordon, Ramsay, Andrews, Marshall, Hilliard d'Auberteuil, Soulès.

[7] It was reprinted at Milano in 1819 in four volumes; and at Livorno in 1825-26 in seven volumes. A French translation appeared at Paris in 1812-13, in four volumes, edited by M. de Sevelinges. The French preface was translated in the Milan edition. The French publisher had already in 1808 printed a French translation of Marshall's *Washington*, and had reëngraved Marshall's *Atlas*, which was now added to the French Botta, as well as an engraving of Stuart's Washington, made originally for the French version of Marshall. Botta was translated into English by George Alexander Otis of Boston, and published at Philadelphia in 1820, in three volumes, at Boston in 1826 in two volumes, and at New Haven (1838) and Glasgow (1844) and Buffalo (1854) — not to name other editions. Cf. *North Amer. Review* (vol. xiii.) by F. C. Gray; and *Letters and other writings of Madison*, iii. 32, 201, 203.

[8] Adams (*Works*, x. 172), referring to a speech on independence given to R. H. Lee, writes to Thomas McKean of it "as a splendid morsel of oratory — how faithful you can judge." Botta contended that the speeches were genuine reproductions of their authors, or of the parties to which the alleged speakers belonged, though he confesses to have added some embellishment to the speeches of Richard Henry Lee and John Dickinson, for and against independence.

[9] *Works*, x. 177.

[10] *United States*, orig. ed., x. 131.

THE EDITOR'S FINAL STATEMENT.

The plan of this work was developed and arrangements were made for its progress in March, 1881, while the Editor had still in hand another coöperative work, *The Memorial History of Boston.* When his purpose was brought to the attention of the Massachusetts Historical Society, that body marked its interest in the undertaking by appointing an advisory committee, which consisted of ROBERT C. WINTHROP, then its President, GEORGE E. ELLIS, and CHARLES DEANE, then Vice-Presidents, HENRY W. TORREY, then the leading professor of history in Harvard University, and FRANCIS PARKMAN, the historian of New France. Affiliations were sought and obtained with other historical societies here and in other countries through some of their members, who had given special attention to the fields of research that it was purposed to cover. In this way the assistance has been obtained of thirty-nine different writers.

The Editor had a definite purpose in his mind when he undertook this History, which was to add a distinctly critical treatment to the combined authorship which had characterized the earlier work. His intention was not to offer a model for the general writing of history, based on a coöperative and critical method. There is no substitute for the individuality of an historian.

His experience during many years in charge of large libraries resorted to by scholars, had made it very clear to his own mind that there was a value, at intervals of time, both for the writer and for the student, in grouping the original material which had come to light, so that the facilities of the historian should be understood. There was an almost equal advantage in making apparent what had already been done in the use of such material.

The Editor had also learned the importance of the monograph as rounding the treatment of any phase of history, in a way rarely accomplished in more comprehensive work. He thought, too, that he had discovered how the eye which surveys the broader field loses in some degree its sense of adjustment to narrower details, both of action and record, which characterize the monograph and which belong to the province of the specialist in historical research. It might, he thought, be no small gain to bring such specialists into unison, side by side, in the elucidation of the broader aspects of American history.

It was further believed that the field of historical geography was more intimately connected with that of history in general than had usually been recognized; and that it was difficult to see how any period of discovery could be understood without a constant apprehension of the geographical conditions which the discoverers supposed they were dealing with.

It was felt also that there is a necessary sympathy between the graphic illustrations belonging to a period under observation and the progress of its events; and that a certain wrong is done to the critical sense if other pictorial associations are established.

It was to be expected that the plan would show in its development certain deficiencies, that are more easily avoided in the ordinary methods of writing history. While the several narratives aimed to be condensations of existing knowledge, the degree of compression would vary with the mental characteristics of the several writers; and comparing one narrative with another, there might be want of continuity, change of style, and contrasts of treatment. There was likely, too, to be disproportion in the critical essays and their attendant notes; since the amplitude of detail was to be determined quite as much by the material to be worked upon as by the importance of the topic, and the two were not sure to be in accurate correlation.

In reference to his own functions, the Editor would say, that, while he has attempted, from the vantage-ground naturally belonging to such a supervisor, to do something towards unifying the several chapters, in regard to spirit and general scope, beyond what was possible for the several writers to do, who were not generally in correspondence with one another, he has at the same time left them free in the expression of opinions; so that in one chapter and another a diversity of view may appear. If the intent of the book be considered, this will not appear an unfortunate conjunction, inasmuch as one of its chief purposes is to reflect the opinions of those most entitled to be heard, — and these may often be at variance. In such matters as Old and New Style in chronology, and in the spelling of proper names, he has not thought it necessary to make the different writers conform, but has allowed their several preferences to prevail.

Necessarily much of the Editor's work is not patent; but he has made some parts palpable by affixing his mark, to relieve his fellow-workers of any responsibility which should attach to himself alone. These supplements to the well-directed labors of his coadjutors have been seen in proof by the several writers, and they have kindly and freely given the Editor the benefit of their judgment. Upon no one of his friends, however, has he been more constantly dependent than upon Dr. DEANE.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
September, 1889.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONSPECTUS OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

⁂ Treatment of the geological and prehistoric periods will be found in Volume I. Events of other continents asso-ciated with the progress of opinion as respects the existence of a western world and associated with the course of history n America are also included, so far as they are mentioned in the present work. The publication of books, cardinal in egard to the progress of historic knowledge, has also been noted, as well as the making of maps defining the condition of geographical views at their respective dates.

X Cent. B. C. Homer's geographical views, i. 39; Brasseur de Bourbourg begins Mexican history 955 B. C., i. 155.
VII Cent. B. C. The Greeks under Colæus sail west, i. 25.
VI Cent. B. C. Spherical shape of the earth taught, i. 2.
V Cent. B. C. The Carthaginians sail west under Hanno and Hamilco, i. 25.
The Pirua dynasty is held to have begun in Peru, i. 225.
IV Cent. B. C. Plato and the story of Atlantis, i. 15, 41; Aelian cites Theopompus about Western islands, i. 21; Pytheas and Euthymenes explore the Western ocean, 26; views of Aristotle, 28, 37; of Pytheas, 34.
III Cent. B. C. Eratosthenes measures the size of the earth, i. 4.
II Cent. B. C. Geographical ideas of Marinus of Tyre, Polybius, and Hipparchus, i. 8, 34.
I Cent. B. C. Sertorius hears of the Atlantic islands, i. 26; references in Virgil and Horace, 27; geographical ideas of Strabo and Posidonius, 27, 34; the dream of Scipio in Cicero, 36; Diodorus Siculus on the Carthaginian discovery of America, 41; strange men cast on the German coast, 26.

I Cent. A. D. Plutarch's *Morals* and the Saturnian continent, i. 23; Seneca's prophecy, 27, 29; Roman voyages to America, 41; Pomponius Mela's *Cosmographia*, i. 35; ii. 180.
II Cent. A. D. Ptolemy's geographical views, i. 34; ii 95, 165; St. Clement and the world beyond the ocean, i. 37.
III Cent. A. D. The geographical views of Solinus, i. 35; ii. 182.
IV Cent. A. D. The compass known in the Indian Ocean, ii. 94.
From the fourth to the seventh century the Nahuas occupy the Mexican plateau, i. 137.
V Cent. A. D. The cosmological theories of Macrobius, i. 11; ii. 28; Proclus and the Atlantis myth, i. 35.
The Chinese alleged to have reached Fousang, i. 78.
VI Cent. A. D. King Arthur in Iceland, i. 60.
The Toltecs reach Mexico, and the building of Teotihuacan, i. 139, 182.
503. Mexican history begins according to Ixtlilxochitl, i. 156.
577. *May 16.* St. Brandan died, i. 48.
596. Mexican history begins according to Clavigero, i. 155.
VII Cent. A. D. Harrisse claims that the Basques frequented the American coast, i. 75.
697. Vetia begins Mexican history, i. 155.
VIII Cent. A. D. The Venerable Bede taught the sphericity of the earth, i. 31.
Northmen said to be in Greenland, i. 61.
714. Antillia, or the Island of the Seven Cities, settled from Spain, i. 31.
IX Cent. A. D. The Irish in Iceland, i. 60.
830. The Pirua dynasty fell, in Peru, i. 225.
835. Greenland inhabited, i. 61.
875. The Norse in Iceland, i. 61.
876. Gunnbiorn sees a western land, i. 61.
X Cent. A. D. **983–85.** Eric in Greenland, i. 61.
986. Bjarni's voyage S. W. from Greenland, i. 63.
Are Marson finds Huitramannaland, i. 82.
The Totul Xius held to be in Yucatan in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, i. 153.
XI Cent. A. D. End of the Toltec power in Mexico, i. 140.
The Arabs explore the Atlantic in this and the following century, i. 72.
1000. Leif in Vinland, i. 63, 87.
1006. Thorfinn Karlsefne in Vinland, i. 65.
XII Cent. A. D. Edrisi, Arab geographer, i. 72.
Bandelier holds that Mexican tradition stops, i. 155.
The Quiches and Cakchiquels in Guatemala, i. 150.
The Catalans and Basques use the compass, ii. 94.
The Heimskringla and other Sagas first written, i. 84, 91.
1121. A bishop in Vinland, i. 65.
1135. Existing runes on an island in the Baltic attest Norse occupancy, i. 87.

1153. Indians said to have been thrown on the German coast, i. 26, 74.

1170. Prince Madoc and the Welsh sail westerly, i. 71, 109, 111.

XIII Cent. A. D. — 1240. The Inca rule begins in Peru and lasts till 1523, i. 225, 232. Kublai Khan supposed to visit Peru, i. 82.

1267. Roger Bacon completed his *Opus Major* and held to the sphericity of the earth, i. 31; ii. 28.

XIV Cent. A. D. The Codex Flatoyensis and other oldest existing Sagas written, i. 84, 89, 90.

The Basques said to frequent the Newfoundland coast, i. 75.

The Zeni hear of Drogeo and Estotiland, i. 111.

1306. Map of Marino Sanuto, the beginning of Atlantic cartography, i. 53.

1325. Mexico city founded, — the earliest fixed date in ancient Mexican history, i. 133, 144.

1327–78. Madeira discovered between these dates by Machin, ii. 38.

1347. Latest tidings of Vinland, i. 65.

1349. Eskimos appear in Greenland, i. 107.

1351. A Portolano shows the Azores, ii. 38.

Brazil (island) shown in a map, i. 49.

1357. Techotl, a Chichimec ruler, dies, i. 146.

1367–73. Pizigani's maps of the Atlantic, i. 54, 55.

1375. Catalan Mappemonde, i. 55; ii. 38.

1380. The Memorial of Tecpan-Atitlan begins, according to Brinton, i. 167.

XV Cent. A. D. Communication with Greenland ceases, i. 68.

1402. Béthencourt settles the Canaries, ii. 36.

1409. The Latin version of Ptolemy first made, ii. 27.

1410. Pierre d'Ailly's *Ymago Mundi* written, ii. 28, 29; with a map, 95.

1415. The Tepanecs (Mexico) invade Tezcuco, i. 146.

1418–20. Madeira rediscovered by the Portuguese, ii. 38.

1418. Prince Henry's school of nautical observation at Sagres, ii. 40.

1424. Antillia first in maps, i. 49.

1427. The Claudius Clavus map gives the earliest delineation of any part of America (Greenland), i. 117; ii. 28.

1434. The Portuguese push their discoveries down the African coast beyond Cape Bojador, ii. 40.

1435–1456. Columbus born between these dates, ii. 83. Harrisse says about 1445, ii. 89.

1436. Variation of the needle shown on maps, ii. 94.

Andrea Bianco, map of the Atlantic, i. 54, 55; ii. 38, 94.

1439. Valsequa's chart of the Atlantic, ii. 174.

1440–69. Montezuma I. (Mexico), i. 147.

1444. Biscayans said to have discovered Western lands, i. 75.

1447. Antillia rediscovered, i. 31.

A Portuguese ship driven westward to land, i. 75.

1451. *Mar. 9.* Vespucius born, ii. 129.

1455. Sea chart of Bart. Pareto, i. 56

1457. The Cape of Good Hope prefigured in maps, ii. 41.

1458, *etc.* The maps of Leardo, i. 56.

1459. Fra Mauro's map of the Atlantic, i. 117, 120; ii. 94.

1460. The Cape de Verde islands found, ii. 39.

1461–90. Atlantic charts of the Benincasas, i. 56.

1463–64. Cortereal on the Newfoundland coasts, ii. 33.

The Dutch said to be on the Newfoundland coast, i. 75.

1467. Map discovered by Nordenskjöld shows Greenland, i. 117.

1470. Columbus dreaming of a Western land ii. 24.

1470–84. Columbus in Portugal, ii. 1, 2.

1470 (?). Nicholas Donis' map (Ptolemy of 1482), — the earliest engraved map to show Greenland, i. 118; ii. 28.

1471. Earliest edition of Pomponius Mela, ii. 28, 180.

1472. Edition of Strabo, ii. 25.

1472–83. The first edition of Pierre d'Ailly falls between these dates, ii. 28.

1473. Leonardo da Vinci said to have written to Columbus respecting a Western passage, ii. 31.

Harrisse's date for Columbus leaving Italy ii. 90.

Solinus first printed, i. 35.

1474. Columbus corresponds with Toscanelli i. 51; ii. 2, 30; and sees his map, i. 56; ii. 101 103.

Bartholomew Las Casas born, ii. 303.

1475. Latin version of Ptolemy printed, i. 34 ii. 27.

1475–1506. The Ephemerides of Regiomontanus, — the calculations probably used by Columbus, ii. 96.

1475. Works of L. Annaeus Seneca first printed, i. 35.

1476. Skolno on the Labrador coast, i. 76 ii. 34.

1477. Æneas Sylvius' *Historia*, — used by Columbus, ii. 31.

Feb. Columbus in Iceland, i. 61, 96; ii. 33

Marco Polo's travels first printed, ii. 30.

1480. Brazil island searched for, i. 50.

1482. Toscanelli died, ii. 30.

1484. Regiomontanus adapts the astrolabe fo sea use, ii. 97.

Columbus goes to Spain, ii. 90.

The pilot died, who had been driven west and had seen land, of which he spoke t Columbus, ii. 33.

1485. Columbus in the French piratical service, ii. 1.

Latin version of Marco Polo — the on probably seen by Columbus, ii. 30.

1485–86. Columbus announces his views t Ferdinand and Isabella, ii. 3.

1486. Laon globe made, but dated 1493, i. 5 119; iii. 212.

1487. Diego Cam reaches the Cape of Goo Hope, ii. 41.

1488–89. Cousin on the South America coast, i. 76; ii. 34; viii. 374.

1489. Alleged visit of Behaim to the Amer can coast, ii. 34.

1491. Bristol vessels sailing westward, i. 75.

Harrisse's date for Columbus's securing th royal ear, ii. 91.

1492. Behaim globe, i. 58; ii. 35, 104, 10 iii. 212.

1492, *Apr. 17*. Agreement of Columbus with Ferdinand and Isabella, ii. 5.

Aug. 3. Columbus sails from Palos, ii. 6.

Oct. 11–12. Columbus discovers land, ii. 9, 52.

1493, *Jan. 4*. Columbus sails homeward, ii. 11.

Feb.–Mar. Columbus writes his account of his discovery, ii. 46; and reaches Palos, 11, 46.

Columbus's letter published first in Latin, ii. 48.

Peter Martyr begins his *Decades*, ii. 57.

Nuremberg Chronicle published, ii. 34.

May 3–4. Bull of demarcation, ii. 45, 141, 592; viii. 356.

Sept. 25. Columbus sails on his second voyage, ii. 16, 57.

1494. Alleged earliest Cabot voyage, iii. 24, 44.

June 4–7. Convention at Tordesillas, ii. 14, 45.

1494–1507. Alleged improbable voyage of Behaim to the South American coast, viii. 376.

1495–6, *Mar. 5*. Patent to John Cabot and his three sons, iii. 38.

1497, *Feb. 3*. License to John Cabot, iii. 43.

June 24. John Cabot discovers the N. A. continent, ii. 136, 137, 231; iii. 1, 53, 55; iv. 1, 412.

Vasco da Gama doubles the Cape of Good Hope, ii. 42.

Vespucius's alleged voyage, ii. 137, 142, 155, 174, 231.

1497–8. Alleged visits of the Normans to the Brazilian coast, viii. 374.

1498. Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, ii. 58.

Second Cabot voyage, iii. 17, 57.

May 30. Columbus sails on his third voyage, ii. 19, 58, 133.

Aug. Columbus at the mouth of the Orinoco, i. 1.

1499. Vespucius's first undisputed voyage, ii. 149, 153, 187.

1499–1500. Ojeda at the Orinoco, ii. 109, 187; Nino and Guerra at Paria, ii. 109; Pinzon at the Amazon, ii. 109; Diego de Lepe to Cape St. Augustine, ii. 109; viii. 371.

1499, *June*. Ojeda said to have touched South America near Cape St. Augustine, viii. 369.

1500. Gaspar Cortereal sails to the Northwest, iv. 2; supposes Hudson's Straits to lead through the continent, ii. 445; on the Newfoundland coast, ii. 107.

La Cosa's map shows America for the first time, ii. 106, 206; iii. 8; viii. 369.

Jan. 20. Pinzon said to have seen Cape St. Augustine, viii. 369.

Jan.–Apr. Brazil coast first visited, ii. 150.

March. Cabral leaves Portugal, and *April 22* sights the South American coast; and *May 3* named the country "Terra Sanctæ Crucis," and *May 22* leaves the coast, viii. 371.

1500–1. Confused order of the Cortereal voyages, iv. 13.

1500–2. Voyage of Bastidas to Panamá, ii. 109.

Spanish explorations of the Atlantic coast of North America, ii. 109.

1500–3. Lorenzo Friess's maps of the Brazil coast represent the earliest explorers, viii. 373.

1501. Second Gaspar Cortereal voyage, iv. 2.

Coelho on the South American coast, viii. 372.

1501–3. Claims of Vespucius to have been on the South American coast, ii. 156; viii. 372, 375, 381.

1502. Miguel Cortereal sails in search of Gaspar Cortereal, iv. 2.

Franciscans in Hispaniola, ii. 305.

Ojeda's second voyage, ii. 189, 204, 207.

Cantino map, i. 120; ii. 107, 231; viii. 369.

May 9. Columbus sails on his last voyage, ii. 21, 59.

1503. *May*. Vespucius again sails from Lisbon, ii. 151.

Possible knowledge of the South Sea by the Spaniards, ii. 211.

Portuguese chart of the Cortereal region of the American coast, iv. 35.

Coelho on the South American coast, viii 380.

Jaques discovers the bay of San Salvador (South America), viii. 373.

Reisch's map uses latitude and longitude in the modern way, ii. 95.

1503–6. Other Portuguese mariners on the South American coast, viii. 374.

1504. The Breton fishermen on the Newfoundland coast, iv. 4.

Earliest collection of voyages to America, i. p. xviii.

Cortés comes to the New World, ii. 349.

Brazil begins to be the name for South America, viii. 375.

Jan. 5. Alleged visit of Gonneville to the Brazilian coast, viii. 374.

Sept. 12. Columbus leaves the New World forever, ii. 23.

Nov. 26. Queen Isabella of Spain dies, ii. 23.

1506. Alleged visit of Spaniards to the St. Lawrence, iv. 74.

Jean Denys said to be in the St. Lawrence Gulf, iv. 4, 64.

Pinzon on the Yucatan coast, viii. 261.

May 20. Columbus dies, ii. 23.

1507. The *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of Waldseemüller (Hylacomylus) assigns the name America to the new continent, ii. 145, 164.

Waldseemüller's or the Admiral's map supposed to have been made, ii. 113.

The *Paesi Novamente retrovati* published, ii. 70; iv. 12.

1507–8. La Cosa's Voyage, ii. 189, 208.

1508. Alleged map of Jean Denys, iv. 36.

Cuba found to be an island, ii. 201.

Normans at Newfoundland, iv. 64.

Thomas Aubert on the American coasts, iv. 5.

Strange men picked up in a boat off the English coast, i. 26.

Earliest description of Brazil, viii. 349.

South America first called "Terra Sanctæ Crucis" in Ruysch's map, viii. 371.

The Portuguese reach the 50° S. lat. on the South American coast, viii. 375.

Carvalho and João de Lisbon on the South American coast, viii. 380.

N. American Indians baptized in France, iv. 263.

Ruysch's first engraved map showing America, ii. 115; iii. 9.

1508–9. Pinzon and Solis on the South American coast, viii. 375.

1508–27. Suit conducted by Diego Columbus to recover his father's offices, etc., ii. 88, 144.

1509. First English publication to mention America, iii. 199.

Tierra Firme colonized, ii. 209.

1509. Francisco Pizarro reaches Darien, ii. 506.

Ojeda at Cartagena, where Cosa is killed, ii. 191.

1510. Diego Alvarez at Bahia, viii. 390.

Dominican monks reach Hispaniola, ii. 305.

1510–12. The Lenox globe, ii. 170; iii. 212.

1511. Diego Velasquez settles Cuba, ii. 201.

The Portuguese reach the Moluccas by way of the Cape of Good Hope, ii. 441.

Ferdinand Columbus maintains the theory of a westerly passage below South America, viii. 375

The American map in the Ptolemy (Sylvanus) of this year shows the first instance of type inscription in a woodcut, ii. 122; viii. 380.

The Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro bay, ii. 596.

Peter Martyr's earliest publication, i. p. xx; and map, ii. 109, 232, 283.

1511–17. The Spaniards at Darien receive reports of the empire of the Incas, ii. 505.

1512. Sebastian Cabot entered the service of Spain, iii. 4.

Ponce de Leon empowered to settle Bimini, ii. 232.

Stobnicza's map, ii. 116; iii. 10, 13.

Feb. 22. Vespucius dies, ii. 152.

1512–16. The so-called Da Vinci map, ii. 124, 125, 126.

1513. Ptolemy map and that known as the "Admiral's map" (Columbus's), ii. 111; iv. 34.

Oviedo at Panamá, ii. 563.

Apr. 2. Ponce de Leon discovered and named Florida, ii. 233, 283.

Sept. 25. Balboa's discovery of the Pacific, ii. 176; viii. 375.

Map of the Pacific, 440.

1514. Cross-staff first described, ii. 98.

Pedrárias at Antigua, ii. 197.

1514–19. The so-called Tross Gores (map in gores), ii. 120; iii. 214.

1514–20. Portuguese Portolano of the N. American coast, iii. 56.

1515. Biru visited, ii. 505.

Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* and its map, ii. 113, 114.

Schöner's or Frankfort globe, ii. 118, 173; iii. 214, 215; viii. 377.

1515, *or later.* The Nordenskjöld gores (map), viii. 379.

1516. The earliest life of Columbus in a note to the Giustiniani *Psalter*, ii. 64.

Las Casas made "Universal Protector of the Indians," ii. 307.

Peter Martyr's account of Cabot, iii. 15.

January. Solis in the La Plata River, iii. 5; viii. 375.

January 23. Ferdinand of Spain dies, ii. 310.

1516–17. Alleged voyage of Seb. Cabot, iii. 26, 28.

1517. Balboa executed, ii. 199, 211.

Ruins in Cozumel first observed, i. 186.

John Rut on the Newfoundland coast, iii. 170.

Hernandes de Cordova on the Florida coast, ii. 236.

1518. Vadianus edits Pomponius Mela, ii. 182.

Baron de Léry on the American coast, iv. 5.

Grijalva at Cozumel and Vera Cruz, i. 149; ii. 203.

1518. Map of the Pacific, ii. 217.

1519. Enciso's *Suma de geografia*, the first book in Spanish relating to America, where he gives the first hint of Mexican civilization, i. 173; ii. 98, 208.

Alonso de Pineda on the Florida coast, ii. 237; and names a river, Rio del Espiritu Santo, which is supposed to be the Mississippi, ii. 292.

Cortés reaches the Yucatan coast, viii. 261; the Mexican coast, i. 149; ii. 351; and, *July 10*, writes his first letter about his conquest, ii. 402.

Grijalva on the Yucatan coast, viii. 261.

Panamá founded, ii. 505.

Vera Cruz founded, ii. 356.

Aug. 10. Magellan sails on his famous voyage, ii. 592.

1520. The Pompey stone and Spaniards in New York, iv. 434.

Theophrastus Paracelsus first advanced views respecting the plurality of races, instigated by the discovery of new races in America, i. 372.

Oviedo begins his studies of America, ii. 343.

Map of the Gulf of Mexico, ii. 218.

Apian's map, ii. 182, 183.

Schöner's globe, ii. 119; iii. 214.

Bordone's maps, viii. 382.

De Ayllon sends an expedition to the Atlantic coast of Florida, ii. 238, 285.

June 30. Montezuma dies, ii. 368.

July 7. Cortés' fight at Otumba, ii. 370.

Oct. 21. Magellan entered Magellan's Straits, ii. 604; and *Nov. 28* reached the Pacific, ii. 608.

The Portuguese suspected to have reached America from the Moluccas, ii. 441.

Oct. 30. Cortés' second letter, ii. 403.

1521. Giovanni da Verrazano as a French corsair named Juan Florin, iv. 5.

Alleged exploration on the northeastern coasts of America by Alvarez Fagundes, iv. 37.

March. Magellan at the Ladrones, ii. 611.

Ponce de Leon again visits Florida, ii. 234.

Panamá made a city, ii. 199.

Aug. Mexico City captured, ii. 378.

1522. Pascoal de Andagoya's expedition south from Darien, ii. 506; and learns of an Inca empire, ii. 199.

The maps in Ptolemy edited by Lorenz Friess, ii. 173, 175, 218, 598.

Map of Nuño Garcia de Toreno, viii. 383.

Cortés' third letter, ii. 410.

Sept. 6. Del Cano returns in the "Victoria," viii. 382.

1523, *Dec.* Cortés sends Alvarado to Guatemala, ii. 383.

Garay's expedition to Amichel, ii. 238, 284; and to Panuco, ii. 503.

1523, *etc.* Norman voyages to Brazil, viii. 384.

1524. Apian published his first cosmographical treatise, ii. 182.

Jan. Olid sent to Honduras, ii. 383.

Oct. Cortés himself goes to Honduras, ii 384.

Cortés' fourth letter, ii. 411.

May. Congress at Badajos, iii. 4; iv. 10 viii. 383.

Nov. 14. Pizarro sails from Panama, ii 507.

Verrazano supposed the earliest to sai

directly west in crossing the Atlantic, iii. 172; in seeking a way to Cathay, iv. 6, 17.

1524–25. Gomez explores the eastern coasts of the United States, ii. 241; iv. 10, 29, 413, 414.

1524–40. L'Cuy globe, iii. 214.

1525. Map of Lorenz Friess (Frisius), ii. 126, 127.

Loyasa on the South American coasts, and one of his vessels, commanded by Francis de Hoces, discovers Cape Horn, but the discovery was kept secret, viii. 384.

Nov. Huayna Ccapac, Peruvian Inca, dies, i. 231.

1526. The monk Franciscus' map, ii. 431.

Dominicans in Virginia, iv. 263.

Oviedo publishes his *Sumario*, ii. 343, 345.

Pizarro's second expedition, ii. 507.

Nicholas Don on the Newfoundland coast, iv. 62.

Sebastian Cabot reaches the La Plata River, iii. 4; viii. 384.

De Ayllon himself on the coast; reaches Chesapeake Bay, ii. 241, 285; iv. 414.

May. Cortés returns to Mexico, ii. 385.

Sept. 3. Cortés' fifth letter, ii. 411.

1527. Las Casas begins work on his *Historia*, ii. 339.

Glareanus opens the discussion about the ancients' knowledge of America, i. 40; ii. 25.

Narvaez's expedition to the upper Gulf of Mexico coast, ii. 242, 286.

Exploring fleet on the Pacific dispatched by Cortés, ii. 441.

Guzman at Pánuco, ii. 386.

Conquest of Yucatan begun, ii. 429.

Doubtful stories of Verrazano, iv. 9.

Rut on the Newfoundland coast, iv. 64.

Normans and Bretons at Newfoundland, iv. 62.

Supposed date of the Maiolo or Maggiolo map, ii. 219; iv. 27, 38, 39, 67.

Thorne's map, iii. 17.

The so-called Ferd. Columbus map said to be the work of Garcia de Toreno, ii. 43, 220.

La Plata, river, first so named, viii. 375.

528. Latimer and others meet at Cambridge, Eng., iii. 231.

The first English sea manual, iii. 206.

Alonso de Chaves, royal cosmographer of Spain, iv. 81.

The Baron de Léry at the Isle of Sable, iv. 63.

Pizarro goes to Spain, ii. 512.

Cortés in Spain, made Marques del Valle de Oajaca, ii. 388.

Coppo's map, ii. 127.

Oct. 30. Cabeza de Vaca crosses the mouth of the Mississippi, ii. 292.

529. Treaty of Saragossa gives the Moluccas to Portugal, ii. 441; viii. 383.

Hieronimo da Verrazano's map, iii. 194; iv. 18, 25, 26, 27, 37.

Diego Ribero's map, ii. 221, 242; iii. 16; iv. 30, 38, 413; viii. 386; first shows the name "Peru," ii. 505.

Norumbega or its representative begins to appear on maps, iii. 169.

Sahagún arrives in Mexico, ii. 415.

Earliest phonetic rendering of the Mexican tongues, i. 156.

530. Pizarro returns to America, ii. 512.

July 15. Cortés reaches Vera Cruz, ii. 391.

1530. The earliest knowledge acquired by the Spaniards of the Pueblo Indians, ii. 473.

Guzman's expedition to New Galicia, ii. 503.

William Hawkins on the Brazil coast, iii. 60.

Alfinger's search for Eldorado, ii. 579.

The Brazilian coast first permanently occupied, viii. 350.

June 20. The Moluccas confirmed to Portugal, viii. 383.

Peter Martyr's Eight Decades, iii. 18.

The Sloan MS. map makes America one with Asia, ii. 432.

Alonso de Santa Cruz's variation chart, — the earliest known, ii. 100.

1530–40. Map at Turin, iv. 38.

1531. Papal supremacy denied in England, iii. 236.

Diego Ordaz's search for Eldorado, ii. 579.

Jan. 1. De Sousa alleged to have discovered the bay of Rio de Janeiro, and to have named it from the day, viii. 390.

De Sousa has a captaincy on the Brazil coast, viii. 390.

Map of Orontius Finæus, ii. 184, 431; iii. 11; viii. 387.

Dec. 28. Pizarro again sails from Panamá for Peru, ii. 514.

1532. Cartagena founded, viii. 292.

Simon Grynæus' *Novis Orbis*, i. p. xxiv.

Sebastian Münster's earliest map of America, i. p. xxv; ii. 121; iii. 199, 201.

Ziegler's map of Schondia shows Greenland connected with Europe, ii. 434.

May. Mendoza sails up the Pacific coast for Cortés, ii. 393.

May 18. Pizarro advances from Tumbez, ii. 514.

Nov. 15. Pizarro enters Coxamarca, ii. 516.

1532–40. Map from Kunstmann, iv. 46.

1533. First printing in Mexico, ii. 400.

Oviedo begins to print his *Historia*, ii. 343, 345.

Guzman's expedition to Sinaloa, ii. 503.

Schöner's map, viii. 388.

Cortés' expedition on the Pacific, ii. 441.

Cortés' map of the California peninsula, ii. 442.

Cartagena founded, viii. 291.

Nov. 15. Pizarro enters Cusco, ii. 520.

The Inca Atahualpa executed, ii. 517.

Pizarro orders his secretary Xeres to write an account of the conquest of Peru, ii. 564.

Nov. Hernando Pizarro's letter on the Conquest of Peru, ii. 566.

Ramusio and the *Summario*, iii. 19.

1534 (or thereabouts). The Lenox woodcut map, ii. 222, 223.

Jacques Cartier's voyage to Canada, iv. 46, 63.

March. Pedro de Alvarado reaches Peru, ii. 520.

Xeres' narrative of Peru ends, ii. 564.

Cieza de Leon reaches South America, ii. 568.

1534–35. Cortés marches up the Pacific coast and settles Lower California, ii. 393.

1534–38. George of Spires searches for Eldorado, ii. 579.

1534–54. Ulrich Schmidel in South America, viii. 389, 407.

1535, *Jan. 6.* Pizarro founds Lima, ii. 522.

1535. Pedro de Valdivia reaches Peru, ii. 528.

Spain's first viceroy in America, viii. 191.

The coast of Chili first mapped with approximate correctness, viii. 386.

Mendoza in the La Plata region, which he calls Buenos Ayres, viii. 387.

1535–36. Cartier's second expedition, iv. 51, 164.

1536. Cabeza de Vaca reaches Culiacan, after nine years' wandering, from Florida, and reports encountering buffaloes and the Pueblo Indians, ii. 244, 287, 474, 488.

The Peruvians lay siege to Cusco, ii. 524.

Almagro invades Chili, ii. 525.

Sept. Saavedra reaches Valparaiso bay, ii. 525.

Chaves' lost chart, iv. 81.

B. Agnese's maps, iii. 218; iv. 40.

Map of the Gulf of Mexico, ii. 225.

California generally shown in maps as a peninsula, iv. 445.

1536–46 (?). Map in British Museum, iv. 85, 87.

1537. Quesada conquers New Granada, ii. 580.

Asuncion (La Plata) founded, viii. 387.

April 8. Almagro seizes Cusco, ii. 526.

July 12. Defeated by Orgoñez, ii. 526.

Oviedo's description of the North American east coast supposed to be founded on the reports of Chaves, iv. 73.

1538, *April 26.* Hernando Pizarro defeats Almagro, ii. 527.

Belalcazar at Bogotá, ii. 580.

Mercator's cordiform map, i. 125.

1539. Ferdinand Columbus dies, ii. 65.

Olaus Magnus' map, i. 128.

Federmann at Bogotá, ii. 579.

Fray Marcos makes a preliminary expedition to prepare the way for Coronado's, ii. 475, 503.

Ulloa explores the Gulf of California, ii. 442.

De Soto's expedition from the Florida coast ii. 245, 288, 294; crosses the Mississippi at the lowest Chickasaw Bluff, ii. 292.

Franciscans in New Mexico, iv. 263.

The "Bloody Statute" in England sent English clergymen to Geneva, iii. 231.

1540. Münster's best known map, iii. 199, 201; iv. 38, 41.

Homem's map, ii. 446.

Roberval's attempt to colonize Canada, iv. 135.

Earliest picture of Cholula, i. 178.

Cibola reached by Coronado, ii. 483.

Alarcon's exploration up the Gulf of California to coöperate with Coronado's inland expedition, ii. 443, 481, 500.

March. Valdivia marches to Chili, ii. 528.

Expedition of Melchior Diaz, ii. 503.

Alvarado's expedition to the South Sea, ii. 503.

Cortés again returns to Spain, ii. 395; viii. 191.

Cabeça de Vaca in the La Plata region, viii. 387.

Camargo's explorations of the west coast of South America, viii. 394.

1540–41. Orellana follows the Amazon to the sea, ii. 528, 563, 584; viii. 389, 396.

1541. Mercator's map, ii. 177; iii. 214.

Simon Grynæus dies, i. p. xxiv.

Castillo's map of the Gulf of California, ii. 444; viii. 257.

1541. Cartier's third voyage to Canada, iv. 56, 65.

Coronado's expedition, ii. 292.

Santiago de Chili founded, ii. 529.

Philip von Huten's search for Eldorado, ii. 581.

June. Francisco Pizarro assassinated, ii. 534.

1541–42. Allefonsce, as pilot of Roberval, on the coast, iv. 72, 84; and his maps, iv. 74–77.

1541–45. Many Norman fishermen on the American coasts, iv. 61.

1541–56. Benzoni in the Spanish provinces, ii. 346.

1542, *Jan. 26.* Sainterre sails to succor Roberval, iv. 66.

Cabrillo's expedition in the Pacific coast of North America, ii. 444, 481; vii. 555.

April. Coronado's army began their return march, ii. 497; viii. 191.

May 21. De Soto dies, ii. 253.

Cabeza de Vaca publishes his story, ii. 499.

Loaysa, bishop of Lima, ii. 537.

Audiencia of Quito, viii. 295.

Vaca de Casco in Peru, and defeats the Young Almagro, and the latter is executed, ii 536.

The "New Laws" respecting the Indians made by the Spanish king, ii. 320; viii. 192 and enforced in Peru by the Viceroy Vasco Nuñez Vela, but he is arrested, ii. 327, 537–8.

John Rotz's *Idiography*, iii. 195; iv. 82, 83 and map, ii. 226.

Ulpius' globe, iii. 214; iv. 19, 42. Its "Nova Gallia" perhaps the earliest use of the name of New France, iv. 67; and Jean Allefonsce followed in his MS. in 1545, iv. 69.

The English tongue first used in English worship, iii. 232.

1543. Ferrelo on the Pacific coast, ii. 444.

Archives formed at Simancas, ii. p. i.

1543–5. Agnese's map, iv. 82.

1544. Ruscelli's map, ii. 432.

Sebastian Cabot's Mappemonde marks John Cabot's Landfall at Cape Breton, ii. 227, 447 iii. 6, 20, 22, 45; iv. 76, 82, 84; viii. 385.

Pastene on the coast of Chili, ii. 530.

Sept. 3. Valparaiso founded, ii. 531.

Oct. 28. Gonzalo Pizarro enters Lima, ii 538.

Orellano's abortive attempt to establish New Andalusia, ii. 585.

Münster's *Cosmographia*, i. p. xxv.

1545. Pedro de Medina's *Arte de Navegar* and its map, ii. 98; iv. 83, 85; viii. 395.

Münster's map, iv. 84.

Loaysa made Archbishop, ii. 537.

Oct. 20. New laws revoked, ii. 539.

1545–52. Valdivia's reports on affairs in Chil ii. 572.

1546, *Jan. 18.* Blasco Nuñez defeated by th rebels, ii. 538.

July. Gonzalo Pizarro enters Lima, ii. 53

Aug. 11. Pedro de la Gasca reaches Panamá, ii. 540.

Freire's map of the Pacific coast, ii. 448; iv 85, 86; viii. 393.

Henri II. or Dauphin map, made by Desceliers, iii. 195; iv. 77, 83, 85.

1546–49. The reports of Gasca on Peruvia affairs, ii. 568.

1547. Gasca drives Gonzalo Pizarro, ii. 541.

Archbishopric of Mexico or New Spai created, viii. 193.

1547. Las Casas finally returns to Spain, ii. 308, 314.

Pastene, having founded a colony in Chili, returns to Callao, ii. 534.

Seb. Cabot returns to England, iii. 6.

Dec. 2. Cortés dies, ii. 396.

Nic. Vallard map, iv. 86, 87; viii. 394.

Earliest printing of a book in an Indian language, i. p. viii; ii. 401.

1547–55. Hans Stade in Brazil, viii. 350, 391.

1548. Gastaldi's map, iv. 86, 88.

Carta Marina of the Ptolemy of this date, ii. 435; iv. 43; viii. 396.

April 9. Gasca receives the submission of Gonzalo Pizarro, ii. 541.

April 12. Gasca enters Cusco, ii. 542.

June 18. Pascual de Andagoya dies at Cusco, ii. 564.

1549. Brazilian captaincies revoked, and De Sousa made captain-general at Bahia, and introduces the Jesuits under Nobrega, viii. 350, 391.

Pedro de Ursua seeks Eldorado, ii. 582.

Cancer de Barbastro in Florida, ii. 254.

Roberval again attempts to colonize Canada, iv. 66.

1550. Hooper's refusal to wear clerical vestments the first active manifestation of Puritanism in England, iii. 232.

Ramusio's first volume published, iii. 24.

Valdivia again in Chili, ii. 548, but is captured and killed by the Araucanians, ii. 549.

Cartrera's revolt in Nicaragua, viii. 232.

The Royal Audiencia rule in Peru, ii. 542.

Early maps, iv. 88, 89.

Gastaldi map made; published 1556, iv. 77.

Brazil Indians at Rouen, viii. 349.

Galvano's chronicle of American discoveries ends, viii. 377.

Diego Gutierrez' map, iv. 81.

1550–3. Descelier's portolanos, iv. 87.

1551. Cortes' *Arte de Navegar*, ii. 98.

Earliest particularized account of the Portuguese discoveries in America published in Castanheda's *Historia*, viii. 372.

1552. First Council of Lima, ii. 552.

Ant. de Mendoza, viceroy of Peru, ii. 542.

Gomara's *Conquista de México*, ii. 412.

1552–53. Las Casas prints his *Tracts*, ii. 333; viii. 193.

1553. Richard Hakluyt born, iii. 189.

Gomara's work on the conquest of Peru, ii. 414.

Cieza de Leon's *Parte primera de la Chronica del Peru* published, ii. 573.

Earliest English book mainly devoted to America, being Richard Eden's *Newe India*, iii. 27, 199.

Queen Mary crowned, and 800 English reformers flee to the Continent, iii. 231.

Seb. Cabot governor of a company to find a northeast route to Asia, iii. 6.

Nov. Giron's revolt in Peru, ii. 543.

1553–56. Ramusio's third volume, i. p. xxviii.

1554. *March 30.* Alvarado enters Cusco, ii. 544; but is soon defeated by Giron, ii. 545.

Dec. 6. Giron beheaded at Lima, ii. 545.

Herrera's *Historia* ends here, ii. 563.

Agnese's map, iv. 90.

The Bollero or Bellero map, iv. 89; viii. 396–7.

1555. Zarate's *Historia* of the conquest of Peru published, ii. 568.

1555. Richard Eden's *Decades*, i. p. xxiii; iii. 29, 200.

Olaus Magnus' map, i. 124.

Guillaume Le Testu's atlas, iv. 77, 90; viii. 396.

Villegagnon at Rio de Janeiro, accompanied by André Thevet, iv. 11; viii. 391.

Jacques Cartier dies, iv. 66.

1555–56. Villagra fought the Araucanians in Chili, ii. 549.

1556. Thevet's alleged voyage along the North American coast, iv. 12.

Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, viceroy of Peru, ii. 545.

Gastaldi's map in Ramusio, ii. 228; iv. 90, 91.

Vopellio's map, iv. 90, 436.

1557. Oviedo, chronicler of the Indies, dies.

Irala, who had opened a route from the La Plata to the Pacific, dies, viii. 388.

Hurtado de Mendoza in Chili, ii. 549.

1558. The Inca and his people return to Lima, ii. 547.

Labazares at Pensacola bay, ii. 256.

The Zeni narrative published, i. 73, 114; iii. 100; with map, i. 126, 127, 128.

André Thevet's *Les Singularités de la France*, iii. 32; iv. 30.

Diego Homem's maps, ii. 229, iv. 78, 90, showing the Bay of Fundy for the first time, v. 472; South America, viii. 398.

1558–80. Bestelli e Forlani's *Tavole moderne di Geografia* published, iv. 369.

1559. A Tunisian map of America, iv. 78.

Pedro de Ursua again starts for Eldorado, ii. 582.

Tristán de Arellano's exped. to Florida, ii. 227, 504.

Dominicans among the Mobilians, iv. 263.

Spaniards in Florida, viii. 194.

Audiencia of Charcas, viii. 295.

1560. Spaniards in Northern Georgia, v. 359.

Many French ships on the American coasts, iv. 61.

The Portuguese destroy the French settlement at Rio de Janeiro, viii. 394.

Forlani's map connects America with Asia ii. 438; iv. 40.

1561. Ruscelli's map, iv. 92; viii. 398.

Polo de Ondegardo's *Relaciones* about Peru, ii. 571.

Francisco de Villagra in Chili as governor, ii. 551.

Villafañe at Port Royal harbor (Carolina), ii. 260.

Lope de Aguirre on the Amazon, ii. 582.

Mar. 30. Cañete dies, ii. 547.

1562. The French under Ribault occupy Port Royal, ii. 260, 292; v. 357.

John Hawkins at Hispaniola, iii. 60.

Yucatan separated from Mexico, viii. 194.

Landa's alleged destruction of Mexican MSS., i. 203.

Diego Gutierro's map, iv. 90, 92; viii. 399.

Forlani's map, iv. 92.

1563. Laudonnière at Fort Caroline, St. John River, Florida, ii. 262.

Rodrigo de Quiroga governor of Chili, ii. 551.

Ibarra's expedition to Copala, ii. 504.

Martin Cortés in Mexico, viii. 194.

Galvano's *Tratado* published, iii. 32.

Manoquin dies, viii. 232.

1564. Lope Garcia de Castro governor of Peru, ii. 551.

1564. The Conde de Nieva, viceroy of Peru, killed, ii. 547.

Spain permanently occupies the Philippines, ii. 454.

1565. Royal Audiencia in Chile, ii. 551.

John Hawkins in the West Indies selling negroes, and on the Florida coast, iii. 60.

Menendez attacks the French settlements, ii. 263, 271, 292.

St. Augustine founded by Menendez, ii. 265, 267.

Monardes' *Dos Libros*, i. p. xxix.

Benzoni's account of the Spanish provinces published, ii. 347.

B. Agnese's atlas, iv. 90.

1566. Martin de Proveda's search for Eldorado, ii. 585.

Juan Pardo's exped. to Florida, ii. 504.

July. Las Casas dies at Madrid, ii. 314.

Nic. Des Liens' map, iv. 78, 79.

Zaltieri's map is thought to be the earliest engraved one to show the Straits of Anian, ii. 449, 451; iv. 93.

1566–73. Spaniards in the Chesapeake, iii. 167.

1567. John Hawkins's third voyage to the West Indies, iii. 63.

Dominic de Gourgues attacks the Spaniards in Florida, ii. 280, 297.

The Solomon Islands discovered from Peru, ii. 552.

Jesuits reach Peru, ii. 552.

Second Council of Lima, ii. 552.

Jan. 20. The Portuguese finally possess Rio de Janeiro and name it San Sebastian, viii. 351, 394.

Olaus Magnus' map, i. 125.

1568. Audiencia at Santiago, viii. 295.

Silva and De Cerpa in the Eldorado region, ii. 586.

Hawkins at Vera Cruz, viii. 195.

Francisco Cano's exped. to New Mexico, ii. 504.

Adventures of Ingram, Hortop, etc., through the present United States, iii. 170, 186.

Bernal Diaz begins his *Historia*, ii. 414.

1569. Francisco de Toledo governor of Peru, ii. 552.

Juan de Orozco's exped. to New Galicia, ii. 504.

Mercator's great map, ii. 449, 452, 470; iv. 78, 94, 364–373; viii. 398; and his projection.

1569–89. Ercilla's versified account of the Araucanian war, ii. 571.

1570. Earliest Norse maps of Vinland, i. 129.

The original edition of Ortelius' *Theatrum* published, ii. 93; iii. 34; iv. 94, 95, 369; viii. 398; and his list of accessible maps show how jealously the Spanish government had kept out of sight their American discoveries, ii. 471.

Francis Drake in the West Indies, iii. 64.

Spaniards in the Chesapeake, ii. 282.

Supposed date of Forlani's map of South America, viii. 400.

The island of Juan Fernandez discovered, viii. 407.

1571. Ferdinand Columbus's *Life of Columbus* published, ii. 62, 64, 65, 89.

Inquisition established in Mexico, viii. 197.

Fernandez's *Hist. del Peru* published, ii. 569.

Tupac Amaru's revolt, ii. 553; viii. 315.

Queen Elizabeth denounced as a heretic by the Pope, iii. 223.

1572. Toleration in religion established in Holland, iii. 231.

Drake on the Spanish Main, iii. 65; viii. 195; joins with the Cimarrones, viii. 233.

Porcacchi's *L'isole*, with its maps, published, ii. 449, 453; iv. 95, 96.

1573. A ship's log first described, ii. 98.

Nov. 19. The first Auto da Fé at Lima, ii. 557.

1574. Earliest Auto da Fé in Mexico, viii. 197.

Silva's second Eldorado expedition, ii. 586.

First Cimarrone war ends, viii. 233.

Ruscelli's map, iv. 78.

Furlano's map of the North Pacific, iii. 68.

1575. Oxenham in the Pacific, viii. 233.

Archbishop Loyasa died at Lima, ii. 557.

Thevet's map, iv. 95.

Ortelius' map, iv. 78.

1576. Apian's map, iv. 101.

Sir H. Gilbert's map, iii. 203.

Frobisher's first Arctic expedition, iii. 35, 86, 99.

Belleforest's *Cosmographie*, iii. 36.

1577. Frobisher's second voyage to the north, iii. 87.

Richard Willes' ed. of Eden's Martyr, iii. 204.

Dec. 13. Drake begins his voyage round the world, iii. 65.

1578. *Oct. 28.* Francis Drake in the Pacific, iii. 66; viii. 233; sees Cape Horn, viii. 384.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's exped., iii. 126, 171.

Frobisher's third voyage to the north, iii. 88.

Frobisher's map, iii. 102.

De Léry's account of Brazil published, viii. 392.

Cellarius's map, iv. 101.

The Martines map, ii. 229, 450; iv. 97; viii. 386.

1579. Simon Ferdinando on the Norumbega coast, iii. 171.

Drake on the California coast, and called it "New Albion," ii. 453; iii. 72.

Sarmiento sent from Peru to the Straits of Magellan, ii. 557.

Bishop Landa dies, ii. 429.

1580. John Walker at Norumbega, iii. 171.

Dr. John Dee's map, iii. 196; iv. 96, 98.

The Dutch first on the Guiana coast, viii. 363.

1580–1600. Japanese map of the West coast of America, ii. 460.

1581. Martin Henriquez viceroy of Peru, ii. 557.

Archbishop Toribio reached Lima, ii. 557.

Maps by Gemma Frison, iv. 101.

Xahila's *Memorial de Tecpan-Atitlan* written, ii. 419.

Chamuscado's expedition, viii. 254.

Robert Browne and followers go to Zealand, iii. 261.

1582. Second Council of Lima, ii. 557.

Antonio de Berreo's expedition on the Orinoco, ii. 586.

A. Millo's map, iv. 101.

Popellinière's map in his *Trois Mondes*, iii. 37; iv. 95; viii. 399.

Michael Lok's map, iii. 40; iv. 44.

Richard Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, i. p. xxix; iii. 37, 189, 204; iv. 43.

1582–84. Ant. de Espejo's expedition to New Mexico, ii. 504.

1583. Sotomayor governor of Chili, ii. 561.

1583. Stephen Bellinger on the American coast, iv. 61.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert at Newfoundland, iii. 108, 171.

1583–1604. Whitgift and nonconformity, iii. 257.

1584. Voyage of Amadas and Barlowe to the North Carolina coast and the country named Virginia, iii. 108–110.

Marquis de la Roche on the coast, iv. 62.

Mar. 25. Raleigh's charter for a colony in America, and Hakluyt's *Westerne Planting* written to aid it, iii. 108, 208.

Francisco Gali opens the route across the Pacific from the Philippines by the northern course, ii. 455; iii. 80; viii. 197.

1585. Sir Richard Grenville's exped. to Virginia, with Ralph Lane's colony, iii. 110, 123.

John White's map of Carolina and Florida, iv. 45.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition, iv. 71.

Capt. John Davis discovers Davis's Straits, iii. 89.

Raleigh in Guiana, iii. 117.

Drake plunders the Spanish Main, iii. 73; viii. 291.

Maps of Gallæus, iv. 95; and Johannes a Doetechum, viii. 390.

1586. Fernando de Torres, of Portugal, viceroy of Peru, ii. 560.

Earthquake at Lima, viii. 312.

Keymis sent to the Orinoco, iii. 118.

Capt. John Davis's second voyage to the north, iii. 90.

St. Augustine burned, viii. 196.

Sir Francis Drake at the Virginia colony, iii. 112.

The English Separatists gain important accessions, iii. 237.

Cavendish passes Magellan Straits, viii. 407.

1587. John White's company in Virginia, iii. 113.

Aug. 18. Virginia Dare born in Virginia, the first child there born, iii. 114.

Davis's third voyage, iii. 90.

Map by the pilot Pastoret, iv. 82.

Myritius' map, iv. 96.

Hakluyt-Martyr map, iii. 42.

1588. Hariot publishes his account of Virginia, with White's map of Virginia, iii. 123, 205.

Livio Sanuto's *Geographica Distincta*, iii. 41.

Maldonado's alleged passage westerly through the American continent, ii. 455.

1588–89. The Mar-Prelate tracts against the English hierarchy, iii. 237.

José de Acosta's first publications, ii. 420.

1589. Hakluyt's first folio, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 41, 205.

Cornelius Judæis' map, iv. 95, 97.

1590. Myritius, one of the last to maintain that America was a part of Asia, ii. 154; his *Opusculum Geographicum*, viii. 399.

Porcacchi's map, iv. 79.

Edward Wright improves the Mercator projection, ii. 470.

Acosta's complete *Historia* first published, i. 262; ii. 420.

Hurtado de Mendoza viceroy of Peru, ii. 560.

Sahagún dies, i. 156.

Castaño de Sosa's exped. to New Mexico, ii. 504.

1590. William Bradford, the Mayflower pilgrim, born at Austerfield, Eng., iii. 260.

White, again at Roanoke, discovers that the colonists had disappeared, iii. 115.

1590–1634. De Bry's *Voyages*, i. p. xxxi.

1591. Magninus' map, iv. 95.

Lemoyne's map of Florida (De Bry), ii. 274.

1591–98. Different dates for Oñate's conquest of New Mexico, viii. 253.

1592. Third Council of Peru, ii. 559.

Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola governor of Chile, ii. 561.

William Usselincx first proposed a Dutch West India Company, iv. 396.

De Fuca's alleged discoveries, ii. 456.

The Molineaux globe the earliest made in England, ii. 452, 455; iii. 212, 213; iv. 97.

Hood's map, iii. 197; iv. 414.

1592–94. Map by Plancius, iv. 97, 414.

1593. Map by Judaeis, iv. 99.

Maffeius' map, iv. 95.

1593–97. The English in the St. Lawrence, iv. 62.

1594. Chytræus' work on inscriptions, iii. 21.

Raleigh sent Jacob Whiddon up the Orinoco, ii. 587; iii. 116.

The English attack the Portuguese in Brazil, viii. 351.

1595. Raleigh in Guiana, iii. 124.

1595–96. Drake and Hawkins' unsuccessful voyage to the West Indies, iii. 73, 82.

1595–1603. Botero's maps, iv. 102.

1596. Earliest English copper-plate map in Broughton's *Concent of Scripture*, iv. 102.

De Bry's map, iv. 79, 99.

Marquis of Salinas viceroy of Peru, ii. 561.

Seb. Viscaino on the Pacific coast, ii. 504.

Original Dutch ed. of Linschoten, ii. 457.

1597. Barrowists and Brownists in England; some sent to the Magdalen Islands; but they ultimately reach Amsterdam, iii. 219, 220.

Buenos Ayres firmly established, viii. 360.

Wytfliet's *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum*, the earliest atlas devoted wholly to America, ii. 457; iv. 369; showing maps of the western world, ii. 459; Canada, iv. 100; California, ii. 458; Florida, ii. 281; Cuba, ii. 230; Castilia del oro, ii. 190; Chile, ii. 559; Peru, ii. 558.

Henry IV's patent to the Sieur de la Roche, viii. 7.

Alleged discovery of the Hudson and Delaware rivers by vessels of the Greenland Company, iv. 396, 415.

The Dutch on the New England coast, iii. 193.

Oñate's exped. to New Mexico, ii. 504; viii. 254. *See* **1591.**

Araucanians rising in Chile, ii. 562.

The Dutch atlas of Langenes, iv. 102.

Map of the North Atlantic in Wolfe's *Linschoten*, iii. 101, 205; and of South America, viii. 400, 404, 406.

Münster's map, iv. 95.

The Brescia ed. of Ortelius, one of the last to show the connection of Asia and America, ii. 439.

1598–99. A fleet under Mahn and Cordes the first Dutch vessels to enter Magellan's Straits, viii. 407.

1598–1650. Hulsius's *Voyages* published, iv. 442.

1599. Humaña's exped. to Quivira, ii. 504.

1599. Wright's improvement of Mercator's projection, iii. 208, 216.

Champlain's West India voyage, iv. 133; viii. 248.

Hondius first put the Laguna Parima on a map, ii. 587.

Olivier van Noort passes through Magellan's Straits into the Pacific, viii. 407.

Olivier van Noort's map of Patagonia, viii. 405.

Blaeu's globes, ii. 215.

1600. Position of the Indian tribes east of the Alleghanies, as given by Gallatin, i. 321; and of those in the Ohio valley, iv. 298.

Richard Hakluyt's *Navigations*, 3d vol., i. p. xxx.

Quadus' *Geog. Handbuch*, iv. 372; with map, iv. 101.

Molineaux' map, iii. 216; iv. 80, 377.

1601. Herrera publishes his *Historia General*, ii. p. i, 67, 213; with American maps, ii. 460.

Porto Bello attacked by Parker, viii. 233, 238.

Fourth Council of Peru, ii. 560.

1602. Separatists gather at Gainsborough, Eng., iii. 257.

Geo. Weymouth's voyage, iii. 91.

Gosnold's expedition on the Virginia coast, iii. 172, 187, 209.

Viscaino's expedition on the North Pacific American coast, ii. 460; viii. 198.

Martin Aguilar on the west coast of America, and the reports of his explorations, gave rise to the view that California was an island, — a view which long prevailed, ii. 461.

The Dutch on the Essequibo (Guiana), viii. 363.

1603. Amyar de Chastes' projects of American colonization, iv. 103.

Martin Pring on the New England coast, iii. 173.

Botero's map, iv. 378.

Commission of De Monts for Acadia, v. 475.

Mar. 15. Champlain sails for America, under Pont Gravé and Prevert, iv. 104.

June. Champlain explores the Saguenay, iv. 104.

1604. Champlain at St. Croix, iv. 137.

De Monts and Champlain on the Nova Scotia and New England coasts, iii. 174; iv. 106, 107, 136; vii. 174.

Champlain publishes his account of his first voyage (1603), iv. 130.

John Robinson joins the Separatists, iii. 259.

Jodocus Hondius succeeded to Mercator, iv. 372.

1605. Santa Fé settled, viii. 254.

Champlain at Plymouth, Mass., iv. 109.

Geo. Waymouth on the New England coast, iii. 175, 189; iv. 110.

Voyage of the Danes to the north of America, iii. 92.

1605–6. Champlain at Port Royal, Annapolis, Nova Scotia, iv. 111.

1606. Champlain perhaps discovers the Isles of Shoals, iv. 111.

Champlain at Gloucester, Mass., iv. 111.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges begins to send expeditions to the New England coast, iii. 175.

Archbishop Toribio dies in Peru, viii. 367.

The "Pilgrim" church formed at Scrooby, iii. 258.

1606. John Smyth and Separatists go to Amsterdam, iii. 257.

April. Concession of James I. to Thomas Gates, v. 476.

Apr. 10. James I. charters two companies, the London and the Plymouth, with the territory of Virginia divided between them, iii. 127, 295.

1607, *Apr. 26–June 2, 1608.* Covered by the earliest printed account of the Jamestown settlement, iii. 153.

May 13. Colonists land at James River, Va., and found Jamestown, iii. 128.

Sept. Champlain left the coast, iv. 113.

Popham's expedition to the New England coast, iii. 176, 192.

Hudson's voyages to the northeast, iii. 103.

Garcia's discussion of the peopling of America, i. 369.

Garcilasso de la Vega; *Commentaries* on Peruvian history first printed, i. 266; ii. 569.

1608. Separatist emigration to Holland, iii. 261; when Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* begins, iii. 286.

Capt. John Smith's explorations in Va., iii. 131.

Apr. 13. Champlain sails again for Canada, iv. 113.

July 3. Champlain founds Quebec, iv. 114, and maps the region, iv. 115.

Harcourt occupies the Guiana coast for England, viii. 363.

1608–16. Garcilasso de la Vega's *Peru* printed, ii. 570, 575.

1609. Lescarbot's *Nouvelle France* originally published, iv. 149; with his map of the St. Lawrence and Acadia, iv. 117, 154, 304.

The Scrooby people reach Leyden, iii. 262.

Twelve years' truce between Spain and the Netherlands begins, iii. 264.

Tracts on Virginia, iii. 155.

Gates and other Virginia colonists wrecked at Bermuda, iii. 134.

Francis West and others arrive at Jamestown, iii. 134.

Capt. Samuel Argall in Virginia, iii. 134.

Movements to settle Newfoundland, viii. 188.

Apr. 4. Hudson sailed from Texel, and, *Sept. 4*, is in the Hudson River, iv. 397, 415 and on the Maine coast, iii. 178.

May 23. Enlargement of the charter of "The first colony in Virginia," iii. 133.

The Indians present copper to Champlain iv. 164.

June. Pont Gravé joins Champlain, iv 116.

July. Champlain at Ticonderoga, i. 286 iv. 119.

Oct. Champlain again in France, iv. 121.

1610. Poutrincourt in Acadia, iv. 138.

Champlain returns to Quebec, iv. 121; and again to France, iv. 122.

French map of the New England coast, iv 143.

Argall on the New England coast, iii. 193.

Aug. 27. Argall discovers and names Delaware Bay, iii. 137.

Tracts on Virginia, iii. 155.

Gates and his company reach Jamestown iii. 136.

June 10. Lord Delaware arrives at Jamestown, iii. 136.

1610. Henry Hudson's voyage to Hudson's Bay, iii. 92.

Father Solano, the Apostle of Peru, dies, viii. 368.

1611. The *Mercure François* begins to illustrate Canadian history, iv. 300.

Champlain again in Quebec, but returned to France, iv. 122–3.

The Jesuits reach Acadia, and their *Relations* become important historical material, iv. 151.

Biard begins his mission in Acadia, iv. 300.

Jesuits at Port Royal and Mount Desert, iv. 264.

The French and English meet on the Maine coast, iii. 178.

Tracts on Virginia, iii. 156.

Mar. 19. Sir Thomas Dale reaches Jamestown, iii. 137.

Aug. Sir Thomas Gates reaches Jamestown, iii. 138.

1612. Sir Thomas Button's voyage to the north, iii. 93.

Baffin's voyages begin, iii. 99.

Map of the Arctic regions, viii. 2

Champlain's map of Canada, iv. 380, 381.

Tracts on Virginia, iii. 156.

Smith's map of Virginia, iii. 167.

1613. Champlain once more in Quebec, iv. 123; explores the Ottawa River, iv. 124; publishes his *Voyages*, with a map, making the first attempt to lay down the latitude and longitude for this part of the coast, iv. 131, 382.

The Jesuits at Mt. Desert, iii. 179.

Argall at Mount Desert, iv. 141; and at the Hudson River, iv. 400, 427.

Tracts on Virginia, iii. 157.

Samuel Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, i. xxxiii; iii. 47.

Heinrich Hondius and Johannes Jansson begin as cartographers, iv. 374.

1614. Champlain in France, iv. 124.

Argall on the Maine coast, iii. 140.

Capt. John Smith on the New England coast, iii. 179; making a map, iii. 181.

Hobson on the New England coast, iii. 180.

Spilbergen in the Pacific, viii. 198.

Block explores the Connecticut River, iii. 368.

Figurative (Dutch) map of New England, iii. 381; iv. 433.

Apr. 5. Pocahontas and John Rolfe married, iii. 139.

1614–19. French ships on the Massachusetts coast, iv. 110.

1615. Champlain in Canada; attacks the Onondagas, iv. 124, 125.

Recollect missions begin in Canada, and last till 1629, iv. 264, 290.

Sir Richard Hawkins on the New England coast, iii. 181, 194.

Bylot and Baffin's first voyage, iii. 93.

Torquemada's *Monarquia Indiana* published, ii. 422.

1615–17. The Schouten-Lemaire voyage about Tierra del Fuego, viii. 409.

1616. Bylot and Baffin explore Baffin's Bay, iii. 95.

Champlain returns to France, iv. 126.

Sir Richard Vines reaches the New England coast, iii. 303.

Edward Brawnde on the New England coast, iii. 181.

1616. The New England coast Indians destroyed by a plague, iv. 110.

Smith's *Description of New England*, with its map, iii. 197, 211.

Pocahontas in England, and dies March 21, 1617, iii. 141.

The French settle Guiana, but are driven out, viii. 363.

Schouten first doubles Cape Horn from the eastward, viii. 384.

1617. Argall again in Virginia, iii. 141.

Sir Wm. Vaughan in Newfoundland, viii. 188.

Raleigh again in Guiana, iii. 119.

Santa Rosa, the patroness of Lima, dies, ii. 560.

The Leyden Separatists think of going to America, iii. 264.

Edward Winslow joins the Leyden Separatists, iii. 285.

King James projects a *State Paper* office, viii. 459.

1618. Rocroft on the New England coast, iii. 182.

Sir Richard Vines on the New England coast, iii. 182.

Étienne Brulé returns from beyond Lake Huron, iv. 165.

Dutch West Indian Company organized, and charter given in 1621, iv. 397–8.

Oct. 19. Raleigh executed, iii. 119.

Maps in Bertius, French ed., iv. 102.

1618–19. The Nodals voyage through Magellan's Straits, viii. 412.

1619. Champlain's third narrative published, iv. 132.

Recollects reach Acadia, iv. 266.

Capt. Dermer on the New England coast, iii. 182.

Apr. 19. Capt. Yardley reaches Jamestown, iii. 142.

June 9–19. Wincob's patent for the Leyden Company, iii. 265.

Aug. Negro slavery introduced into Virginia, iii. 143.

Iron manufacture begins in Va., iii. 163.

1619–24. Records of the Virginia Company preserved, iii. 158.

1620. Frontenac born, iv. 317.

Sir Geo. Calvert buys a part of Newfoundland, and establishes, 1621, a colony at Ferryland, iii. 519.

Feb. The Merchants Adventurers get a patent for the Plymouth Colony from the Virginia Co., iii. 269.

Nov. 3. Council for New England incorporated, 295.

Nov. 11. The Mayflower Compact signed in Cape Cod harbor, iii. 269.

Dec. The Pilgrims reach New Plymouth, iii. 267.

Seat of government in the La Plata region transferred from Asuncion to Buenos Ayres, viii. 360.

1621. William de Caen in Canada, iv. 67.

Beginnings of New Netherland, iii. 385.

The Dutch trading on the New England coast, iii. 193.

Jacobsen's map of New Netherland, iv. 383, 434.

Beginning of the iron trade in the United States, viii. 494. *See* **1619**.

June 1–11. The John Peirce patent from the President and Council of New England secured for the Plymouth Colony, iii. 275, 299, 301, 310.

1621. *Sept. 10.* Sir William Alexander's charter of New Scotland, iii. 299; iv. 142; repeated by Charles I, July 12, 1623, v. 476, 478, 479.

Nov. 11–21. The "Fortune" reaches New Plymouth, iii. 275.

Nov. Sir Francis Wyatt in Va., iii. 144.

Dec. The Pilgrim settlement first called "New Plymouth," iii. 276.

Philoponus published, ii. 58.

End of Twelve Years' Truce, viii. 299.

1622. Thomas Weston at Weymouth, Mass., iii. 278, 311.

Mourt's *Relation* about Plymouth Colony published, iii. 289.

Mar. 22. Massacre of the Virginia colonists by the Indians, iii. 145, 163.

Aug. 10. Grants to Mason and Gorges, iii. 329.

Robert Gorges on the New England coast, iii. 304.

The earliest map to insularize the California peninsula, ii. 461.

1623. Calvert receives a patent for Avalon, iii. 519; viii. 188.

Fishing station established on Monhegan, iii. 321.

David Thompson's settlement in New Hampshire, iii. 326.

Fishing settlement at Cape Ann, iii. 311.

Francis West on the New England coast, iii. 304.

The "Ann" and "Little James" reach Plymouth, iii. 292.

Plymouth Colony Laws begin, iii. 292.

The Dutch build Fort Orange (Albany), iv. 398.

Jacobsen settles for the Dutch on the Delaware, iii. 422.

The Dutchman Mey, in the Delaware, erects Fort Nassau, iv. 398, 448.

St. Kitts granted to Thomas Warren, and it becomes a buccaneer nest, viii. 233.

May 5. Patent to Christopher Levett on the Maine coast, iii. 308.

July 29. Division of New England among the patentees of the Council for New England, iii. 305, 306, 340.

Sept. Robert Gorges at Weymouth, Mass., iii. 311.

The Dutch attack San Salvador in Brazil, viii. 351.

1624. The Swedish Australian Company instituted, and a more complete charter issued in 1626, iv. 443, 488.

First edition of Smith's *Generall History*, iii. 211.

June 16. Virginia charter annulled, iii. 146, 307.

1625. The English occupy Barbadoes, viii. 290.

St. Kitts occupied by the French and English, viii. 306.

Purchas' *Pilgrims*, iii. 47; with Briggs' map in Purchas, iv. 383.

De Laet's *Nieuwe Wereld* first published, iv. 417.

Jesuits in Canada, iv. 265.

Herrera the Spanish historian dies, ii. 67.

New Scotland made into baronetcies, iv. 142.

1625. Roger Conant at Cape Ann, iii. 311.

Samuel Maverick at Noddle's Island (Boston), iii. 311.

Wm. Blackstone at Shawmut (Boston), iii. 311.

San Salvador retaken by the Spaniards and Portuguese, viii. 351.

Feb. 19–Mar. 1. John Robinson dies at Leyden, iii. 277.

July 15. Earliest settlement at Pemaquid, iii. 321.

1626. D'Esnambuc at St. Kitts, viii. 252.

Louis XIII conveys the Canada region to the Company of New France, viii. 25; formed by Richelieu, iv. 127.

French built a fort at Castine, iv. 146.

The Dutch buy Manhattan Island of the natives, iv. 398.

Usselincx transfers his services to the Swedes, iv. 416.

The first Anglo-American poetical production, Sandys' translation of Ovid, published, iii. 145.

1627. Calvert at Avalon, iii. 519.

Mar. 19. Grant to the Massachusetts Company, iii. 342; confirmed by the king, iii. 310.

Edward Hilton settlement in New Hampshire, iii. 326.

The Dutch Admiral Heyn on the coast of Brazil, viii. 351.

1627–29–31. Claiborne's grants, iii. 146.

1628. New settlers for Canada sent out, iv. 127.

Kennebec patent issued to the Plymouth people, iii. 308.

Heyn's capture of the silver fleet, viii. 198.

Bagnal at Richmond-island (Me.), iii. 322.

Sept. 6. John Endicott at Salem, Mass., iii. 242, 311.

1628–29. *Mar. 4.* "London's plantation in Massachusetts Bay" established, iii. 309, 311, 342.

1629. Pinelo, earliest American bibliographer, i. p. i.

Quebec taken by Kirke, and Champlain taken to England, iv. 128, 158, 165.

Walford at Charlestown, Mass., iii. 311.

New Charter for New Netherland, iv. 398.

Buenos Ayres, with neighboring provinces, united in a single viceroyalty, viii. 360.

Nov. 7. Grant to John Mason (New Hampshire), iii. 308, 329.

Nov. 17. The Laconia patent of Gorges and Mason, and settlement made in 1630, iii. 308, 327, 340, 367.

Baltimore in Virginia, iii. 519.

1629–30, *Jan. 13–23.* The Council for New England grants to Bradford an enlargement of the Pilgrims' patent, iii. 279, 308, 310.

Mar. 12. Hilton's or the Squamscott patent, iii. 367.

1630. Sir Wm. Alexander's grant to La Tour, iv. 142.

Richard Vines at Saco, iii. 321.

Plough patent in Maine, iii. 322.

Winthrop and his company come over to Massachusetts Bay, iii. 312; and organize a church in Boston, iii. 242.

The Dutch send additional colonists to the Delaware, under the direction of De Vries, iv. 400.

Sir Robert Heath's grant, 31° to 36° north lat., v. 69, 287, 335, 358.

1630. The Dutch attack Olinda (Brazil), viii. 351.

Earthquake at Lima, viii. 342.

De Laet's maps, ii. 588; iii. 125; iv. 384, 436.

1631. Luke Fox's voyage to the north, iii. 95, 98, 99.

Captain Thomas James' voyage to Hudson's Bay, iii. 95.

Grant on the Acomenticus River (Me.) to the younger Ferd. Gorges and others, iii. 322.

The Warwick grant of Connecticut, iv. 401.

De Vries at Fort Nassau, iii. 422.

Roger Williams goes to Plymouth, Mass., iii. 290.

Blaeu's atlases first appeared, iv. 375, 437; and his establishment was burnt in 1672.

Feb. 29. Grant of Pemaquid, iii. 321.

May. Clayborne receives a license to trade, and occupies Kent Island in the Chesapeake, iii. 522.

Nov. 3. Piscataqua River and Isles of Shoals grant, iii. 327, 367.

1632. Capt. James winters in Hudson Bay, viii. 7.

Champlain publishes his consolidated narratives, iv. 132, 378, 386, 387; and in his map the Falls of Niagara are first noted, iv. 247.

Jesuits return to Canada, iv. 266.

The *Jesuit Relations* of Canada, usually so called, begin now, iv. 301; and extend to 1679, iv. 301–315.

Razilly, governor of Acadia, with La Tour and D'Aulnay as subordinates, iv. 142.

Nic. Denys on the Maine coast, iv. 151.

Portland, Me., founded, iii. 322.

Unsuccessful attempts to vacate the Massachusetts charter, iii. 313.

The Plymouth Pilgrims begin to explore and settle the Connecticut Valley, iii. 280.

Mar. 29. Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, iv. 129, 142; v. 96.

Apr. 15. Lord Baltimore dies, iii. 520.

June 20. The Maryland charter issued to Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore, iii. 517, 520.

Bernal Diaz's *Historia* published, ii. 414.

1633. Champlain once more in Quebec, iv. 129.

Royal commission for Newfoundland, viii. 191.

The Jesuits at Three Rivers, iv. 274.

Jansson's *Atlas*, iv. 437.

Usselincx, head director of the New South Company, iv. 444.

July. Lord Baltimore sustained in the Privy Council against the Virginia petition, iii. 524.

The Dutch increase their establishments on the Delaware, iv. 402.

Sept. 23. Capt. Thomas Yong commissioned to explore, and, *July*, 1634, he explores the Delaware, iii. 459; iv. 165.

Oct. The Plymouth settlement at Windsor, Conn., iii. 368.

The Dutch build Fort Hope (near Hartford) on the Connecticut, iv. 401.

1634, *Feb.* The grant to Ferdinando Gorges; confirmed *April 3*, **1639**, by the crown, iii. 310.

Wm. Woods' *New England's Prospect*, iii. 347.

June 21. Sir Edmund Plowden's charter of New Albion, iii. 458.

Baltimore's colonists reach the Chesapeake, iii. 525; and disembark, *Mar. 27*, at St. Mary's, iii. 526.

1634. The earliest publication relating to Maryland, iii. 553.

Jean Nicolet's explorations through the Great Lakes; discovers Lake Michigan, iv. 166, 196, 304.

Micmac missions begin, iv. 268.

Brebeuf founds the Jesuit mission among the Hurons, iv. 275; and in 1639 establishes the mission-house of St. Mary's, 276.

1635, *Apr. 22.* The John Mason grant of New Hampshire, iii. 310, 329.

New Somersetshire grant to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, iii. 321, 363.

Earl of Stirling's rights on the New England coast, iii. 388.

The Connecticut region assigned to the Marquis of Hamilton, iii. 335.

John Winthrop, jr., and the commission from Lord Say and Sele, iii. 369, 370.

John Winthrop, jr., made "governor of the river Connecticut," iii. 331.

Connecticut settled from Mass., iii. 310, 330.

Clayborne's hostility to Baltimore's colony, iii. 527.

Map of Maryland, iii. 525.

June 7. The Council for New England resign their patent, iii. 309.

Dec. 25. Champlain dies at Quebec, iv. 130, 167.

1636. The region of Maine made New Somersetshire, under the governorship of Capt. Wm. Gorges, iii. 322.

The "Moses his Judicials" of the Massachusetts colony, iii. 350.

Roger Williams in Rhode Island, iii. 335.

The French take possession of Martinique and Dominique, viii. 252.

Tortuga settled, viii. 279.

So late as this date America held to be, perhaps, a part of Asia, ii. 439.

1637. The Connecticut towns assume powers of government and establish a constitution, *Jan. 14*, **1638–39**, iii. 330, 369.

Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan*, iii. 348.

Harvard College established, iii. 314.

Pequot War (New England), iii. 348, 371.

Aquidneck settlement in Rhode Island, iii. 336.

Van Twiller recalled from, and Kreft sent to, New Amsterdam, iv. 402.

D'Esnambuc, the founder of French power in the West Indies, dies, viii. 307.

The Count of Nassau in Brazil, viii. 353.

1638. La Tour's territory in Acadia, v. 478, 479.

D'Aulnay's territory in Acadia, v. 478, 479.

New Haven settled under John Davenport, iii. 310, 332, 371.

John Wheelwright and others at Exeter, N. H., iii. 329.

St. Lucia settled by the English, viii. 290.

The Spaniards attack Tortuga, viii. 280.

Mar. Peter Minuit leads a Swedish colony to the Delaware, iv. 403, 447.

G. B. Keen's Map of New Sweden for the duration of the colony, iv. 501.

Apr. The Privy Council deny the rights of Clayborne, iii. 527.

1639. Saybrook, Conn., founded, iii. 332.

1639. *Apr. 3.* Royal charter of Maine, iii. 363.

Texeira on the Amazon, ii. 589.

Father Pelleprat reaches the West Indies, viii. 363.

1640. Early French map of the Ottawa route westward from Montreal, iv. 202.

Jesuits at Tadousac among the Montagnais, iv. 269.

The *Bay Psalm Book* printed — the first book printed in British America, iii. 350.

First general court under Sir Ferdinando Gorges' charter of Maine, iii. 323.

The English settle on Long Island, iv. 404.

Sept. 5. Quinnipiac becomes New Haven, iii. 368.

Connecticut people settle on the Delaware, iv. 451.

The regulation of tobacco culture established in Maryland, iii. 543.

Jean Nicolet at Green Bay, iv. 302.

The alleged voyage of De Fonte, ii. 462.

Johann Neuhoff reaches Brazil, viii. 354.

The struggle of Spain and Portugal in the La Plata region begins, viii. 360.

1641. Montreal founded, iv. 53, 275, 302.

The Jesuits among the Chippewas, iv. 286.

Massachusetts establishes its "Body of Liberties," iii. 314.

New Hampshire settlements joined to Massachusetts, iii. 327.

The third Swedish company reach New Sweden, iv. 452.

Plowden in Virginia, iii. 459.

1641–66. The Thomason tracts gathered in London, iii. 245.

1642. Grotius' controversy on the peopling of America begins, i. 369.

Feb. Sir Wm. Berkeley governor of Va., iii. 147.

Bressani begins his missionary labors, iv. 305.

The Iroquois capture Jogues and his companions, iv. 277, 421.

The city of "Gorgeana" founded in Maine, iii. 322.

Lechford's *Plain Dealing* (Massachusetts) published, iii. 351.

Samuel Gorton's Warwick settlement in Rhode Island, iii. 336.

Uncas and Miantonomo war, iii. 368.

Van der Donck reaches New Netherland, iv. 419.

Richard Ingles begins his career in Maryland, v. 271.

Richelieu dies, vii. 5.

1643. Druilletes founds a mission among the Abenakis, iv. 273.

New England Confederation, iii. 281, 315, 354; v. 611.

The Plough Patent bought by Alexander Rigby; government attempted as the Province of Lygonia, and Gorges in 1646 was dispossessed, iii. 323.

The Exeter (N. H.) joined to Massachusetts, iii. 329.

La Tour in Boston, iv. 145.

The Eliot tracts begin to appear, iii. 355.

Mar. 14. Providence Plantations (Rhode Island) chartered, iii. 337.

War of the Hurons with the Iroquois begins, iv. 305.

The Dutch under De Vries discover "Jesso" in the North Pacific, ii. 463, 464.

1643. The French again in Guiana, viii. 363.

1644. Antinomian controversy in New England, iii. 352.

Roger Williams begins his controversy with John Cotton, iii. 351.

Saybrook united to Connecticut, iii. 332.

The fifth Swedish Company reach New Sweden, iv. 458.

Jan. Ingle in Maryland and subsequently seizes the government, iii. 532.

Boston people trading on the Delaware, iv. 460.

April 18. Second Indian massacre in Va., iii. 147.

Geo. Fox begins preaching in England, iii. 471.

Struggle of the Dutch and Portuguese begins in Brazil, viii. 354; Nassau leaves, viii. 354.

1645. New Gottenburg on the Delaware, burned, iv. 460.

Beginning of the Jesuit journals in Canada, distinct from their *Relations*, iv. 306.

Aug. 3. Battle of Tapicura (Brazil), viii. 354.

1646. Jogues goes among the Mohawks, iv. 305, 306.

Samuel Gorton begins his controversy (New England), iii. 354.

Sixth Swedish Company reach New Sweden, iv. 461.

Calvert regains the government in Maryland, iii. 532.

Ovalle's *Chili* published, ii. 576.

Nicolas Sanson's *Atlas* first appeared; his publications after 1667 being carried on by his sons, iv. 375.

Dudley's *Arcano del Mare*, iv. 335; develops the nomenclature of the California coast, ii. 464, 465; his Nova Albion, iii. 76; his New England coast, iii. 303; his New France and Nova Scotia, iv. 388.

1647. Ward's *Simple Cobbler of Aggawam*, iii. 350.

Peter Stuyvesant in New Amsterdam, iv. 405, 464.

Seventh Swedish colony reach New Sweden, iv. 463.

End of the first Araucanian war, viii. 301.

May. Sir Ferdinando Gorges dies, iii. 324.

1647–67. Nic. Sanson, royal Geographer of France, iv. 375.

1648. The Cambridge platform (Massachusetts) drawn up and later approved, iii. 314.

Hurons attacked by the Iroquois, iv. 277, 305, and the Huron mission overthrown, 278; and in June, 1650, the missionaries abandon the Huron country, 278.

Brebeuf and Lalement, Jesuit martyrs, iv. 307.

Peace of Westphalia, vii. 2.

1649. The Huron remnant near Quebec, iv. 307.

Mar. 26. Gov. Winthrop, of Mass., dies, iii. 316, 357.

Corporation established for promoting and propagating the Gospel among the Indians of N. England, iii. 316, 355; v. 169.

Act of toleration in Maryland, iii. 530, 534, 535, 560, 561.

Puritans settle Annapolis in Maryland, iii. 535.

The land seen by João da Gama laid down in Texeira's chart, ii. 466.

1650. Beginning of the Pynchon-Norton controversy in New England, iii. 357.

The Dutch and English treaty at Hartford, by which the Dutch gave up their claims in Connecticut, iv. 407.

Virginia Ferrar's map of Virginia, iii. 168, 464, 465.

Map of New England, iii. 38.

Arnold Colom's *Zee-Atlas*, iv. 376.

1651. Father Dreuillette's mission to Boston, iv. 306.

The Coddington usurpation in Rhode Island, iii. 337.

Earliest view of New Amsterdam, iii. 415.

Johann Baptist Van Rensselaer reaches New Netherland, iv. 419.

Visscher's map of the Delaware, iv. 467.

Sir Geo. Downing's law in the English Parliament, a precursor of the Navigation Acts, iii. 544; vi. 7.

1652. Massachusetts establishes a mint, iii. 316.

Submission of the Maine towns to Massachusetts begins, iii. 324.

Parliamentary Commissioners in Virginia and Maryland, iii. 537.

Mar. 12. Virginia passes under the rule of the English Commonwealth, iii. 148.

Further futile attempts of the French to occupy Guiana, viii. 363.

1653. Portsmouth, N. H., named, iii. 328.

Explorations on the Carolina coast, v. 336.

1654. Denys' territory in Acadia, v. 478.

Sedgwick's exped. to Acadia, iv. 142, and Acadia an English province, 145.

Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, iii. 358.

Dutch title to New Netherland recognized by treaty, iii. 386.

Peace between the French and Iroquois, iv. 168.

The Jesuits go among the Iroquois, iv. 280.

English explorations of the Mississippi Valley begin, v. 69; viii. 132.

Rising, governor of New Sweden, iv. 475.

Lindström's map of New Sweden, iv. 481.

The Portuguese take Recife (Brazil), and end the war with the Dutch, viii. 354.

1655. Van der Donck's *Nieu Nederlant*, iv. 420, and its map, 500.

Stuyvesant subdues New Sweden, iv. 404, 478.

Jamaica taken by the English, viii. 202, 273, 307.

Mar. Battle of Providence, Maryland, iii. 534, 554.

Gottfriedt's map, iv. 390.

Nov. 3. Treaty of Westminster, iv. 145; v. 476.

Wright perfects Mercator's projection, ii. 466.

1656. Jean Bourbon alleged to have trafficked at Hudson Bay, viii. 7.

Sanson's map of the bounds of the English colonies, iii. 456.

Quakers in Massachusetts and Plymouth, iii. 281, 358, 472.

Blue Laws of Connecticut, iii. 371.

Map of mission sites among the Iroquois (brought down to 1684), iv. 293.

The Eries destroyed, v. 564.

Amsterdam takes possession of a part of the Delaware lands, iv. 423.

Rival governments in Maryland, iii. 540.

1656. Nic. Sanson's map, iv. 385, 391.

1657. The Jesuits leave the Maine coast to the Capuchins, iv. 273.

The "half way covenant" discussed and adopted in a Council at Boston, iii. 334, 359.

Gov. Wm. Bradford, of Plymouth, dies, iii. 283.

Quakers reach Maryland, iii. 545.

Comberford's map of the North Carolina coasts, v. 287.

Heylin's *Cosmographie*, iv. 428.

1658. Laval, bishop of Quebec, iv. 267.

Gorges' *Brief Narration*, iii. 365.

Mar. 24. The proprietary government re-established in Maryland, iii. 541.

1659. Margaret Bourgeois and the Congregation of Notre Dame, iv. 309.

June 6. Bishop Laval reaches Quebec, iv. 309.

Groseilliers and Radison explore Lake Superior, and go among the Sioux, iv. 168.

Doncker's *Zee-Atlas*, iv. 376.

1660. Fifth monarchy outbreak in England, iii. 472.

The English Parliament pass navigation, trade, excise, and other laws, bearing hard on their colonies in America, between this date and 1770, vi. 6, 7.

Conflicts in the English colonies over the royal prerogative, and continued till 1774, vi. 5.

Geo. Fox thinking of a Quaker colony in America, iii. 476.

May 8. Charles II, king of England, iii. 149.

The Regicides in New England, iii. 374.

Massachusetts people at Cape Fear, v. 288.

Jesuit missions renewed among the Iroquois, iv. 282.

College of William and Mary founded, v. 278.

Creuxius' map, iv. 389.

1661. Van Loon's *Zee-Atlas*, ii. 466; iv. 376.

Parliament denounces the Quakers, iii. 473.

First yearly meeting of Quakers established in Rhode Island, iii. 472.

Eliot's *Indian Bible* printed, iii. 356.

Aug. Charles II proclaimed in Mass., iii. 317.

Menard's mission at Lake Superior, iv. 310.

1662. Ejectments of non-conformist ministers in England, iii. 252.

Groseilliers' exploration towards Hudson Bay, iv. 171.

Map of Hudson Bay, viii. 3.

Jesuit map of the Iroquois country, iv. 281.

Corporation for the propagation of the gospel in New England established (still existing), v. 169.

Apr. 23. Charter to Lord Say and Sele (Connecticut), iii. 335, 373.

The *Kort Verhael*, an important book on New Netherland, iv. 422.

Coining begins in Maryland, iii. 543; with cuts of the first coins, 543.

Hilton's explorations of the Carolina coast, v. 337.

Charles II's grant (31° to 36° N. lat.) of Carolina, including Albemarle and Clarendon counties, v. 286, 336.

Alleged expedition of Peñalosa to Quivira, ii. 504; viii. 191.

Blaeu's maps published between this date and 1685, iv. 391.

1663. Sir George Downing's movements begin, iii. 415.

English Navigation Act, v. 226; vi. 7, 8.

French map of the St. Lawrence and Acadia, iv. 148.

Nov. 24. New charter of Rhode Island, iii. 338, 379.

Mason and Dixon's line run, but not completed till 1667, iii. 489.

The Earl of Stirling's grant sold to Lord Clarendon, iii. 310.

Grants made in Carolina, v. 358.

Grants made in North Carolina from this date till 1729, v. 287, 336.

People from Barbadoes, under Hilton, explore the Carolina coast, v. 288.

Thevenot's Collection of American Voyages, i. p. xxxiv; iv. 219.

1664. Du Creux, or Creuxius' summary of the Jesuit work in Canada in his *Historiæ Canadensis*, iv. 296.

Royal Commissioner Nicolls, etc., sent to New England, iii. 318, 388.

New York captured by the English, iii. 390, 414; iv. 408.

Plan of New York City, iii. 418.

Mar. 12. Patent to the Duke of York (New York, Maine coast, etc.), iii. 310, 325, 388, 421, 549.

Jesuit map of Lakes Ontario and Champlain, iv. 311.

First mention of slavery in Maryland, iii. 545.

May 29. English at Cape Fear, in Clarendon County, v. 288.

Sir Henry Morgan in command of the Buccaneers, viii. 236.

The French occupy San Domingo, viii. 280.

New attempt of the French to settle Guiana, viii. 363.

June 23, 24. Duke of York's grant to Berkeley, etc., iii. 422.

1665. Talon reaches Quebec, iv. 172.

De Courcelles' campaign against the Mohawks, iv. 283.

New Hampshire officially named, iii. 329.

Connecticut and New Haven united, iii. 334.

De Tracy's campaign against the Mohawks, iii. 415.

Feb. 10. "Concessions and Agreements;" the earliest constitution of New Jersey, iii. 423.

Elizabeth, N. J., founded, iii. 424.

The Carolina grant extended to embrace 29° to 36° 30′ N. lat., v. 289, 336.

Robert Sandford's explorations begin on the Carolina coast, v. 306, 337.

Sir John Yeamans at Cape Fear, v. 305.

The Duke's Laws (N. Y.), viii. 445.

1666. Sanson's map of the Arctic regions, viii. 105.

Jan. 29. France declares war against England, iii. 393.

Dutch map of the Connecticut River, iii. 333.

Jan. Courcelles' expedition, iv. 311.

Sept. Tracy's exped. against the Mohawks, iv. 311; with map, 312.

Map of New York and vicinity, iv. 440.

Map of the Carolina coast, v. 338.

1667. The Jesuits again undertake Iroquois missions, which exist for twenty years, iv. 283.

1667. The English occupancy of Surinam, viii. 363.

The Clarendon colony in Carolina abandoned, v. 289.

July. The English defeat the French fleet near Martinique, viii. 363.

July 21. Treaty of Breda deprives Holland of her North American colonies, and cedes Acadia to France, iii. 395, 415; iv. 146, 408; v. 96, 476, 479; viii. 363.

Nic. Sanson dies, v. 79.

1668. Triple alliance of Great Britain, the United Provinces, and Sweden against France, lasting till 1672, iii. 395.

Capt. Zachary Gillam at Hudson Bay, iv. 172; viii. 7.

Massachusetts resumes jurisdiction in Maine, iii. 325.

William Penn joins the Quakers, iii. 473.

Porto Bello attacked by Morgan, viii. 238.

1669. Nathaniel Morton's *New England Memorial* published, iii. 283.

Mohawk and Mohegan war, iv. 313.

John Lederer's explorations west of Virginia and Carolina, v. 338, 339.

John Locke and the Carolina Constitution and its modification till 1699, v. 336.

Colony on Ashley River, South Carolina, v. 292.

Iroquois converts settle opposite Montreal, iv. 284.

Galinée and Casson on the upper lakes of Canada, iv. 173, and Casson's map, iv. 202, 203.

Louis Joliet explores the Great Lakes, iv. 173, 204.

La Salle's movements uncertain from this date to 1671; but perhaps he tracked the Ohio, iv. 206, 207, and reached the Mississippi by the portage from Lake Michigan, iv. 206, 207–245.

The Spaniards still working mines in Northern Georgia, v. 359.

Dapper's Collection begun and not completed till 1729, i. p. xxxiv.

Sir John Narborough surveys the Patagonian waters, viii. 412.

1670. Treaty of Madrid (England and Spain), v. 358; viii. 202, 275.

May 2. The Hudson Bay Company charter, covering Prince Rupert's Land, iv. 172; viii. 5.

Nicolas Perrot at Green Bay, iv. 174.

Saint Lusson's exped. to Lake Huron, iv. 174.

The Jesuit map of Lake Superior, iv. 205, 313.

Castine taken by the French, iv. 147.

Maine, east of the Penobscot, surrendered to the French, iv. 161.

The original Charlestown, S. C., founded on the Ashley River, v. 307.

Montanus, Dapper, and Ogilby published, v. 472.

Ogilby's map, iv. 392, 393.

N. Visscher's Dutch atlas, iv. 375.

1670–98. Capt. Bolt, sent by Dr. Coxe, alleged to have penetrated to the mouth of the Mississippi River, and called the country Carolana, viii. 132.

1671. Raids of Morgan at Panama, viii. 236, 244, 307.

May 5. The region about Lakes Huron and Superior taken possession of for France, iv. 174.

1671. Courcelles establishes a post on Lake Ontario, iv. 177.

Geo. Fox in America, iii. 503.

1672. Geo. Fox in Maryland, iii. 472.

Third English navigation law, vi. 7, 8.

Frontenac reaches Quebec, iv. 177, 319.

Peter Stuyvesant dies, iv. 441.

The Iroquois supposed to have conquered the Ohio Indians, v. 564.

The Quakers hold the government of Rhode Island, iii. 472.

The first slaves brought into South Carolina, v. 309.

MS. map of the Mississippi basin, iv. 221.

1673. *Mar.* England and France declare war against Holland, iii. 428.

Mar. 18. Berkeley sold to John Fenwick his interest in New Jersey, iii. 430.

Recollects among the Micmacs, iv. 268.

July. Fort Frontenac built, iv. 180, 324, 328.

Aug. 8. A Dutch fleet captures New York, iii. 397, 408, 429.

View of New York, iii. 416.

Bethlehemite order established, viii. 264.

Explorations towards the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette, and they reach the river *June 17*, and descend as far as the Arkansas, iv. 178, 315; Joliet's map, perhaps the earliest of the Mississippi based on actual knowledge, iv. 208, 209; his genuine map differing from that offered as Marquette's by Thevenot, iv. 217, 220.

Padre Puendo, the great preacher of Peru, dies, viii. 368.

1674, *Feb.–July.* The treaty of Westminster restores New York to the English, iii. 398, 429; iv. 409.

A Boston ship captures Castine, iv. 147.

Samuel Sewall begins his diary (Mass.), which continues till 1729, v. 167.

June 29. The Duke of York's patent enlarged, iii. 398, 429.

Treaty at Albany with the Indians, i. 304.

July 28, 29. Sir George Carteret receives a confirmatory grant from the Duke of York, iii. 430.

July 31. Philip Carteret returns to New Jersey, iii. 430.

Oct. 30. Andros reaches New York as governor, iii. 429.

Josselyn's *Voyages to New England*, iii. 360.

Joliet's larger map, his smaller map, and his *Carte Générale*, iv. 211, 212, 214, 218.

1675. The Recollects in Canada; Hennepin among them, iv. 247.

Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, dies, iii. 547.

Marquette dies, iv. 220.

Philip's war in New England, i. 284, 289; iii. 281, 360, 374.

John Fenwick reaches New Jersey, iii. 431.

First Quaker meetings on the Delaware, iii. 494.

1676. La Salle at Fort Frontenac, iv. 180.

A Dutch frigate captures Castine, iv. 147.

July. Edward Randolph reaches New England, iii. 319.

July 1. A new division of New Jersey made, known as the Quintipartite Deed, iii. 431.

Bacon's Rebellion in Va., iii. 151, 164; viii. 460.

Roggeveen's *Atlas*, iv. 376.

The Duke's Laws (Pa.), iii. 510, 511.

1676, *Dec. 21.* The French attack Cayenne, viii. 364.

1677. Hubbard's map of New England, iii. 384.

Mar. Massachusetts buys Sir Ferdinando Gorges' rights in Maine, iii. 325.

Mar. 3. "Concessions and agreements" adopted for West Jersey, iii. 432.

Local government established in West Jersey, iii. 440.

1678. Alleged Massachusetts exped. to New Mexico, v. 69.

Du Lhut at Lake Huron, and planted, *July 2, 1679*, the arms of France among the Sioux, iv. 181.

Negro insurrection in San Domingo, viii. 280.

Treaty between England and the Netherlands, vii. 67.

1679, *Jan. 8.* La Salle and Tonty at Niagara, iv. 182; and in *May* the "Griffin" was launched, iv. 182, 183, 223.

John Cutts made royal governor of New Hampshire, iii. 330.

Buccaneers attack Porto Bello, viii. 238.

The Labadists send Danckers and Sluyter to New York, iv. 420, 429.

Franquelin begins to make maps of the French exploration of the Lakes and the Mississippi, iv. 226.

1680. New edition of Eliot's *Indian Bible*, iii. 356.

Revolts begin in New Mexico, viii. 253.

Map of New England, iii. 383.

La Salle among the Illinois, iv. 184.

Jan. La Salle builds Fort Crèvecœur in the Illinois country, iv. 184, 224.

Accault, with Hennepin, sent to the Upper Mississippi, iv. 184, 248.

Apr. 30. Carteret, of New Jersey, arrested by Andros, iii. 432.

The settlement of Charlestown, S. C., removed to Oyster Point, the present Charleston, v. 309, 315.

1681. Seignelay in power in France, iv. 337.

English treaty with the Abenakis, iv. 161.

Oldest meeting-house now standing in New England erected, iii. 319.

Early movements towards private banking in New England, v. 170.

Feb. Wm. Penn and others buy Carteret's interest in New Jersey; confirmed by the Duke of York in *Mar.*, iii. 435.

Mar. 4. Penn's Charter signed, iii. 477.

Penn's publications about his colony begin, iii. 495.

Penn and Baltimore controversy, iii. 488, 514, 548, — ended in 1760.

Episcopal church in Charleston, S. C., v. 342.

Alleged explorations of the Missouri by Sagean, iv. 226.

La Salle founds Fort St. Louis on the Illinois, iv. 226.

Feb. 6. La Salle on the Mississippi, and on *Mar. 14*, near the Arkansas, he takes possession of the country for France, and *Apr. 9* reaches its mouth, and calls the great valley Louisiana, iv. 225.

Franquelin's map, iv. 211, 218.

Portuguese rights under the Bull of demarcation rediscussed in Brazil, viii. 356.

1682. Franquelin's map, iv. 227.

1682. Du Val's *Atlas*, iv. 375.

The French attack the Hudson Bay Co.'s posts, viii. 28.

Perth in New Jersey founded, iii. 439.

Apr. 25. Penn's *Frame of Government*, iii. 484.

Aug. 24. Penn acquires New Castle (Delaware) and 20 miles round it, iii. 480.

Aug. or Sept. Philadelphia laid out, iii. 481, 491.

Oct. Penn reaches his province, iii. 482, 512.

Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania, iii. 497.

Welsh emigrants arrive in Pennsylvania, iii. 482.

Frontenac recalled, iv. 185.

La Salle in the Gulf of Mexico, v. 13.

1683. The mission of St. Francis de Sales established at the falls of the Chaudière, and their work soon spread into Maine, iv. 273.

A *quo warranto* issued against the Massachusetts Company, iii. 321.

June 23. Penn's treaty with the Indians at Shackamoxon, iii. 490, 513.

Mennonites reach Pennsylvania, iii. 490.

Aug. 28. Gov. Dongan reaches New York, iii. 404.

Hennepin's first book published in Paris, iv. 248, with his map, 249.

Perrot's *Mœurs*, etc., the best account of the Upper Mississippi region, iv. 197.

Lahontan in America till 1690, iv. 153.

1684, *Oct. 23.* Judgment against the Mass. Company, iii. 321; vi. 65.

Treaty with the Indians at Albany, i. 304.

Virginia becomes a royal province, v. 264.

La Barre and the Five Nations, iv. 341.

Indian war on the Upper Lakes, iv. 188.

Aug. La Salle, with Joutel, sails to the Gulf of Mexico from La Rochelle, iv. 233, 235.

Solis's *Conquista de México* published, ii. 422.

Franquelin's great map, iv. 227, 228.

1685. Charles II dies; succeeded by James II, iii. 406.

April 20. James II proclaimed in Boston, iii. 321.

Revocation of the edict of Nantes, iii. 410.

William Bradford's press established in Philadelphia, the first in the middle colonies, iii. 493.

The settlement of bounds between the provinces of Penn and Baltimore by the Privy Council, v. 272.

Denonville, gov. of Canada, iv. 343.

Plan of Fort Frontenac, iv. 222.

Nic. Perrot sent to Green Bay, iv. 189.

Oct. 31. La Salle leaves the Lavaca river on the Gulf of Mexico to find the Mississippi, iv., 238.

Minet's erroneous map of the Mississippi, iv. 237.

Insurrection in Maranham, viii. 356.

1686. The Chev. de Troyes destroys some of the Hudson Bay Co.'s posts, iv. 345; viii. 7, 13.

May 14. Jos. Dudley, President of the Council in Mass., iii. 321.

The Huguenots reach Massachusetts, v. 98.

Dec. 19. Sir Edmund Andros reaches Boston, iii. 321.

Gov. Dongan and Denonville hold correspondence, iv. 345.

1686. The French attack the Senecas, iv. 193.

Apr. 26. La Salle again starts to proceed up the Mississippi to Canada, iv. 238.

Nov. 16. Treaty of neutrality for America between France and England, iv. 346; v. 476.

First admiralty court held in the Colonies, vi. 65.

1687, *Jan.* La Salle again starts and is killed, iv. 238.

The Connecticut charter hidden in the "charter oak," iii. 335.

Daniel Coxe receives Byllynges' interest in New Jersey, iii. 442.

June 13. Denonville leaves Montreal to attack the Senecas, iv. 346.

Dongan ordered from England to protect the Five Nations against the French, iv. 348.

Earthquake at Lima, viii. 312.

Robert Morden's map of Carolina, v. 340, 341.

1688. Fort Andros built (Me.), v. 181.

Map of New England, v. 88.

King William's War (New England); lasts 10 years, v. 420.

Apr. The proprietors of New Jersey surrender their patent, iii. 444.

Aug. 11. Andros made Governor-General of British America, iii. 409.

Coronelli and Tillemon's map of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, iv. 229, 232.

Franquelin's map, iv. 170, 229, 230, 231.

Rafeix's map of the Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi, iv. 232, 233, 234; and that of Raudin, 232, 235.

Earliest account of Uxmal, i. 180.

1689. Andros imprisoned in Boston, iii. 321; vi. 65.

Simon Bradstreet restored to power in Massachusetts, v. 87.

Indian depredations in Maine and New Hampshire, during this and the following year, iv. 159; at Schenectady, iv. 364.

Jacob Leisler, Lieut.-Gov. of New York, v. 190, 240.

Apr. John Coode's "Association in Arms" in Maryland acquire possession, iii. 551.

May 8. Perrot takes possession for France of the region of Mille Lacs, etc., iv. 195.

Aug. 4–5. The Iroquois attack Lachine, iv. 350.

Frontenac returns to Quebec, and sends expeditions against New York and New England, iv. 351, 352.

War between France and Spain, viii. 281; San Domingo attacked, viii. 205.

1690. Parliament confirms the Hudson Bay charter, viii. 9.

Sir William Phips conquers Acadia, iv. 146, 159.

Phips' disastrous exped. against Quebec, iv. 353, 361–63, with plan, 354; v. 90.

Col. Benj. Church in Maine, iv. 160.

New Hampshire temporarily added to Massachusetts, v. 90.

First issue of paper money in Massachusetts, v. 170.

Sept. 25. *Publick Occurrences*, the precursor of the American newspaper, v. 90.

Governor Slaughter in New York, v. 193.

Francis Nicholson in Virginia, v. 264.

Huguenots settle in North Carolina, v. 300.

Alleged explorations of Henry Kelsey west of the Hudson Bay basin, viii. 78.

1691, *Jan. 21.* Battle of Sabana Real, viii. 281.

Schuyler's raid into Canada, iv. 365.

Massachusetts government under a new charter, iii. 321.

Oct. The Provincial charter of Massachusetts annexes the Plymouth colony to that jurisdiction, iii. 282.

Leisler hanged in N. Y., v. 190, 240.

Col. Benj. Fletcher, gov. of N. Y., v. 193.

The N. Y. Bill of Rights, v. 193.

1692, *Jan. 26.* Acadia becomes a part of Massachusetts, iv. 147, under the Provincial charter of Massachusetts, v. 92.

Indian depredations in Maine in this and the two following years, iv. 160.

Fort at Pemaquid, v. 181.

Witchcraft frenzy in Massachusetts begins, v. 94.

Gov. Fletcher of New York commissioned to bring Pennsylvania within his jurisdiction, v. 208.

Maryland becomes a royal colony, iii. 553.

Sir Lionel Copley the first royal governor of Maryland, v. 259.

Jaillot publishes a revised Sanson Atlas, v. 79.

1692–1700. Diego de Vargas reconquers New Mexico, viii. 253.

1693. Wm. Bradford moves to New York and becomes the father of printing in the middle colonies, v. 248.

1694. Frontenac's last campaign against the Iroquois, iv. 355.

Stoughton becomes governor of Massachusetts, v. 95.

Penn reinvested with his proprietary rights, v. 208.

The capital of Maryland removed from St. Mary's to Annapolis, iii. 557.

1695, *Feb. 18.* Sir Wm. Phips dies in London, v. 95.

Plan of New York City, v. 253.

San Domingo attacked, viii. 205.

1696. Iberville at Pemaquid, iv. 161, 162.

French incursions in New England, v. 96.

Col. Benj. Church in the Bay of Fundy, v. 407.

Nova Scotia made a royal province, v. 96.

Frontenac attacks the Onondagas, iv. 365.

Dutch grants on Lake Champlain, v. 567.

The attainder of Leisler reversed, v. 240.

1697. Treaty of Ryswick restores Acadia to the French, etc., iv. 149, 356; v. 96, 407, 476, 483; viii. 28; puts an end to buccaneering, etc., 240, 281, 307.

The French hold York Fort (Fort Bourbon) in the Hudson Bay Co.'s territory till 1714, viii. 29.

Iberville on the Newfoundland coast, iv. 161.

Jan. 14. Samuel Sewall made a public confession of his complicity in the witchcraft trials, v. 99.

Cartagena taken by the buccaneers, viii. 240.

Increase Mather's relations with Harvard College, v. 98.

The travels of Thomas Story in the English colonies begin, v. 243.

Peringskiöld printed the Norse Sagas, i. 92.

Hennepin's *Nouvelle Découverte*, with its maps, iv. 250, 251, 252, 253.

Vetancurt's *Teatro Mexicano* published, ii. 422.

1698, *Apr. 2.* The Earl of Bellomont, governor of N. Y., Mass., etc., v. 97, 194.

The Mennonists begin to come to Pennsylvania, v. 217.

The Welsh in Penna., v. 247.

Gabriel Thomas' map of Jersey and Pennsylvania, iii. 501.

Pensacola occupied by the Spanish, v. 17.

Le Moyne d'Iberville at St. Domingo, v. 16.

Nov. 28. Frontenac dies, iv. 356.

Edward Wells' maps published, v. 79.

Father Kino reaches California, viii. 254.

1699. The Manifesto Church in Boston, a protest against Matherism, v. 101.

La Mothe Cadillac at Detroit, i. 303.

Daniel Coxe's ship at English Turn in the Mississippi, v. 20.

Mar. 2. Iberville in the Mississippi, v. 18.

Biloxi fortified by the French, v. 19.

Dec. 7. Iberville returns on his second voyage to Biloxi, v. 20.

Scots at Darien, viii. 265.

1700. Samuel Sewall's *Selling of Joseph*, v. 99.

Huguenots in Virginia, v. 265.

The College of William and Mary graduates its first class, v. 265.

John Lawson begins his career in Carolina, v. 345.

Map of the mouth of the Mississippi, v. 22.

Alleged journey of Moncacht Apé from the Mississippi to the Pacific, v. 77.

Bienville on the Red River in Louisiana, v. 23.

The Popul Vuh discovered, i. 166.

Sept. 8. Treaty of Canada with the Iroquois, etc., v. 4.

1700–3. Delisle's maps of the Arctic regions, viii. 106, 107.

1701. *Mar. 5.* Bellomont dies, v. 102.

July 7. William Stoughton (Mass.) dies, v. 103.

Yale College founded, v. 102.

July 19. Alleged treaty of the Iroquois at Albany surrendering their beaver hunting country to the English, v. 565.

Aug. 4. The French make a treaty with the Iroquois, v. 483.

Jesuits again try to live among the Iroquois, and remain for eight years, iv. 285.

The Jerseys, by the surrender of the proprietaries, become a royal province, v. 218.

Lord Cornbury in New Jersey, v. 192.

La Mothe Cadillac at Detroit, v. 483, 560.

Iberville's third voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, v. 21.

Bienville in command of the French settlements in Louisiana, v. 21.

Father Kino's California explorations, ii. 467.

Nic. de Fer, the royal geographer of Belgium, publishes American maps up to 1716, v. 80.

Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, v. 169, 341.

Herman Moll issues editions of his *Atlas*, v. 234, and he issues single maps later, up to 1732.

1702. Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* published, iii. 345; v. 156, with map of New England, v. 88.

Queen Anne's or Gov. Dudley's War (New England), known in Europe as the "War of the Spanish Succession," v. 420.

1702, *May 28*. News of Queen Anne's accession reaches Boston, v. 103.

June 1. Queen Anne proclaimed in Boston, v. 102.

June. Jos. Dudley, governor of Mass., v. 104.

George Keith began to journey through the Atlantic colonies, v. 104.

Cornbury, gov. of New York, v. 195.

Map of the Atlantic colonies, from Campanius, iv. 394, 485.

Vincennes said to have been founded, v. 53.

The French vacate their post on the Illinois, iv. 239.

J. B. Homann publishing maps, up to 1724, v. 234.

1703. Callières, gov. of Canada, dies, and Philippe de Vaudreuil succeeds, v. 4, 5.

Lahontan's map, iv. 260.

Frontier war in New England, lasting for some years, v. 105, 106.

Penhallow's *Wars of New England* covers the period from this year to 1726, v. 424.

Pennsylvania and Delaware have separate assemblies, v. 209.

Col. Moore invades the Apalache country, v. 319.

1704. Church again in the Bay of Fundy, v. 408.

Deerfield and later Haverhill (1708) attacked, v. 5, 185, 186.

Plan of Charleston, S. C., v. 343.

Apr. 24. The *Boston Newsletter* begins, v. 106.

Sept. Tonty dies, v. 24.

1705. Robert Beverly's *Virginia*, v. 279.

The Bourbons on the Spanish throne, viii. 306.

Torfæus' *Vinlandia*, i. 91.

1706. The Spaniards threaten Charleston, S. C., v. 319, 342.

Iberville dies, v. 23.

Van der Aa's *Voyagien*, i. xxxv.

1707. Port Royal expedition failed, v. 106, 408, 421.

Francis Mackemie prosecuted for preaching without a license, v. 241, 282.

Samuel Fritz first maps the Amazon with any correctness, ii. 589.

1708. Diron d'Artaguette arrives in Louisiana, v. 27.

1709. La Hontan's map of Acadia, iv. 153; of the Rivière Longue, iv. 261; of the Lakes and the Mississippi, iv. 258, 259.

Schuyler and Maqua chiefs go to London, v. 107.

Paper money first issued in New York, v. 247.

New Jersey issues paper money, v. 230.

Alex. Selkirk found on Juan Fernandez, viii. 205.

1710, *Sept*. Expedition against Port Royal, v. 107, 108, 408, 423.

The Mather-Wise controversy in New England, v. 108.

Alex. Spotswood, gov. of Virginia, v. 265.

Correspondence of Alex. Spotswood, of Virginia, begins and lasts till 1722, v. 28.

The writ of *Habeas Corpus* allowed in Virginia, v. 265.

1711. Sir Hoveden Walker's unsuccessful expedition against Quebec, v. 109, 484, 561.

Carey rebellion and Indian war in Carolina, v. 345, 346.

1711, *Sept. 22*. The Tuscaroras massacre whites in Carolina, v. 298.

Sept. René de Guay-Thouin attacks Rio de Janeiro, viii. 355–56.

1712. Detroit attacked by the Foxes, v. 561.

Col. Moore's march from South Carolina to the relief of North Carolina, v. 345.

Mass. Province Bills made legal tender, v. 170.

Aug. Truce between England and France, v. 110.

Sept. 14. Antony Crozat authorized to trade in Louisiana, v. 28.

Cassard at Surinam, viii. 364.

Frezier on the coasts of Peru and Chile, viii. 367.

1713. White Kennett, the earliest English bibliographer of Americana, i. p. i.

Mar. 31. Treaty of Utrecht gives Acadia to the English, makes the Five Nations subject to England, and confirms Portugal in its possession of Brazil, iv. 135, 154; v. 6, 110, 408, 475, 476, 484; vi. 572; vii. 83; viii. 27, 28, 206, 236, 242, 356.

Treaties with the Abenakis, in this year and in 1715, v. 424.

Col. Maurice Moore's campaigns in Carolina in this and the two following years, v. 345.

The Tuscaroras overthrown and scattered, v. 299, 583; and joining the Five Nations they become the Six Nations, v. 487.

La Mothe Cadillac, gov. of Louisiana, v. 29.

Trading Post at Natchez, v. 29.

1714. Project for a bank of credit in Boston, v. 170.

Land bank controversy in Mass., lasting several years, v. 170.

Sept. 15. Death of Queen Anne known in Boston, v. 113.

St. Denys goes to Mexico, v. 29.

The English government offer a reward for a method of ascertaining longitude at sea, ii. 100.

1715. Rhode Island disfranchises Roman Catholics, v. 124.

John Hart rules Maryland for the fifth Lord Baltimore, v. 260.

Edenton, N. C., founded, v. 300.

Yemassee War in Carolina for two years, v. 321, 347.

Louis XIV dies, vii. 5.

Moll's map of the Brit. Dominions in America, v. 80, 344.

1716. The Dr. Daniel Williams' library founded in London, iii. 245.

Gov. Shute reaches Mass., v. 116.

Spotswood opens a way over the Blue Ridge to the Ohio lands, v. 484, 563.

Route from the lakes by the Miami and Wabash opened, v. 71.

The French in the Ohio Valley, i. 309.

The Natchez attack the French, v. 30.

May 2. Law's bank established in Paris, v. 32.

1717. Whale fishery in New England beginning, v. 118.

Earliest auction sale of books in Boston, v. 121.

Whidaw the pirate, v. 118.

Sir Wm. Keith, the last governor of Pennsylvania, commissioned by Penn himself, v 211.

L'Epinay, gov. of Louisiana, v. 31.

1717. Illinois joined to Louisiana, v. 35.

June. Grant of Sir Robert Montgomery [unoccupied] in Georgia called Azilia, v. 359, 392.

Aug. Indian conference at Arrowsick, v. 118.

Sept. 6. The Company of the West chartered, with John Law director, v. 31, later known as the Company of the Indies, 33.

Lettres Édifiantes supplement the Jesuit relations for Canada, and throw light on those in other parts of America, iv. 316. Shea says the first of the series appeared in 1702–3; but they are usually placed as beginning in 1717 and ending in 1776.

1718. Scotch-Irish come to New England, v. 118.

Potatoes introduced into New England by the Scotch-Irish, v. 119.

French settlements in the Ohio Valley, v. 563.

Renard de la Harpe and Le Page du Pratz reach Louisiana, v. 36, 65.

La Harpe in Texas, v. 40.

New Orleans founded, v. 36.

Bienville, Commandant-General of Louisiana, v. 35.

1719. Mother Goose's Tales published in Boston, v. 121.

The first Dunkers reach Pennsylvania, v. 217.

The Irish begin to come to Pennsylvania, v. 217.

Andrew Bradford begins the *Amer. Weekly Messenger*, the earliest Pennsylvania newspaper, v. 248.

The Pirate Teach, Blackbeard, on the Virginia coast, and killed, v. 266.

Pensacola destroyed, v. 39.

Negroes brought to Louisiana from Guinea, v. 36.

Diron and De Sérigny survey the Mississippi, v. 80.

Map of the Mississippi near New Orleans, v. 41.

John Senex's map of Louisiana, v. 81.

Fort at St. Georges, Me., built, v. 181.

1720. Charlevoix reaches Canada; but does not publish his *Histoire* till 1744, iv. 358.

The French begin the defences at Louisburg, v. 434.

Royal orders forbid the English colonies to issue paper money, v. 212.

Law's projects in full operation, v. 76.

Herman Moll's map, v. 80.

Claude Delisle dies, v. 80.

1721. Hans Egede goes to Greenland, i. 69.

Inoculation controversy in Boston, v. 120, 121.

The English on the Oswego river, v. 485.

Conference with the Five Nations at Conestoga, v. 212.

Joncaire's post at Niagara, v. 6.

Charlevoix in the Illinois country, v. 52.

The proprietary government in South Carolina overthrown, v. 327.

June. News of Law's flight reaches Louisiana, v. 42.

1722. Map of Hudson's Bay, viii. 26.

Lovewell's or Gov. Dummer's War (New England) continues three years, v. 122, 430.

New York, Penna., and Virginia hold a conference with the Iroquois, v. 485, 563.

1722. The Marylanders declare themselves the inheritors of the English common law, v. 261.

Bacqueville de la Potherie's *Hist. de la Amérique* published, iv. 299, 357.

Coxe's map of Carolana, v. 70.

1723. Col. Westbrook on the Penobscot, v. 430.

Aug. 23. Increase Mather dies, v. 125.

The Jesuits in the Mississippi Valley, north of Natchez, v. 43.

Second Natchez war, v. 46.

1724, *Feb.* Bienville ordered to France, v. 45.

Aug. Attack on Norridgewock and killing of Sebastian Rasle, v. 127, 274, 430.

Fort Dummer built, making the first English settlement in Vermont, v. 127, 183.

Parry and the Swiss emigration to South Carolina, v. 347.

Earliest issue of the map of the Five Nations' country, later reproduced in the 1747 ed. of Colden's *Five Nations*, v. 235.

Colden's map of the manorial grants along the Hudson, v. 436, 437.

Homann, who published many American maps, dies, v. 81.

Lafitau's *Mœurs des Sauvages* published, i. 317; iv. 298.

1725. Western Massachusetts settled, v. 127.

An explanatory charter imposed on Massachusetts, v. 124.

May 8. Lovewell's fight at Pigwacket, v. 127, 431.

Dec. 15. Dummer's treaty with the Eastern Indians (Mass.), v. 127, 432.

The N. Y. Gazette, the earliest newspaper in New York, v. 248.

The rivalry of the French and English for the possession of Oswego and Niagara begins, v. 566.

Vaudreuil, gov. of Canada, dies, v. 6.

1726. The Indians surrender to the English a six mile strip along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, v. 565.

The French retake Fort Denonville near Niagara, viii. 132.

Beauharnois, gov. of Canada, v. 7.

Guillaume Delisle dies, iv. 375; v. 80.

1727, *June 11.* George I of England dies, v. 129.

July. Further Indian treaty at Falmouth (Me.), v. 432.

Oct. 29. Earthquake in New England, v. 128.

Colden's *Five Nations* published, i. 324; iv. 299, 421.

Wm. Gooch, gov. of Virginia, v. 267.

The *Maryland Gazette*, the first newspaper in that province, v. 261.

Ursuline nuns at New Orleans, v. 44, 68.

1728. Behring unwittingly passes through Behring's Straits, ii. 468.

Feb. 13. Cotton Mather dies, v. 129.

Burnet, gov. of Mass., v. 129.

Byrd's dividing line (Va., and N. Carolina), v. 275.

1729. Hans Egede throws the first light on the fate of the Greenland colonists, i. 107.

Geo. Berkeley comes to Rhode Island, v. 141.

The proprietors of Carolina surrender their patent, v. 347, 361.

German Palatines reach South Carolina, v. 331.

1729. Treaty of Seville (England, France, Spain), viii. 244.

Nov. 29. Massacre by the Natchez, v. 46.

Philippe Buache publishes his map, and continues to do so for thirty years, iv. 375.

1730. Moll's map of New England, New York, etc., marking missionary stations, v. 133.

Moll's map of South Carolina, v. 348, 351.

Indian map of South Carolina, v. 349.

Presbyterian church organized in Boston, v. 132.

Aug. 10. Belcher arrives as gov. of Mass., v. 132.

Rhode Island wild in the issue of paper money in this and succeeding years, v. 141.

Baltimore, Md., founded, v. 261, 271.

Sir Alex. Cuming among the Cherokees, v. 392.

Early stragglers into Kentucky in this and succeeding years, v. 565.

The Natchez driven away, v. 48.

Vérendrye west of Lake Superior, for ten years, v. 78.

Earliest general account of Brazil, viii. 349.

1731. Vérendrye penetrates to Lake Winnipeg, v. 8; and discovers the Rocky Mountains, viii. 27.

The French first permanently occupy the Lake Champlain country, v. 487, 567.

North Carolina a royal province, v. 301.

The *South Carolina Gazette* begins, v. 350.

Neal's *History of the Puritans* published, iii. 250.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* begins in London, viii. 499.

1732. Various maps defining the westerly bounds of the N. Amer. English colonies issued for some years, v. 566.

Henry Popples' map of the British empire in America first issued, v. 81; shows New England, 134; a plan of Boston harbor, 143; Lakes George and Champlain, 486; a plan of New York harbor, 253; and a plan of Charleston, S. C., 330.

Indian treaty at Falmouth, Me., v. 139.

An agreement of bounds between Pennsylvania and Maryland, v. 263.

The followers of Schwenckfeld come to Pennsylvania, v. 217.

The Swiss in South Carolina, v. 331.

June 9. Charter of Georgia, v. 364.

Lord Carteret conveys his rights under the Carolina grant to the trustees of the colony of Georgia, v. 361.

The *London Magazine* begins in London, viii. 499.

A Russian visit to Alaska, ii. 468.

1733, *Jan. 30.* Savannah and Georgia founded, v. 332, 367; map, 373.

May. The Indians cede lands to the trustees of Georgia, v. 370.

Tobacco made a legal tender in Maryland because of the depreciation of the paper currency, v. 261.

Richmond, Va., laid out, v. 268.

The Irish in South Carolina, v. 331.

Map of South Carolina and Georgia, v. 365.

Bienville again in Louisiana, and remains for ten years, v. 49, 50.

Sugar Act (England), vi. 25, 63.

Lafitau's book on the discoveries of the Portuguese, the first attempt to do them justice, viii. 372.

1734. The "Great Awakening" in New England lasted for fifteen years, v. 133.

The trial of Zenger in N. Y., establishing the freedom of the press, v. 199, 242.

Mar. The Salzburgers reach Georgia, v. 372, and build Ebenezer, 374, 395.

1735. Indian treaty at Deerfield, Mass., v. 139.

Treaty with the Five Nations, v. 245.

French expedition (Condamine, etc.) to measure an arc of the meridian in Peru, ii. 590.

1736. Prince's *Chronological Hist. of N. England*, v. 137, 346.

The "Walking Purchase" in Pennsylvania, v. 240.

Map of the northern neck of Virginia, v. 277.

Wesley in Georgia, v. 403.

Bienville unsuccessfully invades the Chickasaw territory, v. 49.

Vérendrye builds Fort Rouge in the Red River country, viii. 46.

Boturini in Mexico, i. 159.

1737. Conrad Weiser negotiates with the Six Nations, i. 305.

1738. Behring develops the geography of Behring's Straits in this and the following years, ii. 468.

La Franche's exploration between Hudson Bay and Lake Superior continued for four years, viii. 78.

Sir Wm. Keith's *Virginia*, v. 280; with map, 273, 274.

Negro insurrection in South Carolina, v. 331.

Whitefield in Georgia, v. 404.

1739. War of Spain and England, viii. 208, 292; Rhode Island and the Spanish war, v. 142.

A new invasion of the Chickasaw lands, and a peace obtained, v. 50.

Vernon attacks Porto Bello, viii. 238.

1740, *Mar. 24.* Vernon attacks San Lorenzo Castle, viii. 237.

Oglethorpe invades Florida, v. 384, 397.

Attack on St. Augustine, v. 323, 350.

Oct. New England troops join Vernon in the West Indies, v. 135.

Heckewelder's narrative of the Moravian missions among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians covers a period of nearly seventy years, v. 582.

New Granada made a viceroyalty, viii. 315.

1741, *Mar.* Vernon repulsed at Cartagena, viii. 244, 292.

May 6. Wm. Shirley governor of Massachusetts, v. 143.

Negro plot in N. Y., v. 201, 242.

The *American Magazine*, published in Philadelphia, the earliest magazine in the English colonies, v. 248.

The Moravians found Bethlehem in Penna., v. 245.

1742. Middleton and Moore's discoveries in Hudson Bay, viii. 108.

July. Treaty with the Six Nations at Philadelphia, v. 145, 245.

Map of the coast of Florida, v. 382, in the vicinity of St. Augustine, v. 382, 383.

A Spanish fleet threatens the Georgia coast, v. 386, 398.

1743. Map of Georgia settlements up to this time, v. 375.

1743. Vaudreuil, gov. of Louisiana, v. 50.

Vérendrye's expedition to the Northwest, v. 567.

D'Anville's maps published for twenty-five years, v. 81.

The American Magazine published in Boston, v. 158.

1744. Controversy over the alleged efforts of the Hudson Bay Co. to prevent the discovery of a Northwest Passage, viii. 68.

Mar. 15. France declares war against England, v. 434.

June 2. The French Declaration of War reaches Boston, v. 145.

War with the French and Indians, known in New England as King George's, Shirley's, or Five Years' War, v. 434, 568.

Treaty at Lancaster by which the Six Nations confirm to the English their conquered territory beyond the mountains, i. 300, 305; v. 487, 566.

English efforts to occupy the Ohio Valley, continued for thirty years, v. 566.

Charles de Langlade settles in what is now Wisconsin, v. 568.

Bellin's maps in Charlevoix, v. 81, 474; including Annapolis Basin, 418.

1745. Capture of Louisburg, v. 146, 410, 434, etc.; contemporary plans, etc., 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446.

Lord Fairfax settles beyond the mountains in Va., v. 268.

1746. Explorations of Captains Moor and Smith in Hudson's Bay, viii. 81.

Bellin's map of Cape Breton, v. 440.

William Johnson as Indian commissioner, v. 487.

Futile Crown Point exped. v. 568.

Boston apprehensive of an attack from D'Anville's fleet, v. 147, 413.

Aug. Fort Massachusetts attacked, v. 187.

The College of New Jersey, Princeton, founded, v. 231.

Boturini Benaduci's *Idea de una nueva historia* published, ii. 418.

Oct. 28. Earthquake at Lima, viii. 312, 344.

1747, *Jan. 31.* Battle of Minas, v. 448.

Feb. 4. Col. Noble surprised at Grand Pré, v. 413.

Com. Knowles' press gang in Boston, v. 148.

Dr. Douglass' *Brit. Settlements in North America*, v. 158.

Dr. Walker in the Kentucky region, vi. 715.

June. Montreal Island raided upon by the English, v. 489.

Galissonière, gov. of Canada, v. 8.

Colden's map of the Portages between the Lakes and the Mississippi, v. 83.

The younger Delisle, the French cartographer, dies, ii. 468.

Consag's map of the Gulf of California, viii. 255.

1748. Map of Hudson's Bay, viii. 27.

Peter Kalm in the English colonies for three years, v. 244.

Ohio Land Company formed, i. 309, 570.

Grants of Virginia beyond the mountains during the next ten years, v. 570.

Oct. 7. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 306; v. 9, 148, 413, 476, 490; vi. 14; viii. 475.

Spanish galleon trade ceases, viii. 209.

1749, *May 10.* The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle proclaimed in Boston, v. 449.

1749. Parliamentary inquiry into the Hudson Bay Co.'s management, viii. 33, 65.

New England reimbursed in specie for her outlay on the Louisburg expedition and enabled thus to redeem her paper currency in part, v. 176.

June. Halifax, Nova Scotia, founded, v. 414, 450.

Oct. 16. Massachusetts makes a treaty with the Eastern Indians, v. 149.

Disputes over the New Hampshire grants, lasting forty years, v. 178; viii. 438.

Ogdensburg, N. Y., settled, v. 3.

The school founded in Philadelphia which is now the University of Pennsylvania, v. 231.

Printing introduced into North Carolina, v. 303.

Céloron buries plates on the Ohio, i. 286; v. 8, 9.

Bonnecamp's map of the Ohio country, showing where Céloron buried his plates, v. 569, 570.

Fort Rouillé (Toronto) built, v. 490.

1750. Jonathan Mayhew's bold utterances in Boston, v. 150; vi. 70.

The Ohio Company have the Ohio lands granted to them, v. 10.

Christopher Gist, George Croghan, and Andrew Mentour on the Ohio, v. 10.

The Shawnees in the Ohio country, v. 564.

The Palenqué ruins first discovered, i. 191.

1751, *July.* Conference with the Iroquois, v. 204.

Geo. Washington in military command in Va., v. 268.

Robert Dinwiddie, gov. of Virginia, v. 268.

Official records of Gov. Dinwiddie of Va. continued till 1758, v. 281, 572.

Fry and Jefferson's map of Virginia, v. 273, 575.

Sugar cane introduced into Louisiana, v. 51.

1752. Buache's map of his theory of the Arctic regions, as affected by the De Fuca and De Fonte stories, viii. 110.

June 13. Virginia treats with the Indians at Logstown and builds a fort at the forks of the Ohio, v. 490, 570.

The English trading post Pickawillany, in the Ohio country, destroyed by the French, v. 571.

June 23. The trustees of Georgia surrender their charter, and Georgia becomes a royal province, v. 389.

Duquesne, gov. of Canada, v. 11.

1753. Arctic expedition sent from Philadelphia under the instigation of Dr. Franklin, viii. 81.

William Livingston's *Review of the Mil. Operations in North America*, v. 573.

Connecticut colonizes lands in Pennsylvania, v. 180.

Horatio Sharpe becomes governor of Maryland, v. 262.

Dec. 11. Washington at Fort Le Bœuf as a messenger from Dinwiddie, v. 492, 572.

The French occupy the Ohio country, v. 11, 204, 490.

Dumont de Montigny's map of Louisiana, v. 82.

1754. Fort Halifax built on the Kennebec, v. 151, 181.

King's College, later Columbia College, chartered, v. 230.

1754. The English plant posts west of the Alleghanies, i. 310.

Washington attacks Jumonville, v. 12, 493, builds Fort Necessity, and fights at Great Meadows, 494, 574.

Congress at Albany, v. 150, 205, 612; vi. 63, 65, 66.

Venegas' map of California, viii. 256.

1755. Old French War lasted seven years, v. 452.

Mante's history of the French and Pontiac Wars comes down to 1764, v. 616.

Pouchot's French account of the war in No. America ends in 1760, v. 616.

The De Lévis' account of the French campaigns in No. America ends in 1760, v. 589.

Contention over the bounds of Acadia, iv. 154; v. 475; with maps of claims, 235, 478, 479.

Kitchin's map of N. America and others on the English side by Huske, Mitchell, Evans, Jefferys, v. 83, 84, 171, 180, 181.

D'Anville's great map of North America, with others on the French side by Vaugondy, Bellin, etc., v. 83, 482.

Great preponderance of the English colonies over the French, in population, v. 56.

D'Anville and Jefferys' maps of the St. Lawrence in this and succeeding years, v. 614.

The English capture Fort Beauséjour (Acadia), v. 452.

The Acadians deported, v. 415, 455; viii. 131.

Shirley's Stamp Act in Mass., vi. 11, 177.

Maerschalck's and other plans of New York City, v. 255, 256.

Johnson and Lyman's campaign at Lake George, defeating Dieskau, *Sept. 8*, v. 502, 583.

Robert Rogers' Journals of his border warning for six years, v. 592.

Shirley's Niagara exped., v. 583.

The French build a fort at Venango, v. 492.

French posts north of the Ohio, v. 566.

The French drive off the English from the forks of the Ohio and build Fort Duquesne, v. 493.

Evans' map of the Ohio country, v. 564.

July 7. Braddock's defeat, i. 294; v. 151, 575; with plans, v. 498, 499, 500.

Gov. Shirley, of Mass., in command of the British forces in No. America, v. 501.

Indian warfare on the Virginia frontiers in this and succeeding years, v. 270.

Franklin and his kite, v. 152.

Nov. 18. Earthquake in New England, v. 152.

1756. *May and June*. England and France declare war respectively, though it had existed for two years, v. 505.

May. Montcalm in Quebec, v. 505.

June. Shirley relieved of his command, v. 508.

July. Lord Loudon in command of the English forces in North America, v. 153, 270.

Aug. 14. Montcalm captures Oswego, v. 510, 591.

The forays of Robert Rogers and Israel Putnam in this and the following year, v. 513.

Kitchin's map of Pennsylvania, v. 239.

1757. Loudon's futile expedition to attack Louisbourg, v. 575.

Rigaud's attack on Fort William Henry, v. 513, 593.

1757. *Aug*. Thomas Pownall, gov. of Mass., v. 153.

Aug. 9. The French capture Fort William Henry, v. 517, 593.

Nov. 28. Attack on German Flats, v. 520, 595.

Rufus Putnam's journal in Northern New York for three years, v. 594.

Knox's *Historical Journal* of the war in No. America ends with 1760, v. 616.

Franklin in London as the agent of Pennsylvania, v. 216.

Le Page du Pratz' map of Louisiana, v. 86.

1758, *Mar*. Rogers' defeat on Lake Champlain, v. 596.

July. Fort Stanwix built, v. 528.

July 8. Abercrombie's defeat at Ticonderoga, v. 597.

July. Amherst's capture of Louisbourg, v. 154, 418, 464; with maps, 465, 468, 469, 470.

Aug. Col. Bradstreet attacks Fort Frontenac, v. 527, 598.

Nov. The French abandon Fort Duquesne, and Gen. Forbes takes possession and names the place Pittsburg, v. 530, 599.

The Haldimand papers begin to be of use, viii. 461.

The *Annual Register* begins in London, viii. 500.

Christian Frederic Post first carries the Moravian missions to the Ohio country, i. 311.

Le Page du Pratz' map of Louisiana, v. 66.

Revolt of the Cimarrones, viii. 233.

1759. Fort Pownall on the Penobscot built, v. 154.

Palairet's map of the Brit. and French dominions in N. America, shows the Red-line conspicuous in the N. E. boundary controversy of 1842, vii. 180.

Jan. 23. The British attack Guadaloupe, viii. 290.

Johnson captures Fort Niagara, v. 535, 600.

Stanwix builds Fort Pitt near Duquesne during the summer, v. 533.

June 21. The English fleet approaches Quebec, v. 540, and *July 18*, some of Wolfe's vessels pass above Quebec, v. 544.

July 26. Amherst captures Ticonderoga, v. 536, and builds a fort at Crown Point, 537, and sends Robert Rogers to attack St. Francis, and to retreat to the Connecticut Valley, v. 601.

Sept. 13. Wolfe's victory and death on the Plains of Abraham, and death of Montcalm, v. 549, 602, 605.

Sept. 18. Ramezay gives up Quebec, v. 607.

Burnaby's travels in the English colonies in this and the following year, v. 245, 284; viii. 489.

Acrelius' *Nya Sverige*, iv. 494.

Scull's map of Pennsylvania, v. 240.

1760, *Apr*. Lévis defeats Murray at Ste. Foy or Sillery, v. 552, 608.

May. Lévis abandons the siege of Quebec, v. 554.

July 4. Agreement of Baltimore and Penn., v. 263, 273.

Sept. Amherst approaches Montreal from up the river, v. 555, while Murray comes up the stream, and Haviland approaches from Lake Champlain, 556.

Sept. 8. Montreal capitulates, and all Canada passes into English hands, v. 558, 609.

1760. *Oct. 25.* George II of England dies, v. 154; vii. 9.

Nov. 29. Belêtre surrenders at Detroit, v. 559.

Dec. 27. News of the death of George II reaches Boston, vi. 12.

Francis Bernard gov. of Mass., v. 155, and Thomas Hutchinson the most conspicuous man in N. E., v. 155.

Sir Jos. Wright gov. of Georgia, v. 391.

Researches in the English Public Record Office for papers of a later date than this not allowed except under special conditions, viii. 463.

Jefferys' map of Canada and Louisiana, v. 85.

1761. *Jan. 27.* Hutchinson chief justice of Mass., vi. 12.

John Adams considered that the American Revolution began at this date, viii. 470.

1761-2. Discussion over the "Writs of Assistance" in Mass., v. 156; vi. 11, 13, 65, 68.

1762. *Jan. 1.* England declares war with Spain, vi. 19; takes Martinique, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, viii. 290; *Aug. 13*, takes Havana, viii. 272, 274.

The question of either restoring to France Guadaloupe with its sugar trade, or Canada with its fur trade, under discussion in England, vi. 686.

Map of Canada, viii. 132.

Autumn. Pontiac planning his conspiracy, vi. 690.

Nov. 3. Louis XV by a secret treaty cedes to Spain Louisiana west of the Mississippi, with the island of New Orleans east of it, vi. 686, vii. 464.

Timberlake's map of the Cherokee country, v. 393.

1763. *Jan.* The English government orders Connecticut to cease colonizing the Wyoming country, vi. 605.

Mason and Dixon's line, v. 273.

Bigot's trial in Paris, v. 610.

Feb. 10. Treaty of Paris, by which Spain cedes Florida to England; the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon are confirmed to France; Acadia is confirmed to England, i. 312, 313; v. 58, 156, 359, 418, 471, 614; vi. 14, 27, 685; vii. 2, 3, 10, 83, 171, 543; viii. 28, 32, 78, 131, 290.

Apr. 16. Bute ceases to be prime minister of England, vi. 21, 23.

May–Nov. Pontiac's conspiracy, i. 284, 314; siege of Detroit, vi. 690, 698.

May, June. Various western forts yield to the Pontiac forces, vi. 691.

Geo. Grenville prime minister of England, vi. 21.

The English ministry determines to raise a revenue from the Colonies, vi. 15, and the reports reach America in the winter of 1764, 26.

Aug. 5 and 6. Battle of Bushy Run, vi. 693, with map of the campaign, 696.

Oct. 7. The proclamation of George III, defining the boundaries respectively of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada; but the regions north of the great Lakes and west of the Alleghanies to the Mississippi remain crown lands, vi. 687; vii. 175, 182.

Proclamation of George III to induce settlers in Canada, viii. 139.

1763. *Oct. 15.* Connecticut settlers attacked in the Susquehanna country (Pennsylvania), vi. 606.

Nov. Gen. Gage succeeds Amherst as commander-in-chief of the English forces in N. America, vi. 702; viii. 463.

Nov. 3. Treaty of Fontainebleau between England and Spain, vi. 20.

Dec. Patrick Henry argues the Parsons case and questions the king's prerogative, vi. 24.

Dec. 14–27. The Paxton boys massacre the Conestogoes, vi. 606.

Jona. Mayhew's controversy with Apthorpe, vi. 70.

Maps of North America from this date to the close of the Amer. Rev., vii. 182.

Doddridge's notes of the wars in the western parts of Virginia and Penna. close with 1783, v. 581.

Plan of St. Augustine, v. 381.

Bahia ceases to be the capital of Brazil, and Rio de Janeiro is made such, viii. 350, 356.

Pernetty at the Falkland Islands, viii. 358.

1764. *Apr. 6.* Grenville's act to take effect *Sept. 30*, modifying the sugar act of 1733, vi. 7, 22, 25, 27.

May 24. Boston organizes action against taxation by parliament, vi. 68.

Courts of vice-admiralty for Brit. America, vi. 71.

"Wilkes and Liberty," vi. 28.

June. Col. Bradstreet's campaign along the great Lakes, vi. 698.

Maj. Loftus with English troops ascends the Mississippi from New Orleans, vi. 701.

Oct.–Nov. Bouquet marches into the Muskingum Valley, vi. 698.

Sir William Johnson's treaties with the Indians, viii. 461.

Fontleroy sent by the French government to observe the American colonies, vi. 244.

Bellin's plan of New York city, v. 257.

Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, vi. 90.

Publication of Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Bay* begins, iii. 344.

1765. *Feb. 6.* Barré applies the words "Sons of Liberty" to the Amer. patriots, vi. 30, 72.

Mar. 22. Stamp Act, vi. 29, 72.

Apr. The Mutiny Act extended to the English colonies, vi. 38.

July 13. The Rockingham ministry in England comes in, and lasts till *Aug. 2* of the next year, vi. 21, 31.

Andrew Oliver hanged in effigy in Boston, vi. 30, 72.

Non-importation movements in the English colonies, vi. 31, 76.

Aug. 26. Hutchinson's house in Boston sacked, vi. 30, 272; viii. 431.

Oct. 7–25. The Stamp Act Congress in N. York, vi. 30, 74.

Oct. 10. Fort Chartres turned over to English troops, vi. 705, with map, 700, and English troops for the first time occupy the Illinois country.

The right of taxation by Parliament much discussed, vi. 75.

John Adams combating the monarchical and Anglican system, vi. 35.

Croghan sent by Gage toward the Illinois country, vi. 702.

1765. *Nov. 7.* Dennis Deberdt the London agent of Massachusetts, viii. 427.

Col. Henry Bouquet dies, viii. 461.

Samuel Holland surveyor-general of the northern district of the English colonies during this and succeeding years, vii. 184.

1766. *Jan. 28.* Franklin examined before Parliament as to the Stamp Act, vi. 32, 74.

Mar. Ulloa takes possession of New Orleans for Spain, vi. 737.

Mar. 7. The Declaratory Act passed by the English Parliament, vi. 32, 74.

Mar. 18. Stamp Act repealed, vi. 32, 74.

July 30. Pitt becomes Earl of Chatham, vi. 35.

Oct. The Daniel Malcolm riot in Boston, vi. 68.

Royal artillery arrive in Boston, vi. 38.

The Chatham-Grafton ministry in England for three years, vi. 21.

Capt. Harry Gordon on the Ohio, vi. 709.

Bougainville in the Straits of Magellan, viii. 411.

1767. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and South America, vii. 108; viii. 314, 356.

June 29. The act of the Eng. Parliament proposing duties on tea, etc., vi. 22, 38, 64, 90, to go into effect *Nov. 20.*

Dec. Shelburne in the English ministry succeeded by Hillsborough, vi. 43.

John Dickinson's *Farmer's Letters*, a discussion of colonial rights, vi. 39, 82.

Bishop of Landaff controversy, vi. 76.

1768. *Feb. 11.* The circular letter to the other colonies written by Samuel Adams of Mass., vi. 42, 78.

June 10. John Hancock's sloop "Liberty" seized, vi. 43, 79.

July 4. Dickinson's Liberty Song published, vi. 86.

Sept. British troops arrive in Boston harbor, vi. 22, 45, 81.

Sept. 24. The treaty at Fort Stanwix, vi. 605, 608, 610, 706, defining a line between the English colonies and the Indians, later known as the "property line," vi. 650.

Sept. 27–29. Convention of the Mass. towns on the coming of the troops, vi. 45, 81.

Oct. Chatham resigns and Grafton becomes the head of the English ministry, vi. 46; vii. 10.

Baron DeKalb sent by Choiseul to observe the spirit of the American colonies of England, vi. 244; vii. 35; viii. 465.

The proprietaries of Pennsylvania secure by an Indian deed the territory which Connecticut, as the contest went on, claimed to be under her charter, and built there, *Jan., 1769,* a blockhouse, while the Connecticut people in *Feb.* contested their occupancy on the ground, vi. 680. The warfare lasted till 1771.

War of the Regulators in No. Carolina, lasting for three years, vi. 80.

Jesuits expelled from Paraguay, and their rule ceases, viii. 359.

Temporary French republic in Louisiana, vi. 737.

Frequent political publications in England, vi. 83–85.

Jefferys' *Amer. Atlas*, vii. 183; his map of Nova Scotia, v. 480–1; and his map of the Arctic regions as affected by the De Fonte and De Fuca stories, viii. 112.

1769. Map of the Arctic regions, viii. 114.

Hearne's explorations in the Arctic regions for three years, viii. 70, 115.

Aug. Bernard sails for England; Lieut. gov. Hutchinson in authority in Mass., vi. 49.

Virginia non-importation agreement, vi. 47.

Daniel Boone explores the Kentucky region, vi. 710.

Watauga Association settlements (Tennessee), vi. 708.

Dartmouth College founded, i. 322.

The American Philosophical Society begins its publications, i. 437.

Spanish occupation of California, viii. 257, 258.

Monterey (California) founded, viii. 210.

San Francisco Bay discovered, viii. 210.

1770. Lord North begins to be premier of England, vi. 21; vii. 10; viii. 463.

Many political tracts on the relations of England to her colonies, vi. 88, 89.

Mar. 5. Boston Massacre, vi. 49, 85.

Apr. The Townshend Act repealed, except the duty on tea, vi. 52, 90.

Washington visits the Ohio region to select land for the soldiers, vi. 709.

The Zane family settle on the Ohio near the mouth of Wheeling Creek, vii. 536.

William Gordon comes to America, viii. 470.

Edmund Burke agent for New York, holding the office five years, viii. 446.

Francisco Ageno, Genoese ambassador in London for ten years, viii. 468.

Crèvecœur describes the condition of the United States from this time for ten years, viii. 489.

Walpole Grant, in the Ohio country (Colony of Vandalia), secured and ratified; and finally abandoned, vi. 708.

Samuel Hearne traces the Coppermine River, viii. 34.

Lorenzana's *Nueva España*, ii. 408.

1771. *Mar.* Hutchinson becomes gov. of Mass., vi. 53, 89.

The Mohegan case, begun by Dudley, settled, v. 111.

Map of the country of the Six Nations, vi. 608, 609.

The right of the press to publish reports of Parliamentary debates conceded, viii. 499.

1772. Map of Behring's Straits, viii. 113.

Vaugondy's map of the Arctic regions, viii. 115.

Sam. Adams forms a local committee of correspondence in Boston, vi. 54.

June? The burning of the "Gaspee" at Providence, vi. 53, 90.

Aug. 4. Hillsborough succeeded by Dartmouth in the English ministry, vi. 53.

Aug. 8. Gage warns white settlers not to pass the line established in 1768, vi. 611.

The Moravians and their converts remove from Pennsylvania to the Muskingum, vi. 734.

Rufus Putnam on the lower Mississippi, vi. 709.

Expedition against the St. Vincent Caribs, viii. 290.

Revolt of the Maroons at Surinam, lasting five years, viii. 365.

1773. Matthew Phelps in the Ohio country during this and succeeding years, vi. 709.

English Treaty with the Caribs, viii. 290.

Controversy of Va. and Penna. over their respective rights in the country beyond the Alleghanies begins, vi. 709.

1773. Presidios created in Upper California, viii. 210.

Celtic settlers in Nova Scotia, viii. 140.

The Hutchinson letters, written to England in 1768–69, sent to the Speaker of the Mass. House of Representatives, vi. 56, 93.

Jan., Feb. Hutchinson's controversy with the General Court in Massachusetts, vi. 67, 90.

March. Intercolonial committees of correspondence established by Virginia, vi. 54.

The tea importations, and the opposition in Boston and elsewhere, vi. 57.

Dec. 16. Boston Tea Party, vi. 91.

Franklin before the Privy Council, vi. 95.

Philip Buache, the French cartographer, dies, ii. 468.

An old copper mine in Simsbury, Conn., first used as a prison, vii. 189.

The *Poems* of Phillis Wheatley published, viii. 496.

1774. *Jan. 31.* Franklin removed from the office of deputy postmaster-general for the colonies, vi. 56.

Mar. 31. Boston Port Bill, to take effect June 1st, vi. 58, 67, 95.

Apr. George Rogers Clark in the Kentucky country, vi. 710.

Cresap or the Dunmore war on the western frontiers of the English colonies in N. America, vi. 707.

Logan's family killed in the Ohio country, vi. 711.

Immigrants reach Kentucky, vi. 710.

The first log cabin in Kentucky built at Harrodsburg, vi. 715.

Apr. 19. Edmund Burke's speech on American taxation, vi. 112.

The Quebec Bill, vi. 101, 673, 714; viii. 134.

Letter of Congress to the people of Canada, viii. 171.

John Wilkes's commotions begin in London, vi. 110.

May 13. Gen. Gage arrives in Boston, vi. 57.

May 17. Rhode Island proposes a General Congress, vi. 98.

June. Solemn League and Covenant in Mass., vi. 96.

June 1. Hutchinson leaves Boston, vi. 58, 113; vii. 195; viii. 469.

June 17. Port Act meeting in Boston, vi. 60, 61.

July. Sir William Johnson dies, vi. 142.

Col. Guy Johnson succeeds Sir William as Indian Superintendent, vi. 612.

Sept. Lewis's march against the Ohio Indians, vi. 713.

Sept. 5. First Continental Congress in Philad., vi. 59, 60, 98, 234, 236.

Sept. 9. The "Suffolk Resolves" in Mass., vi. 100.

Oct. Articles of Association adopted by the Congress, vi. 101.

Oct. 5. The legislative assembly of Massachusetts resolves itself into a Provincial Congress, vi. 116, 243.

Oct. 10. Battle of Point Pleasant on the Ohio, vi. 611, 713.

Dec. 12. John Adams and Daniel Leonard, as "Novanglus" and "Massachusettensis" continue their controversy till April, vi. 110, 117.

1774. *Dec. 14.* Fort William and Mary at Portsmouth robbed, vi. 117.

The Westchester Farmer letters, vi. 104.

Connecticut votes to issue paper money,— the first of the Revolution, vi. 116.

Newspapers divided for and against the government, vii. 186; proportion of Tories in the population, 187.

Sauthier's map of the Province of New York compared with other maps of that time, vi. 340–1.

Map of the Polar regions, viii. 116.

Constantine Phipps's attempt to reach the North Pole, viii. 128.

The last manifestation of a belief in the insularity of California, ii. 468.

Louis XVI on the throne of France; Maurepas prime minister; Turgot head of the Treasury, vii. 3, 5.

1775. Parliament occupied with American affairs, vi. 111; vii. 11.

Speeches of Camden, Mansfield and Fox in Parliament, vi. 112.

Jan. Gage sends troops to Marshfield from Boston, vi. 118.

Jan. 20. Chatham's motion for conciliation with America, vi. 112.

Feb. 1. The second Provincial Congress of Mass. assembles, vi. 118.

Feb. 26. Leslie's troops at Salem, Mass., vi. 119, 172.

Feb. Franklin in London conferring with the Howes, vii. 12.

Mar. Franklin leaving London, vi. 112.

Apr. 18. Paul Revere's ride, vi. 123.

Apr. 19. Lexington and Concord fights, vi. 123, 174; viii. 478.

May. Conflicts in Boston harbor, vi. 131.

Sir John Johnson flies from the Mohawk Valley to Canada, vi. 625.

May 5. Naval skirmish at Martha's Vineyard, vi. 564.

May 10. Arnold and Allen capture Ticonderoga, vi. 129, 213.

The Second Continental Congress assembles, vi. 107.

May 20. Mecklenburg County (N. C.) Resolves, vi. 255, 256.

Artemas Ward commander-in-chief at Cambridge, Mass., vi. 131.

May 25. Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe arrive in Boston, vi. 134.

May, June. Col. Guy Johnson watched, vi. 618.

June. Boone builds his fort in Kentucky, vi. 715.

First Continental money, vii. 13.

June 7. Massachusetts considering the creation of a naval force, vi. 565.

June 15. Almon's *Remembrancer* begins in London, viii. 498.

Massachusetts privateers, vi. 586.

June 12. The "Margaretta" seized at Machias, Me., vi. 564.

Rhode Island commissions two cruisers, vi. 565.

Rhode Island sends Abraham Whipple to Bermuda to seize powder, vi. 567.

June 17. Washington chosen commander in-chief, vi. 108, 133.

1775. *June 17.* Battle of Bunker Hill, vi. 136, 184.

July 3. Washington takes command, with instruction to keep the forces already in the field, and these included Indians which the Massachusetts government had enlisted before April, vi. 142, 612.

July. Col. Guy Johnson holds a conference with the Indians at Montreal, vi. 624.

Summer. Franklin proposes a plan of confederating the English colonies, vi. 274, 654.

Aug. 30. Stonington, Conn., attacked, vi. 145.

Sept. Schuyler moves towards Canada, vi. 161; but yields the command to Montgomery, who captures Chamblée, *Oct. 18*, and St. John's, *Nov. 3*, vi. 161–2.

Canada expedition, vi. 215.

Arnold moves up the Kennebec to invade Canada, vi. 163, 217, 224.

Defection of Dr. Benjamin Church, vi. 145; succeeded in office by Dr. Morgan, viii. 488.

Congress passes a Pension Act, viii. 483.

Beaumarchais's interview with Louis XVI, vii. 28, 79.

Sept.–Dec. Hostilities in the Susquehanna country between the Connecticut and Pennsylvania people, vi. 680.

Sept. 2. Washington begins to commission war vessels, vi. 564, 565.

Oct. 6. Congress urges the arrest of Tories, vii. 195.

The Continental Congress orders vessels to be built, vi. 566.

Oct. Congress appoints a Naval Committee, vi. 567.

Oct. 10. Howe succeeds Gage in command in Boston, vi. 146.

Oct.–Dec. The American vessels "Lynch" and "Franklin" cruising in the St. Lawrence gulf, vi. 565.

Nov. Commissioners for Congress go to Canada, vi. 227.

Bonvouloir, acting for France, sounding Congress, vii. 24.

Nov. British efforts begin to secure German mercenaries; the Brunswick treaty signed *Jan. 9–Feb. 18, 1776*; the troops of Hesse-Cassel first mustered in, *Mar.–Apr. 1776*, and other treaties and musters of these auxiliaries follow, vii. 18, etc.

Nov. Connecticut marauders destroy the Rivington's *Gazette* office in New York, vii. 189.

Nov. 13. Massachusetts authorizes private armed vessels to cruise, vi. 591.

Nov. 29. Congress appoints a committee to correspond with friends in Europe, vii. 26.

Unsuccessful attempts to hire Russian and Dutch troops for the British service in America, vii. 17, 18.

Manly captures a British store-ship in Mass. Bay, vi. 565.

Dec. 1. Arnold and Montgomery unite on the St. Lawrence, vi. 164.

Dec. 2. Congress votes to employ foreign engineers, vii. 33.

Dec. 8. Siege of Quebec begins, vi. 226.

Dec. 9. Action at Cedar Bridge, Va., vi. 168.

Dec. Admiral Shuldam relieves Admiral Graves at Boston, vi. 152.

1775. *Dec. 22.* Congress makes Esek Hopkins commander-in-chief of its navy, vi. 568.

Dec. 30. Montgomery killed before Quebec, and the attack fails, vi. 165, 216.

Falmouth, Me. (the modern Portland), burned by the British, vi. 146.

Both English and Americans seeking the aid of the Indians, vi. 612, 620, 621, 622.

Life in the American army besieging Boston, vi. 202; and in the British camp within the town, 204.

General war maps of the Amer. Revolution, vii. 184.

English ed. of D'Anville's map of North America, vii. 183.

Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*, vi. 109.

James Adair publishes his studies of the N. A. Indians, i. 319.

1776. *Jan. 1.* The Union flag first displayed at Cambridge, vi. 153; viii. 483.

Jan. 2. Congress urges more strenuous measures against the Tories, vii. 195.

Jan. 8. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* appears, vi. 252, 269; and during this year he begins his *American Crisis*, viii. 498.

Jan. 9, 15; Feb. 5; Apr. 20, 26; Dec. 4. England's treaties for German mercenaries, 1777, Feb. 1, 10, Oct., vii. 75, 83, 84.

Jan. Pitt's speech on taxing the Americans, vi. 251.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vi. 252.

Dr. Richard Price's *Observations*, vi. 110.

Adair's map showing position of Indian tribes in the southern U. S., vii. 448.

San Francisco mission founded, viii. 212.

Lord Stormont sent as English ambassador to Paris, viii. 460; Lord Grantham to Spain, viii. 460; Sir Joseph Yorke to Holland, viii. 460.

Samuel Tucker commissioned as naval captain by Washington, vi. 567.

Feb. 1. Germain instructs Howe not to use the king's name in exchanging prisoners, vii. 77.

Feb. The cannon captured at Ticonderoga placed along the American lines round Boston, vi. 156.

Feb. 27. Action at Moore's Creek, N. C., vi. 168.

Mar. 2. Silas Deane appointed commissioner to France, viii. 444.

Mar. 5. Dorchester Heights occupied, vi. 156.

Mar. 6. Warren's Massacre Oration in Boston, vi. 119.

Mar. Carroll, Franklin, and Chase, commissioners from Congress, go to Canada, vi. 227.

Vergennes holds the American war likely to be advantageous to France by exhausting both contestants, vii. 24, 25.

Mar. 14. Congress urges the disarming of disaffected persons, vii. 195.

Mar. 17. Howe evacuates Boston, vi. 158, 205.

Mar. 23. Congress authorizes privateers, vi. 591.

Mar.–June. Increase of the spirit of independence, vi. 257.

Apr. 4. Washington leaves Cambridge and reaches N. York, *Apr. 13*, vi. 160, 275, 325;

ceases to exercise any supervision over naval matters, vi. 567.

1775. *April.* Turgot wishes England to succeed, as it would then require a large part of England's forces to keep the colonies in subjection, vii. 25, 175.

U. S. Congress, instructions to privateers, vii. 83.

May 10. The Colonial Charter of Penna. overthrown, vi. 405.

May 12. Congress again meets at Philadelphia, vi. 238.

May 15. Congress calls upon the States to provide independent governments, vi. 272.

May 19. Affair at the Cedars (St. Lawrence), vi. 225; when Brant first appears, vi. 626.

Defeat of the Americans at Three Rivers, vi. 167.

May. Thomas retreats from Quebec, vi. 166.

The Northern Campaign, vi. 346.

Turgot falls from power in France, vii. 5.

1776. *May.* The French government resolves secretly to assist America with money, and Spain joins, vii. 26.

June 4. The British fleet off Charleston, and, *27th*, attack Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, vi. 169, 171, 229.

June 7. Resolutions of independence introduced into Congress, vi. 261.

June 10 and *Aug. 11.* Beaumarchais receives money from the French and Spanish governments, and conducts his business of helping the Americans under the style of Hortalez et Compagnie, vii. 28, 29.

June 12. The Virginia Declaration of Rights adopted, vi. 272.

June 17, 18. English transport bound to Boston, intercepted by American cruisers, vi. 568.

June. The Congress at Philadelphia appoints a committee to prepare a declaration of independence, — Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, Livingston, vi. 239.

The "Hickey Plot" to assassinate Washington in N. Y., vi. 326.

Gates put in command of the Northern army, vi. 291, 346.

Silas Deane reaches France as the first agent of the United States, vii. 26.

The U. S. Congress asks money of France, vii. 84.

Congress proposes a loan, vii. 15.

Gen. Ward commissions Capt. Mugford to cruise near Boston, vi. 567.

July 2. The vote for independence, vi. 262.

July 4. The Declaration of Independence adopted, and signed by the President and Secretary, vi. 262, 267; vii. 84.

July 12. Dickinson's proposed plan for confederation, vi. 274.

July 19. Report to the American Congress on the employment of negroes as soldiers, viii. 484.

July. Sullivan, driven from Canada, rests at Crown Point, vi. 167.

Lord Howe's proclamation of pardon; later proclamations of Sir Wm. Howe, *Aug. 23*, and of both, *Nov. 30*, vii. 12, 13.

Aug. 1. Clinton's army returned to N. Y. from Charlestown, S. C., vi. 326.

1776. *Aug. 2.* The Declaration of Independence generally signed, vi. 268.

Aug. 20. Sullivan succeeds Greene in the command on Long Island, vi. 278.

Aug. 22. Howe debarks his army on Long Island, vi. 276, 326.

Aug. 24. Putnam placed over Sullivan on Long Island, vi. 278.

Aug. 27. Battle of Long Island, vi. 279, 327, 328; Washington withdraws the American army at night, vi. 281.

Aug. Trumbull's map of Ticonderoga, vi. 352; and that used at St. Clair's trial, 353.

Summer. Paul Jones takes prizes on the Atlantic coast, vi. 570.

Mercer's Flying Camp in New Jersey, vi. 403.

Sept. 5. Report on Treason made to Congress, vii. 191.

American army and navy uniform established, viii. 483.

Sept. 11. Conference of Franklin and others with Lord Howe on Staten Island, vii. 12.

Sept. 14. Howe crosses the East River to N. Y., vi. 283.

Sept. 15. Fight at Kip's Bay, vi. 333.

Sept. 21. A large part of New York city burned, vi. 334.

Sept. 22. Execution of Capt. Nathan Hale, vi. 333.

Sept. Condition of New York, vi. 331.

Oliver De Lancey raises a loyalist corps in New York, vii. 196.

Sept. Battle of Harlem Plains, vi. 285, 334, 335.

The campaign round New York, vi. 323; with map, 404.

Contemporary plans of the movements on Long and New York Islands, vi. 336, 342, 343, 344, 345.

Oct. 4. Articles of Confederation, vii. 84.

Oct. 10. Captains in the American navy created, vi. 570.

Oct. 11. Arnold's naval fight on Lake Champlain at Valcour's Island, vi. 292, 346; with map, 347.

Oct. 14 Carleton occupies Crown Pt., vi. 293.

Oct. 28. Battle of White Plains, vi. 286.

Autumn. Kentucky made a county of Virginia, vi. 716.

Paul Jones cruising, vi. 571.

Capt. Lambert Wickes the first to make an American cruise to European waters, taking over Dr. Franklin in the "Reprisal," vi. 571.

Hopkins attacks the English ship-of-war "Glasgow," vi. 570.

Nov. 2. Congress establishes a cannon foundry, viii. 483.

Wm. Demont deserts from Fort Washington, and carries plans and information to the British, vi. 287.

Nov. 16. Fort Washington (on the Hudson) surrenders to Knyphausen, vi. 289, 338, 339.

Nov., Dec. Washington's retreat through the Jerseys, vi. 368.

Dec. Joseph Galloway and others join the British, vi. 370.

Persons to be arrested by order of Congress, on refusing to receive Continental money, vii. 15.

1776 *Dec. 13.* Gen. Chas. Lee taken prisoner, vi. 369, 403.

Dec. 14. The British go into winter-quarters in Jersey, vi. 374.

Dec. 19. Thomas Paine writes of the "Times that try men's souls," vi. 367.

Dec. Washington's retreat through the Jerseys, vi. 405.

Washington crosses the Delaware, and Congress moves from Philadelphia to Baltimore, vi. 373.

Dec. 26. Battle of Trenton, vi. 374, 407; with maps, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412.

Dec. 27. Washington made dictator for six months, vi. 376, 407.

Dec. Robert Rogers recruits the Queen's Rangers, afterward led by Simcoe, vii. 196.

John the Painter fires English dockyards, vii. 30.

Movements to supersede Washington by Marshal Broglie, viii. 414.

Arthur Lee reaches Paris, vii. 41.

Evans's map of the middle British colonies pieced out by Pownall, v. 565.

Col. Williamson's campaigns against the Cherokees, vi. 675, 676, 678.

Col. Graham defends Fort Cumberland (Nova Scotia), viii. 464.

Capt. James Cook begins his voyage of discovery, viii. 82; iii. 469.

Thomas Anburey observes the life of the United States during the war, v. 284; viii. 490.

The La Plata viceroyalty, including Paraguay, established, viii. 315, 316

1777. *Jan. 1.* Franklin authorized to negotiate a treaty with Spain, vii. 41.

Jan. 2. Battle of Princeton, vi. 378, 413.

Jan. 5. Franklin reaches Paris, vii. 40.

Jan. 7–May 28. Washington at Morristown, N. J., vi. 379.

Early. The first vessels leave France with supplies for America, vii. 31.

Feb. 13. Franklin and Deane engage Du Portail and other engineers, vii. 34.

Feb. 15. Congress advises the States to issue no more paper money, vii. 15.

March 29. Gen. Chas. Lee's treasonable document, vi. 416.

Spring. Capt. Conyngham sent out by Silas Deane from Dunkirk to prey on British commerce, vi. 573; and he goes on a second cruise in *July*, 574.

St. Clair put in command at Ticonderoga, vi. 348.

April 17. Committee on Foreign Affairs (United States) instituted, viii. 415.

May 22. Schuyler confirmed in command of the Northern department, vi. 348.

May 29. Washington at Middlebrook, vi. 379.

May. Attack on Fort Logan, vi. 716.

Manly on a cruise, vi. 579.

Capt. Johnston cruising in European waters in the "Lexington," vi. 575.

June 14. The United States flag adopted by Congress, viii. 483.

June. Burgoyne's invasion from Canada, vi. 294.

June 26. Arthur Lee's papers stolen in Berlin, vii. 42.

St. Clair evacuates Ticonderoga, vi. 349.

July. Burgoyne takes Ticonderoga, vi. 296.

1777. *July 7.* Battle at Hubbardton, Vt., vi. 297, 350.

July 10. Burton captures Gen. Richard Prescott near Newport, R. I., vi. 403.

Leading Quakers in Penna. arrested and sent south, vii. 190; viii. 486.

July 23. Howe's army leave N. Y. by sea, vi. 379.

July 24. Washington marches south, Lafayette, De Kalb, and Pulaski soon joining the army, vi. 379, 380.

July 27. Murder of Jane McCrea, vi. 627.

July 30–Aug. 15. Burgoyne at Fort Edward, vi. 299.

Aug. 3–23. St. Leger attacks Fort Stanwix, vi. 299, 350, 628.

Aug. 6. Battle of Oriskany, and Herkimer killed, vi. 300, 351, 630, 660, 661.

Aug. 10. Schuyler superseded by Gates, vi. 303.

Aug. 16. Battle of Bennington, vi. 300, 354.

Aug. 22. St. Leger abandons his siege of Fort Stanwix, vi. 300.

Fleury's plan of Fort Stanwix, vi. 355.

Aug. Gen. Sullivan's raid into Staten Island, vi. 417.

Howe's Philadelphia campaign, vi. 414, 415.

Aug. 25. Howe lands at Head of Elk, in the Chesapeake, vi. 379, 418.

Sept. 1. Attack on Fort Henry (Wheeling), vi. 716.

Sept. 11. Battle of Brandywine, vi. 381, 418, with Washington's map of the campaign, 421.

Hessian map of Brandywine, vi. 419.

Alex. Hamilton aide to Washington, vi. 416.

Sept. 19. Battle of Freeman's Farm, or Stillwater, vi. 305, 356.

Sept. 20. Attack at Paoli, or Trudruffin, vi. 382, 419, 423, 424.

Sept. 24. Fight at Diamond Island, vi. 357.

Sept. 25. The British encamp at Germantown, vi. 383.

Oct. 3. Clinton leaves N. Y., and ascends the Hudson to coöperate with Burgoyne, vi. 306.

Oct. 4. Battle of Germantown, vi. 385, 419; with maps, 425–428.

Oct. 6. Capture of Forts Clinton and Montgomery by the British, vi. 306, 363, 364.

Oct. 7. Burgoyne again defeated at Bemis's Heights, viii. 309, 357.

Oct. 16. Surrender of Burgoyne, vi. 309.

British operations on the Delaware, map, vi. 429.

Oct. 22. Attack on Fort Mercer, Red-Bank, vi. 387, 428.

Oct. Duché's attempt to seduce Washington from the American cause, vi. 437.

Washington at Whitemarsh, vi. 389.

The British in Philadelphia, vi. 393, with maps of the British lines about the city, vi. 440, 441, 442.

Nov. 6. The "Convention" troops (Burgoyne's) reach the neighborhood of Boston, 317.

Nov. 10. Attack on Fort Mifflin begins, which the British occupy on the *16th*, vi. 388–9; with maps, vi. 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 438.

Congress at York, vi. 419.

Nov. 15. Congress adopts Dickinson's plan for confederation, vi. 274.

1777. *Autumn.* Frederick the Great stops the German mercenaries crossing his dominions on their way to embark for America, vii. 43.

Nov. 18. Fort Mercer abandoned to the British, vi. 389.

Nov. 21. U. S. Commissioners in Paris issue instructions to privateers, vii. 84.

Nov. 25. Lafayette at Gloucester, N. J., vi. 430.

Nov. Congress creates a Board of War, vi. 437.

Paul Jones at sea in the "Ranger," vi. 571.

Dec. 10. G. R. Clark lays before Gov. Patrick Henry his plan for conquering the Northwest, vi. 716.

Dec. Washington in winter quarters at Valley Forge, vi. 390, 438; with map, 439.

Lee and Deane quarrel in Paris, vii. 31.

The people of the New Hampshire Grants set up a government, vii. 187.

Simcoe's Rangers continue in service through the war, vi. 518.

The Conway Cabal, vi. 392, 446.

Des Barres' *Atlantic Neptune*, vii. 183.

Dr. Robertson's *America* published, i. 320; ii. 424.

St. Domingo divided by treaty between Spain and France, viii. 281.

A Spanish fleet takes St. Catherine's Island (Brazil), viii. 356.

1778. *Feb. 3.* Burgoyne's army denied embarcation, and finally, *Jan. 1, 1779*, removed to Virginia, vi. 321.

Feb. 6. Treaties of France with the United States, vii. 44, 84, 148, 463.

Feb. 17. Lord North's conciliatory bills in Parliament, vii. 49, 84. They reach America in *April*, 50.

Mar. 7. Biddle loses the "Randolph" in an engagement with the British ship "Yarmouth," vi. 571.

Mar. 13. The treaty of France with the United States officially announced to England, vii. 48, 84.

Mar. 18. Quintin's Bridge action, vi. 442.

Mar. 21. Hancock's Bridge (Pa.) action, vi. 442.

Mar. 23. Nathanael Greene made Quartermaster-General, vi. 391.

Apr. An address in German scattered among the Hessians to invite desertion, vii. 24.

Apr. 7. Chatham's last appearance in Parliament, vii. 51.

Apr. 11. Chatham dies, vii. 52.

Apr. Paul Jones on the Scottish coast, vi. 577.

May. Burgoyne defends himself in Parliament, and the recriminatory publications continue for a few years, vi. 365, 366.

Action at Crooked Billet, vi. 442.

May 6. The French Alliance celebrated at Valley Forge, vi. 439.

May 8. Sir Henry Clinton succeeds Howe, vi. 396.

May 12. Steuben enters the American service, vii. 36.

May 18. The "Mischianza" in Philadelphia, vi. 396.

May 20. Lafayette at Barren Hill, vi. 396, 442, 443.

June. The English Peace Commissioners reach Philadelphia, vii. 50.

1778. *June 18.* The British evacuate Philadelphia, vi. 397.

June. 3,000 Tories leave Philad. with the British, vii. 195.

June 19. Benedict Arnold in Philadelphia, vi. 400.

June 28. Battle of Monmouth, with maps, vi. 399, 444, 445.

June. New York passes a banishment act against the Tories, vii. 201.

July 4. Trial of Gen. Chas. Lee, vi. 446.

July 7. Congress reassembles in Philad., vi. 401.

July 5. G. R. Clark captures Kaskaskia, vi. 719, with maps, 717, 721; Vincennes and all other British posts in that region, 722.

July 12. Gérard reaches Philad., vi. 401.

July 26. Convention of the United States and France concerning the "Droit d'aubaine," vii. 84.

July. D'Estaing's fleet on the American coast, and in *August* engages the English fleet off Newport, vi. 580.

The English and French fleets at Sandy Hook, vi. 593.

July. Wyoming Valley attacked, vi. 634, 662.

Brant raids through the Mohawk region, burning houses in the Cobbleskill Valley, at Springfield, etc., vi. 633.

Aug. Brant burns the German Flats, vi. 636.

Aug. 5. D'Estaing enters Narragansett Bay, vi. 593.

Aug. 15. Sullivan advancing on Rhode Island; but the French fleet leaving, he is left without their support, vi. 592, 595.

Aug. 29. Fight on Rhode Island, vi. 595, with map of the siege of Newport, 596, 598, 602, and of the whole campaign in Rhode Island, 600.

Aug. Boone defends his Kentucky fort, vi. 716.

Sept. Massachusetts passes an act against the Tories, vii. 195.

Oct. The Illinois country made a county of Virginia, vi. 729.

John Adams sent to France in Silas Deane's place, vii. 47.

Franklin appointed sole minister to France, vii. 47.

Florida Blanca proposing to and threatening England, vii. 54.

Nov. 3. D'Estaing with his fleet leave Boston for the West Indies, vi. 603

Nov. 11. Attack on Cherry Valley, vi. 636, 665.

Dec. 15. Maryland refuses to vote for a confederation until the question of rights to the N. W. land should be settled, vii. 527.

Dec. 17. Gov. Hamilton recaptures Vincennes, vi. 724.

Dec. 21. The memorial of Silas Deane laid before Congress, viii. 444.

Dec. 23–29. Attack on Savannah, vi. 469, 519.

Col. David Rogers takes stores from New Orleans up the river to Fort Pitt, vi. 738.

Atlas Ameriquain, vii. 183.

The French *Neptune Americo-Septentrional*, vii. 183.

Jonathan Carver's *Travels* published, ii. 469.

1778. *Dec.* C. W. F. Dumas becomes agent of the United States in Holland, viii. 414.

French reports of Debates in the U. S. Congress begin, and are continued till 1789, viii. 468.

Washington in winter quarters at Middlebrook, vi. 556.

Robert Erskine, geographer of the U. S. Army for two years, vii. 183.

Military maps of the Hudson River, vi. 455, 456, 465.

1779. *Jan.* Lafayette goes to France in the "Alliance," vi. 581; vii. 58.

Feb. 11. Lafayette reaches Paris, vii. 48.

Feb. Charges preferred against Arnold, vi. 402.

Feb. 25. G. R. Clark captures Gov. Hamilton and reoccupies Vincennes, vi. 728.

Feb.–Mar. Congress formulates the conditions of a peace with Great Britain, vii. 89.

Mar. 19. Arnold resigns the command in Philad., vi. 402.

Mar.–July. Struggle in Congress over the fishery demands of France, vii. 54.

April 12. Spain by treaty makes common cause with France against England; but the treaty is kept secret, vii. 54, 55, 85, 170.

April 18–24. Van Schaick raids the Onondaga towns, vi. 639.

Apr. Massachusetts passes a "Conspiracy Act" against the Tories, vii. 195.

Expedition against the Tennessee Indians, vi. 677.

Arnold opens treasonable correspondence with Clinton, vi. 448.

Spring. British incursions in the Chesapeake, vi. 495.

May 8–June 16. Spain declares war against Great Britain, vi. 738; vii. 55.

June. Joseph Galloway examined before Parliament, vii. 202.

Naval war begins between England and France, vii. 49.

The British capture Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, vi. 557.

Plans of West Point, vi. 451, 459, 462.

The British occupy Castine, vi. 603.

July 2. Affair at Poundridge (N. Y.), vi. 557.

July 6. The French attack Grenada, viii. 290.

July 15. Wayne's assault on Stony Point, vi. 557; with map, 558.

July 19. Brant attacks the Minnisink settlements, vi. 639, 662.

Penobscot expedition leaves Boston, vi. 582, 603; with map, 604.

July. Tryon's expedition into Connecticut, vi. 557.

July 31. Sullivan begins his march through the Indian country, vi. 639, 666.

Aug. Col. Brodhead's expedition to destroy the Indian towns on the Alleghany, vi. 642, 671.

Aug. 19. Attack on Paulus Hook (Jersey City), vi. 559.

Aug. 29. Sullivan encounters the Indians at Newtown, vi. 640.

Summer. Whipple's exploits on the sea, vi. 582.

John Foster Williams' cruises, vi. 582.

Sept. 3. D'Estaing at the Savannah River, vi. 470, and on the *23d* the siege of Lincoln's army begins, and ends on *Oct. 19th*, vi. 470, 471, 522.

1779. *Sept. 15.* Sullivan begins his return march, and reaches Wyoming *Oct. 7*, vi. 641.

Sept. The Spaniards capture British posts on the Lower Mississippi, vi. 739.

Sept. 23. Paul Jones on the "Bon Homme Richard" captures the "Serapis," vi. 577, 590.

Sept. 27. John Adams made commissioner to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain, vii. 58, 91.

Sept. 28. John Jay chosen commissioner to Spain, vii. 91.

Sept.–Oct. Prevost's unsuccessful attempt on Charleston, vi. 520, with map, 521.

Sept. Luzerne succeeds Gérard in Philadelphia, vii. 58; viii. 466.

Oct. 4. Paul Jones enters Texel in the "Serapis," vii. 64.

Dec. Arnold's trial in Philadelphia begins, and ends *Jan. 26*, vi. 450.

Minor actions in the South,—Kettle Creek, Brier Creek, vi. 520.

Extension westward of Mason and Dixon's line, v. 273.

Fort McIntosh built, vii. 449.

The British in Virginia, vi. 546.

The British in New York and Washington at Morristown during the winter, vi. 559.

Negotiations between certain people in Vermont and General Haldimand begin and continue through the war, vii. 187; viii. 440, 465.

Controversy in the British Parliament over Sir William Howe's and Burgoyne's generalship, lasts two years, viii. 501, 502.

The first noticeable collection of Benj. Franklin's writings, ed. by Benj. Vaughan, viii. 421.

1780. *Feb. 2.* Action at Cowan's Ford, vi. 483.

Feb. 11–May 12. Clinton's attack and capture of Charleston, S. C., vi. 474, 524; with map, 526, 578.

Feb. 19. New York cedes her rights to western lands to the U. S., and Congress, *Mar., 1781*, accepts it, vii. 527, 528.

Feb. 28–Mar. 10. Russia's declaration of Armed Neutrality, vii. 61, 79, 85; joined by various powers before 1783, vii. 63.

Mar. Lafayette returns to America, vii. 60.

The U. S. Navy, vi. 583.

Mar. 14. The Spaniards take Mobile, vi. 739.

May 26. The Spanish at St. Louis attacked, vi. 737.

May 29. Waxhaw Creek action, vi. 475, 527.

Failure of English plans to capture Spanish posts on the Mississippi, vi. 738, 739.

June. Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi, below the Ohio, built, vi. 730.

June 23. Greene defeats the British at Springfield, N. J., vi. 559.

July 12. Rochambeau arrives, vi. 499, 560; and Newport held by the French, vi. 560.

July 21. Wayne's affair at Bull's Ferry, vi. 560.

July 25. Horatio Gates takes command of the Southern army, vi. 476.

Aug. 16. First Battle of Camden, Gates' defeat, vi. 477, 529; with map, 531, 533.

Aug. New England Convention at Boston, vi. 560.

1780. *Aug.* Arnold in command at West Point, vi. 452.

Sept. Arnold's conspiracy, vi. 454, and his flight on the *26th*, 458.

Rochambeau and Washington at Hartford, vi. 561.

Oct. 2. André executed, vi. 461.

Oct. Henry Laurens captured at sea by the British, vii. 66.

Raid on Staten Island, vi. 561.

Oct. 5. The United States accedes to the Armed Neutrality, vii. 86.

Oct. 7 and 20. Arnold's address and proclamation from the British headquarters, vi. 463.

Oct. 7. Battle of King's Mountain, vi. 479, 535.

Nov. 10. Tupac Amaru executes Aliaga (Peru), viii. 316.

Audiencia of Cuzco installed, viii. 319.

Nov. 18. Fishdam Ford action, vi. 536.

Nov. 20. Action at the Blackstocks, vi. 480.

Dec. 2. Gen. Nathanael Greene in command of the Southern army, vi. 480.

Greene's campaign, vi. 537.

Tarleton in the southern campaigns, vi. 517.

Dec. Francis Dana sent to Russia, vii. 63.

Col. John Sevier's exped. against the Indians west of North Carolina, vi. 677.

Indian attacks along the Mohawk, vi. 643, 672, and the Lake Champlain country invaded, 645.

Agitation in England against the undue influence of the crown, vii. 106.

The Bill of Rights in the Massachusetts constitution held to abolish slavery, vii. 326.

Thomas Paine's *Public Good*, vii. 527.

Board of Associated Loyalists formed in New York, vii. 197.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston) founded, i. 437.

Simon De Witt, U. S. geographer, vii. 183.

Washington in winter quarters at Totowa and Preakness in N. J., vi. 561.

Clavigero's *Mexico* published, ii. 425.

1781. *Jan. 3.* England having declared war against Holland, the latter joins the Armed Neutrality, vii. 68.

Jan. Revolt of the Pennsylvania line, vi. 561.

Geo. Rogers Clark with Steuben in Virginia, vi. 732.

Morgan escapes Cornwallis, vi. 483.

Jan. 17. Battle of Cowpens, vi. 481, 538.

Jan.–Mar. Spanish invasion of Michigan, vi. 743.

Feb. 20. Robert Morris becomes Superintendent of Finance, vii. 69, 82.

March. Maryland joins the Confederation, and the organization under the articles is completed, vii. 528.

Mar. 15. Battle of Guilford, vi. 485, 540.

Greene's retreat, vi. 538.

Mar. 25. Phillips in command of the British in Virginia, vi. 496.

Arnold and Phillips in Virginia, vi. 495, 546.

Apr. 7. Cornwallis at Wilmington, N. C., vi. 487, 494, 542.

Apr. Fort Watson captured, vi. 544.

Steuben in Virginia, vi. 496.

Apr. 25. Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, vi. 488, 541; with map, 543.

1781. *May 9.* The Spaniards take Pensacola, vi. 739.

A proposal to separate Georgia from the Union, vii. 190.

May 14. Fort Granby surrendered, vi. 490.

Mar. 18. Tupac Amaru executed at Cuzco, viii. 317.

May 21. Conference of Washington and Rochambeau at Weathersfield, Conn., vi. 499, 561.

Siege of Augusta, Ga., vi. 544.

May 22–June 19. Greene's siege of Ninety-six, vi. 491, 544.

May. Cornwallis reaches Virginia and takes command, vi. 496, and operates against Steuben and Lafayette, 497, 547, and finally fortifies himself at Yorktown, 498.

June 15. Adams, Franklin, Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson instructed as to terms of peace, vii. 92.

Luzerne's influence over Congress, vii. 94.

Silas Deane in Paris to settle his accounts, vii. 32.

Austro-Russian offer of mediation between the United States and Great Britain, vii. 92.

June–July. The American and French armies watching New York, vi. 500, 561.

July 3. Affair at King's Bridge, vi. 561.

July 9. Articles of Confederation ratified by the U. S. Congress, vi. 274; vii. 86.

Aug. 4. Execution of Isaac Hayne, vi. 534.

Aug. 10. R. R. Livingston the first secretary of foreign affairs (United States), viii. 414.

Aug. 14. Washington decides to march to Virginia, vi. 561.

Aug. Washington leaves the Hudson, marching south, vi. 500.

Sept. 5. Fight of the French and English fleets off the Capes of Chesapeake, vi. 501, 548.

Sept. 6. Arnold, on the Connecticut coast, attacks New London and Groton, vi. 562.

Greene at the High Hills of Santee, vi. 493.

Sept. 8. Battle of Eutaw Springs, vi. 493, 545.

Sept. 11. The Moravians are moved from the Muskingum region to Sandusky, vi. 735.

Sept. 28. Siege of Yorktown begins, vi. 501, 547; maps, 550–553; Cornwallis surrenders, *Oct. 19*, 504.

The Mohawk Valley still invaded by the Indians, vi. 645.

Col. Andrew Pickens invades the Cherokee country, vi. 677.

Col. Sevier again attacks the Indians, vi. 677.

Dec. 31. Bank of North America chartered by Congress; re-chartered by Penna. in 1783, vii 235.

G. R. Clark plans the capture of Detroit, vi. 732.

Robin's experiences in No. America, v. 284.

Galvez in Louisiana and Florida, viii. 468.

1782. *Jan.* Act of Parliament to enable George III to make peace with the United States, vii. 87.

Feb. Benjamin Thomson in New York, an officer of the King's American Dragoons, vii. 197.

Feb. 22. Gen. Conway's motion in Parliament to discontinue the war, vii. 95, 96.

1782. *Mar.* Moravian Indians on the Muskingum butchered, vi. 734.

April 6. Shelburne sends Oswald to Franklin, vii. 99.

Apr. 12. Rodney defeats De Grasse in the West Indies, vii. 130.

Apr. Washington at Newburgh on the Hudson, vi. 744.

Apr. 19. John Adams recognized at The Hague as minister of the United States, vii. 133.

Apr. 23. The British ministry decide to send separate negotiators to Vergennes and to Franklin, vii. 101.

May 4–7. Oswald and Grenville in Paris, vii. 101.

May 23. The British Cabinet agree to propose American independence, vii. 103.

May. Desperate condition of the revenues of Congress, and movements begin to revise the articles of confederation, vii. 216.

Sir Guy Carleton relieves Clinton in command at New York, vi. 745; viii. 137.

May and June. Col. William Crawford's campaign against the Wyandots, vi. 736.

June. Shelburne succeeds Rockingham as English Premier, vii. 111.

June 20. The great seal of the United States adopted, viii. 484.

June 23. Jay arrives in Paris, vii. 108.

July 11. Savannah evacuated by the British, vi. 507.

Aug. 8–21. La Perouse attacks the Hudson Bay Co.'s forts, viii. 29, 72.

Aug. 18. Battle at Blue Licks, vi. 730.

Sept. 7. Rayneval goes from Paris to London, and Vaughan follows *Sept. 11*, vii. 122.

Sept. 13. The French and Spaniards attack Gibraltar, and in *Oct.* Lord Howe relieves that fortress, vii. 130.

Oct. 8. Treaty of the United States with the Netherlands, vii. 87.

John Adams concludes a treaty with Holland, vii. 133.

Oct. 26. John Adams reaches Paris, vii. 133.

Nov. G. R. Clark's expedition against the Miami Indians, vi. 733.

Nov. 30. Provisional treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, vii. 87, 144; viii. 414, 463.

Dec. 14. Charleston evacuated by the British, vi. 507, 546.

Cases of Huddy and Asgill, vi. 744.

The Indians attack Gen. Wayne in Georgia, vi. 677.

The number of American loyalists supported by the British government, vii. 202; they leave in large numbers the Atlantic ports, vii. 199.

Map of the Arctic regions, viii. 117.

The last Jesuit missionary dies at Tadousac, iv. 271.

J. B. D'Anville dies, v. 81.

The English Board of Trade dissolved, viii. 462.

Reed-Cadwalader controversy revived in 1842, 1856, 1866, viii. 479.

John Trumbull publishes his *McFingal*, viii. 495.

1783. *Jan. 20.* Preliminary treaty of peace between Great Britain and France and Spain, vii. 87, 158.

Jan. 20. The American Commissioner in Paris announces that the preliminary treaty does not affect the relations of Great Britain and the United States so long as war exists between England and France, vii. 155.

1783. *Feb. 14.* Coalition of Fox and North, vii. 159.

Feb. 16. Pelatiah Webster's proposition to remodel the government, vii. 217.

Feb. 24. Shelburne resigns, vii. 162.

Feb. Willet's attempt to surprise Oswego, vi. 646.

March. Washington and the Armstrong (Newburgh) letters, vi. 745.

Apr. 2. The Coalition ministry under the Duke of Portland, vii. 162.

Apr. Society of the Cincinnati formed, vi. 746.

Treaty of the United States and Sweden, vii. 87.

Apr. 19. Washington's proclamation announcing cessation of hostilities, vi. 746; vii. 87.

June 27. Parliament votes half-pay to loyalist officers, vii. 196.

June 18. Washington's last circular to the States, vi. 746.

Loyalists leave New York, viii. 137.

The Commissioners to inquire into the condition of the loyalists report to the Treasury, and publications relative to their proper payment begin, vii. 203.

July. The British Parliament pass the Compensation Act as regards the loyalists, vii. 211.

Exodus of the American loyalists to Canada, etc., vii. 213.

Sept. 3. The Definitive Treaty between Gt. Britain and United States signed at Paris, vii. 87, 165.

Sept. 3. Peace of Versailles, — Great Britain with France and Spain, vii. 87.

Oct. 18. Congress directs the disbandment of the army, *Nov. 2*, vi. 746.

Oct. 20. Virginia agreeing to the terms of Congress cedes her claims to territory north of the Ohio, and the deed passes *Mar. 1, 1784*, vii. 528.

Nov. 2. Washington's farewell address to the army from Rocky Hill, vi. 746.

Nov. 25. New York evacuated, vi. 746.

Dec. 4. Washington parts with his officers in N. York, vi. 747.

Dec. 23. Washington resigns his commission at Annapolis, vi. 747.

Map of the Arctic regions, viii. 118.

The Oconee war with the Creeks, vii. 446.

Seabury, of Connecticut, the first American Episcopal bishop, viii. 487.

1784. Strong feeling against the Cincinnati Society, vii. 219.

Jan. 14. The Congress of the United States ratifies the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, vi. 747; and issues a Proclamation of Congress announcing the signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, vii. 167.

Mar. 24. Massachusetts determines to expel dangerous aliens, vii. 218.

Apr. 9. George III ratifies the Definitive Treaty, vii. 168.

Apr. 23. First ordinance for the government of the N. W. territory, with map showing proposed divisions, vii. 528, 529.

May 12. Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson commissioned by Congress to make treaties of commerce, vii. 233.

784. *June.* North Carolina cedes her western territory, and in Nov. annuls the cession, vii. 528, 530.

Futile attempt to establish the State of Franklin in the territory ceded by N. Carolina. The movement collapses in 1787, vii. 530.

Oct. 22. At Fort Stanwix the Six Nations surrender their lands west of Penna., vii. 447.

Washington inspecting the Ohio Valley, and this leads to the formation of the Potomac Company, vii. 530, 531.

Filson's map of Kentucky, vi. 708.

New Brunswick created, viii. 136.

An official French map anticipates the British claim as to the Maine boundary, vii. 175.

Movement towards making the Kentucky region an independent State, vii. 539.

Treaty at Pensacola allies the Creeks with Spain, vii. 447.

Lafayette travelling through the United States, vii. 218.

Dr. Belknap begins to publish his *Hist. of New Hampshire*, v. 163.

Benjamin Russell begins the *Massachusetts Centinel* in Boston, known after 1790 as the *Columbian Centinel*, viii. 497.

Francis Asbury consecrated as first Methodist bishop in the United States, viii. 487.

J. F. D. Smyth publishes his *Tour in the United States*, viii. 490.

The *American Daily Advertiser* (Philad.) the first American daily paper, viii. 497.

Peru divided into Intendencias, viii. 319.

1785. *Jan. 21.* Treaty at Fort McIntosh with the Wyandots, etc., vii. 450.

Feb. 25. John Adams appointed minister to England, vii. 233.

Mar. 10. Jefferson commissioned minister to France, vii. 233.

Mar. Meeting of Commissioners of Maryland and Virginia, vii. 224.

April 19. Massachusetts cedes her western territory, vii. 532.

May 20. Congress passes its first act relative to the disposal of western lands, vii. 533.

May 31. Gov. Bowdoin in Massachusetts seeks to start a movement to revise the articles of confederation, vii. 221.

July 6. The standard of the American dollar established, vii. 70.

July. Gardoqui in Philadelphia as agent of the Spanish government, and Jay's project followed of yielding to Spain the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty-five years, vii. 222, 223.

Sept. 14. Franklin reaches Philad. on his return from Europe, vii. 233.

Nov. 30. Adams, in London, demands the surrender of the frontier posts of the U. S., vii. 234.

Treaty of the Georgians with the Creeks at Galphinton, vii. 446.

Fort Harmar built, vii. 449.

The Algerines first seize American vessels, vii. 359.

Treaty of the U. S. and Prussia, vii. 461.

Noah Webster's project of an American policy, vii. 217.

La Perouse begins his voyage round the world, viii. 259.

1785. *Nov. 30.* David Ramsay begins to publish his studies of the Amer. Revolution, i. 59; and produces his completed history in 1789, viii. 472.

King's Chapel in Boston sustains its minister, James Freeman, in his views, and organizes the adherents of Unitarianism, viii. 487.

1786. *Jan. 16.* Treaty with the Chickasaws at Hopewell, vii. 447.

Jan. 21. Virginia invites the States to a general conference, vii. 226.

Jan. 31. Treaty with the Shawnees, vii. 450.

Mar. 6. The Ohio Company formed by Putnam, Cutler, and others in Boston, vii. 534.

July 14. Treaty of Spain and England about Yucatan, viii. 263.

Sept. 14. Connecticut cedes her western lands with conditions, vii. 533.

Sept. Convention of some of the States at Annapolis, Md., vii. 226.

Case of Trevett *v.* Weeden, vii. 236.

Dec. 16. Massachusetts yields jurisdiction over her lands in New York to that State, vii. 533.

Portugal orders her fleet in the Mediterranean to protect American shipping, vii. 234.

Treaty of commerce between England and France, vii. 235.

John Fitch begins his steamboat experiments on the Delaware, while James Ramsey is at the same time experimenting on the Potomac, vii. 536.

Fitch's map of the Kentucky region, vii. 542

Treaty of the Georgians with the Creeks at Shoulderbone, vii. 446.

Shays Rebellion in Massachusetts, vii. 229.

The *Poems* of Philip Freneau first published, viii. 495.

1787. *Feb. 17.* Gen. Malcolm's motion in the N. Y. Assembly, vii. 226.

Feb. 21. Congress agrees with the movement for a convention, vii. 227.

Apr. 13. St. Clair's report on the British infraction of the treaty of 1783, vii. 218.

Apr. 26. Ordinance for the government of the Western Territory reported; and on *July 13* it is adopted, vii. 537–8.

May 14. Constitutional Convention at Philad., vii. 237.

July 5. New York retires from the Federal Convention, vii. 246.

July 18. Treaty with Morocco ratified, vii. 235, 361.

July 24. The committee of details in the Federal Convention begin work, vii. 241.

Aug. 6. Committee of details in the Federal Convention report, vii. 241.

Aug. 9. South Carolina cedes her western lands, vii. 534.

Sept. 17. The Constitution signed in the Federal Convention, vii. 245.

Sept. 19. The new Constitution published in Philadelphia, vii. 246, 256.

Sept. 28. The Congress of the confederation sends the new Constitution to the States, vii. 247.

Oct. 5. Congress recalls Adams from London, vii. 235.

Dec. 7. Delaware the first State to adopt the Constitution, vii. 247, 257.

1787. *Dec. 12.* Pennsylvania and New Jersey adopt the Constitution, vii. 247, 257.

Creeks defeated at Jack's Creek, vii. 447.

Society for propagating the gospel among the Indians in N. America, v. 169.

The Boston ship "Columbia," Capt. Kendrick, on the Oregon coast, ii. 470.

Gen. Wilkinson seeks the aid of Spain to secure the independence of Kentucky, vii. 541.

Northwest Company formed at Montreal, viii. 78.

The French make Toussaint a general, viii. 285.

Joel Barlow publishes his *Vision of Columbus*, viii. 494.

Soulès' *Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise* supposed to represent the views of Rochambeau, viii. 505.

1788. The "hungry year" of the Canadian loyalists, viii. 141.

Jan. 2. Georgia adopts the Constitution, vii. 247, 258.

Jan. 9. Connecticut adopts the Constitution, vii. 247, 258.

Feb. 7. Massachusetts adopts the Constitution, vii. 248, 258.

Apr. 28. Maryland adopts the Constitution, vii. 249, 258.

May 23. South Carolina adopts the Constitution, vii. 249, 258.

June 21. New Hampshire adopts the Constitution, vii. 249, 258.

June 25. Virginia adopts the Constitution, vii. 250, 258.

July 15. The Georgia cession of western land made, and confirmed in 1802, vii. 534.

July 26. New York adopts the Constitution, vii. 250, 259.

Sept. 13. New York made the capital city, vii. 267.

Nov. 1. Last entries on the records of the Congress of the confederation, vii. 267.

The Federalist, first combined edition, vii. 259.

Massachusetts sells the "Phelps and Gorham Purchase" in N. Y., vii. 533.

The Ohio Company settles Marietta in Ohio, vii. 535.

Treaties with the Onondagas, etc., vii. 447.

Consular convention between France and the U. S., vii. 461, 464.

Brissot de Warville in the United States, viii. 491.

Gordon's *History of the Independence of the U. S.* published, viii. 471.

Spanish archives consolidated at Seville, ii. ii.

1789. *Jan.* St. Clair's treaties at Fort Harmar, vii. 450.

Feb. and Mar. Laco's attack on Hancock, vii. 328.

Mar. 4. The Federal Constitution to take effect, vii. 267.

Apr. 6. Washington and Adams declared President and Vice-President, vii. 267.

Apr. 21. John Adams seated as Vice-President.

Apr. 30. Washington inaugurated as President of the United States, vii. 267, 326.

May 10. Jared Sparks, a pioneer among American historians, born, viii. 416.

Aug. 7. The U. S. War Department organized, vii. 357.

Sept. 15. The Department of State made the depository of the Archives of the United States, viii. 413.

1789. *Sept. 29.* Congress establishes a regular army, vii. 357.

John Fenno's *Gazette of the U. S.* begun, viii. 497.

Nov. 21. North Carolina adopts the Constitution, vii. 251, 259.

Gouverneur Morris in France, vii. 514.

Washington's tour to the North, vii. 328.

The Northwest Company sends Alexander Mackenzie to explore towards the Arctic sea, viii. 34, 72.

Capt. Kendrick in the "Columbia" on the N. W. coast, viii. 213.

1790. Martinique taken by the English, viii. 290.

Mar. 25. The plan of the British government for compensating American loyalists closes, vii. 211.

Apr. 2. North Carolina finally cedes her western lands, vii. 530.

May 29. Rhode Island adopts the Constitution, vii. 251, 259.

July 16. Act establishing the Federal City on the Potomac, vii. 336.

Harmar's campaign against the Miamis, vii. 357, 450.

Aug. 7. Treaty with the Creeks, vii. 447.

Oct. 28. Nootka convention, vii. 555.

The Scioto Land Co. settles a French colony at Gallipolis, vii. 535.

Peter Force, one of the pioneers of American historical studies, born in New Jersey, viii. 425.

1791. *July 4.* George Buchanan's address on slavery, vii. 325.

Arthur St. Clair made major-general of the U. S. Army, vii. 357.

Nov. 4. St. Clair's defeat by the Indians, vii. 357, 450, 451.

Dec. 15. First ten amendments to the U. S. Constitution in force, vii. 266.

Gouverneur Morris in London, vii. 574.

Great Britain first sends a minister to the United States (Geo. Hammond), vii. 462.

Chateaubriand arrives in the United States, viii. 491.

Controversy on the rights of neutrals continued till the war of 1812, vii. 520.

Vermont admitted to the American Union, vii. 280.

Pulteney estate in New York, vii. 533.

Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures*, vii. 329.

First Bank of the United States chartered, vii. 268.

Philip Freneau's *National Gazette* begun, viii. 497.

Washington's southern tour, vii. 328.

Building of Fort Harrison on the Great Miami, vii. 450.

Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, vii. 516.

Earliest description of Xochicalco ruins, i. 180.

Constitutional act for Canada, viii. 138, 152, 171.

1792. Kentucky admitted, vii. 280.

Treaty with the Indians at Vincennes, vii. 452.

Knox's plan for organizing a militia, vii. 358, 451.

Anthony Wayne made major-general of the army, vii. 357.

1792. Pennsylvania buys the Erie Triangle, vii. 528.

Holland Land Company in N. Y., vii. 533.

British impressments of American seamen continues, vii. 521.

Gouverneur Morris in Paris for two years, vii. 574.

Capt. Robert Gray in the "Columbia" explores and names the Columbia River, vii. 556.

Vancouver on the California coast for two years, viii. 214.

The "Sutil" and "Mexicana" at the Straits of Fuca, viii. 213.

Mar. 28. Battle of Croix des Bouquets (San Domingo), viii. 282.

The French capture Port au Prince, viii. 285.

Sept. 17. First parliament in Upper Canada, viii. 141.

1793. *Jan. 21.* Louis XVI executed, viii. 285.

The earliest western newspaper, *The Centinel of the North West* (Cincinnati), published, viii. 497.

March 4. Washington's second term begins, vii. 269.

Apr. 22. Washington's Proclamation of neutrality, vii. 464, 515.

May 9. The French government directs the seizure of vessels carrying supplies to an enemy's port, vii. 465.

May. France and England at war, viii. 285.

June 8. Genet lands at Charleston, S. C., vii. 464; his mission and the "Democrats,"—a French faction, vii. 268, 515.

The British government directs seizure of neutral vessels carrying supplies to France, vii. 465.

Aug. The recall of Genet asked for, vii. 471.

Dec. Fort Greenville built by Wayne, vii. 451.

Joel Barlow in France, vii. 514.

Freneau and Fenno, and their counter attacks, vii. 316.

Jefferson resigns as Secretary of State, vii. 463.

Jefferson's followers known as the Republican party, and Hamilton's the Federal party, vii. 268.

The war between Portugal and Algiers ceasing, American vessels are again seized by the Algerines, vii. 360, 417.

Whitney's cotton gin invented, vii. 280.

Vancouver on the Oregon coast, vii. 556.

Alexander Mackenzie, travelling overland, touches the coast above the Columbia River, vii. 556.

1794. General Clark's rebellion in the Creek country, vii. 447.

Feb. 20. The Senate ceases to sit with closed doors, vii. 295.

Mar. 27. Congress provides for six frigates, vii. 360.

May. 27. Washington recalls Gouverneur Morris from France, and appoints Monroe, vii. 471.

June 14. Port au Prince captured by the English, viii. 285.

Fort Adams built by Wayne, vii. 452.

Aug. 20. Wayne defeats the Indians at the Maumee rapids, vii. 357, 435; with map, 454.

Aug. Fort Defiance built, vii. 452.

Fauchet's despatch, supposed to compromise Edmund Randolph, vii. 517.

1794. *Nov. 19.* Jay's treaty, vii. 173, 269, 361, 466, 517.

J. Q. Adams's mission to Holland, vii. 525.

First American neutrality act, vii. 465.

Whiskey insurrection in Penna., vii. 268, 329.

Unitarianism takes root in New York, viii. 487.

Stedman's *American War* published, viii. 501.

A combined corps of engineers and artillery established by the U. S. Congress, vii. 358.

1795. Controversy over the Yazoo land grants continued till 1814, vii. 534.

Maroon war in Jamaica for two years, viii. 279.

July. Hayti declared independent, viii. 285.

July 22. Treaty of Basle, ii. 80; viii. 285.

Aug. 3. Wayne's treaty with the Indians at Fort Greenville, vii. 451, 453.

Sept. Treaty of the United States and Algiers, vii. 361.

Oct. 27. Treaty at San Lorenzo between Spain and the U. S., vii. 447, 476, 543.

Dec. 10. Timothy Pickering, Sec. of State, and his communications with Adet continue for some months, vii. 518.

The *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams begin at this time, vii. 299; viii. 428.

Contemporary map of the Northwest Territory, vii. 542.

Russell's map of the Rocky Mountain Region, vii. 557.

Land cessions of the Indians to the U. S. begin, vii. 446.

British plot to buy up the lower peninsula of Michigan, vii. 451.

Rochefoucauld Liancourt's and Weld's travels in the United States, v. 284; viii. 491.

Muñoz publishes his *Historia del Nuevo Mondo*, ii. p. iii.

1796. *Mar. 1.* Proclamation of the ratification of Jay's treaty, vii. 470.

Apr. 30. The House of Representatives agrees to sustain Jay's treaty, vii. 470.

June. Treaty at Colraine between the Creeks and the U. S., vii. 447.

July 4. The Connecticut Western Reserve first occupied, vii. 534.

Treaty with the Cherokees at Holston, vii. 447.

Sept. C. C. Pinckney succeeds Monroe as minister to France, vii. 472.

Early disunion sentiments in New England, vii. 320.

The custom arises of a Congressional caucus to nominate President, vii. 269.

Tennessee admitted, vii. 280, 530.

Wm. Cobbett in Philad., vii. 314.

Adet sends Callot to explore the territory west of the Mississippi, vii. 550.

Chillicothe founded, vii. 547.

Cleveland settled, vii. 734.

The X Y Company formed in Canada, and united with the N. W. Co. in 1804, viii. 78.

Benjamin Smith Barton begins his publications on American antiquities, i. 371.

President Timothy Dwight begins his American travels, viii. 492.

The English capture Dutch Guiana, viii. 366.

1797. Washington's Farewell Address, vii. 332, 333.

1797. *March 4.* Administration of John Adams begins, vii. 269, 334.

Oct. John Adams's new Commission meets in Paris, vii. 472.

X Y Z despatches of the American minister in France, vii. 472.

The French Directory indirectly demands a bribe from the U. S. ministers in France, vii. 473.

J. Q. Adams's mission to Prussia, vii. 525.

Jacobin clubs in the U. S., vii. 515.

Callendar's attack on Hamilton and Hamilton's "Reynolds pamphlet," vii. 309.

Launching of the frigates "United States," "Constitution," and "Constellation," vii. 415.

Noah Webster's *Minerva* begins; later known as the *Commercial Advertiser*, viii. 497.

Carthagena attacked, viii. 292.

1798. *Apr. 27.* Congress orders the fitting out of cruisers, vii. 362.

Apr. 30. The Navy Department (U. S.) created, vii. 415.

U. S. marine corps created, vii. 363.

May. The United States begins to send a fleet to sea against the French, vii. 363, 418.

The French war with the United States, vii. 454, 456.

July 7. Congress declares the French treaties no longer binding, vii. 363.

Negotiations with France, vii. 518.

Alien and Sedition Laws, vii. 252, 269, 334.

Oct. 16. The St. Croix River identified as the N. E. bounds of the U. S., vii. 174.

The British discover that the source of the Mississippi is a degree at least south of the 49th parallel, vii. 554.

Mississippi Territory created; enlarged in 1804 and 1812, vii. 546.

Spain evacuates the Yazoo country, vii. 543.

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, vii. 252, 270, 319.

1799. *Feb. 9.* Action of the "Constellation" and "Insurgente," vii. 364.

Dec. Washington dies, vii. 269, 302.

1800. *Feb. 2.* Action of the "Constellation" and "Vengeance," vii. 365.

Mar. 30. Adams's second embassy to France received by Napoleon, vii. 475.

Sept. 30–Oct. 3. Convention with France, by which the treaty of 1778 is annulled and the U. S. government assumes the claims of American citizens for French spoliations, vii. 476.

Oct. Treaty of St. Ildefonso, by which Spain cedes Louisiana to France, vii. 165, 478, 547, 556.

Territory of Indiana created, vii. 543.

Connecticut surrenders her jurisdiction over the Western Reserve, vii. 534.

Marshall's exposition of neutral rights, vii. 520.

Movements for and against internal improvement legislation begin, vii. 345.

John Randolph enters Congress, vii. 317.

Position of the Indian tribes beyond the Alleghanies given by Gallatin, i. 321.

The *National Intelligencer* started in Washington, viii. 497.

1801. *Jan. 2.* Toussaint enters St. Domingo, viii. 285.

Feb. Treaty of France and the United States; the United States surrendering its claims for spoliations for a consideration, thus assuming the obligations to its own citizens, vii. 366, 367.

1801. *Mar. 3.* Peace Establishment Act, vii. 367.

Mar. 4. Jefferson the first President inaugurated in Washington city, vii. 337; begins his first term, vii. 269, 336.

Mar. Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquis of Osorno, dies, viii. 323.

Gallatin appointed Secretary of the Treasury, vii. 272.

May 14. Tripoli declares war against the United States, vii. 369, 418.

The Bey of Tunis makes demands for ordnance upon the United States, vii. 368.

Perrin du Lac in Louisiana for two years, vii. 550.

1802. *Jan.* The French invade St. Domingo, viii. 285.

Feb. 6. The United States declares war against Tripoli, vii. 370.

Peace of Amiens, viii. 290, 366.

Mar. 16. Congress establishes the Military Academy at West Point, vii. 460.

Aug. Treaty of the U. S. with Spain, but the king withholds his signature, vii. 477, 497.

Ohio admitted, vii. 280, 543.

John Adolphus's tory *History of England* (1760–83) published, viii. 503.

C. C. Robin in Louisiana for four years, vii. 550.

Berquin-Duvallon in Louisiana, vii. 550.

1803. *Apr. 30.* Purchase of Louisiana, — ratified by Napoleon in *May* and by the United States in *Oct.*, vii. 165, 479, 543, 547, 556.

War of England and France, viii. 286.

William Wirt publishes his *Letters of a British Spy*, viii. 492.

Apr. Toussaint dies, viii. 286.

May 12. Convention between Great Britain and the U. S. as to Canadian bounds, subsequently discarded by the United States, vii. 480, 554.

Oct. The U. S. ship "Philadelphia" lost at Tripoli, vii. 371.

Difficulties with Morocco, vii. 420.

Adams-Cunningham correspondence during nine years, vii. 335.

Oct. Treaties with the Indians, and frequently later, vii. 454.

Nov. 19. The French surrender Cape François, viii. 286.

1804. *Feb. 16.* Decatur blows up the "Philadelphia" in Tripoli harbor, vii. 372.

July–Sept. Preble attacks Tripoli, vii. 373.

Territory of Orleans created, vii. 550.

Congress made a customs district in the Mississippi Territory, vii. 546.

The twelfth amendment to the U. S. Constitution adopted, vii. 270.

Expedition of Lewis and Clarke, ending in 1806, vii. 556.

The *Richmond Enquirer* started, viii. 497.

Rufus Putnam's map of Ohio, vii. 544–5.

Futile conferences between Spain and the U. S. as to the bounds of Louisiana, vii. 498

Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vii. 300; viii 417.

Sedition Act in Canada, viii. 142, 149.

Highlanders at Prince Edward Island, viii 147.

1804. The Carleton (Dorchester) papers, placed in the Royal Institution, become available to students, viii. 462.

1805. *March 4.* Jefferson begins his second term, vii. 273.

June 4. Com. Rodgers concludes a treaty with Tripoli, vii. 375.

Jefferson's gunboat policy, vii. 457.

Gen. Z. M. Pike's expedition to discover the sources of the Mississippi, ending in 1807, vii. 553.

Territory of Michigan created, v. 543.

During this and the two following years Burr makes his visit west, establishes his connection with Blennerhassett, leads the "conspiracy," and has his trial, vii. 338, 339.

Abiel Holmes's *American Annals* first published, viii. 474.

Mercy Warren's *American Revolution* published, viii. 474.

North West Company is formed in Canada as a rival to the Hudson Bay Co., and later it forms a coalition with the X Y Company, viii. 37, 38.

1806. First French newspaper in Canada, viii. 140.

Russians on the California coast, viii. 214.

Oct. 17. Jacques I (Hayti) shot, viii. 287.

The English invade Buenos Ayres, viii. 360.

Capt. William Scoresby attains at that time the greatest northing with a ship, 80° 30′, viii. 129.

Dec. 31. Treaty of the U. S. and Great Britain signed, but rejected by Jefferson, vii. 273, 481, 519.

The Cumberland road legislation lasts for over thirty years, vii. 275.

1807. *Jan.* Cristophe defeats Pétion (Hayti), viii. 287.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty captures Montevideo, but later the English evacuate the country, viii. 361.

Burr's attempted expedition against Mexico, vii. 273.

Selfridge-Austin affair, vii. 318.

"Leopard's" attack on the "Chesapeake," vii. 274, 420, 522

The steamboat. invented vii. 273.

Dec. 22. Embargo Act (U. S.), vii. 274, 482.

An understanding reached by Smith for the U. S. and by Erskine for Great Britain, is not later approved by the British government, vii. 520.

1808. Embargo controversy, vii. 340.

Gallatin's report on neutral rights, vii. 520.

Harrison Gray Otis first suggests a New England combination, vii. 321.

Gen. Wilkinson's alleged treasonable conduct begins about this time, vii. 338.

John Quincy Adams breaks with the Federalists, vii. 320.

The foreign slave trade made illegal by the U. S., vii. 292, 325.

March 7. Joam VI of Portugal arrives at Rio de Janeiro, viii. 324, 357.

1809. *Mar. 1.* Non-intercourse Act as to England and France, vii. 274, 482.

Map of Ohio, vii. 548–9.

The Territory of Illinois created, vii. 543.

British attempts to lure New England from its fealty to the Union continue for a few years, vii. 321.

1809. *March 4.* Madison begins his first term, vii. 274, 341.

J. Q. Adams in Russia for four years, vii. 525.

Botta's Italian history of the American War published in Paris, and later (1820) an English version appears in Philadelphia, viii. 507.

1810. Rambouillet Decree, vii. 275.

Apr. The South American revolutions begin in Venezuela, viii. 324.

Dr. Castelli in Upper Peru, viii. 327.

Revolution in Uruguay, viii. 362.

Paraguay declared independent, viii. 360.

Sept. A national government formed in Buenos Ayres, viii. 327.

Sept. 18. Junta de Gobierno at Santiago de Chile, viii. 325.

First Mexican revolution, lasts seven years, viii. 215.

Sept. 28. Guanajuato captured, viii. 217.

Charles J. Ingersoll's *Inchiquin* first published, viii. 492.

The people of West Florida declare their independence, but *Oct. 27*, Madison takes possession of the country, vii. 498, 546.

1811. *Jan. 21.* Calleja enters Guadalajara, viii. 220.

May. Affair of the "Little Belt," vii. 522.

Nov. Reparation made by Great Britain for the attack on the "Chesapeake," vii. 482.

Charter of the Bank of the United States expires, vii. 278.

Clay and the war party in the U. S., vii. 275.

Gen. Harrison's campaign against the Indians, vii. 375.

Nov. 7. Battle of Tippecanoe, vii. 375, 454.

Founding of the American fur trade at Astoria, vii. 558.

The North West Co. builds its first fort on the Columbia, viii. 78.

The Earl of Selkirk receives a grant from the Hudson Bay Company, and in 1812 settles some Scotch Highlanders on it, viii. 39, 78.

Revolutionary movements begin in Peru, viii. 324.

Paraguay independent, viii. 341.

Niles's Register begun at Baltimore. It stops in 1849, viii. 498.

1812. *Feb.* Siege of Cuautla, viii. 221.

June 18. War declared by the United States against Great Britain, vii. 276, 342, 370, 420, 482; viii. 143, 179, 414.

June 23. Gt. Britain revokes her Orders in Council, vii. 276.

Campaigns on the Niagara frontier during the war, vii. 459.

Campaigns on the northern frontier during the war, vii. 428, 458.

Campaigns in the northwest during the war, vii. 428.

Michilimackinac taken, viii. 144.

Naval defences on the eastern seaboard during the war, vii. 458.

American privateers during the war, vii. 426.

July. Miranda makes a treaty with the Spanish general, and the Venezuelan Republic fails, viii. 324.

July. The "Constitution" chased by British frigates, vii. 379.

July 12. Gen. Hull invades Canada, vii. 384.

1812. *Aug. 9.* Battle of Brownstown, vii. 429.

Aug. 16. Hull surrenders Detroit, vii. 384, 429.

Aug. 19. Action of the "Constitution" and "Guerrière," vii. 380, 457.

Sept. 1–12. Siege of Fort Wayne, vii. 430.

Sept. 4. Defence of Fort Harrison on the Wabash, vii. 430.

Sept. 5–8. Attack on Fort Madison on the Mississippi, vii. 430.

Sept. 29. Battle of the Peninsula (Western Reserve), vii. 430.

Oct. 13. Battle of Queenstown, vii. 384, 459; viii. 144.

Oct. Action of the "Wasp" and "Frolic," vii. 380, 457.

Oct. Orizaba taken, viii. 221.

Oct. 25. Action of the "United States" and "Macedonian," vii. 457.

Nov. Com. Chauncy gets command of Lake Ontario, vii. 388.

Nov. Oajaca taken, viii. 221.

Dec. 29. Action of the "Constitution" and "Java," vii. 381, 457.

Louisiana admitted. The region north of the State is known as the District of Louisiana, and becomes a separate territory in 1805, called, after 1812, Missouri Ter., vii. 280, 550.

Columbus, Ohio, founded, vii. 547.

Territory between the Mississippi and Pearl rivers annexed to Louisiana, vii. 498.

Gerrymander Scheme, vii. 318.

Red River settlement, viii. 75.

American Antiquarian Soc. founded, i. 437.

Carlos Maria de Bustamante's historical works published for the next forty years, ii. 399.

1813. *Jan. 18.* Fight at Frenchtown, and River Raisin massacre, vii. 387, 431; viii. 145.

Feb. 24. Action of the "Hornet" and "Peacock," vii. 381, 457.

Mar. 4. Madison's second term begins, vii. 276.

Mar. Russia offers mediation between Great Britain and the U. S., vii. 483.

Mar. 31. Battle of Yerbas Buenas, viii. 332.

Apr. Acapulco taken, viii. 221.

Apr. 15. Gen. Wilkinson seizes the fort at New Orleans, vii. 498.

Apr. 27. Gen. Pike attacks York (Toronto), vii. 389.

Apr. 28–May 9. Defence of Fort Meigs, vii. 431.

May. Fort George on the Niagara captured by the Americans, vii. 389.

May 29. Sackett's Harbor attacked, vii. 389, 458.

June 1. Action of the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon," vii. 386, 457.

June 12. Madison informs Congress of the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, vii. 522.

May, June. The British fleet in Chesapeake Bay, vii. 386.

May–Aug. British attacks on Forts Meigs and Stephenson, vii. 387.

Aug. 2. Defence of Fort Stephenson, vii. 431.

Aug. 14. Action of the "Argus" and "Pelican," vii. 387, 457.

Aug. 30. Massacre at Fort Mims, vii. 435.

Aug. Dearborn succeeded by Wilkinson in the command of the Lake region, vii. 390.

1813. *Sept.* Action of the "Enterprise" and "Boxer," vii. 387, 458.

Sept. 10. Perry's victory, vii. 392, 432; viii. 146.

Oct. 5. Battle of the Thames, vii. 392, 431; viii. 146.

Oct. 26. Battle of Chateauguay, vii. 458; viii. 146.

Gen. Andrew Jackson and others fighting the Creeks, vii. 392.

Nov. 3. Fight at Tallushatchie with the Creeks, vii. 436.

Nov. 6. Morelos' party in Mexico proclaim independence, viii. 222.

Nov. 9. Fight with the Creeks at Talladega, vii. 436.

Action at Chrysler's Field, vii. 459.

Nov. 29. Fight with the Indians at Auttose, vii. 436

Tammany party, or Bucktails, vii. 283.

Gen. Wilkinson gets possession of Mobile, vii. 546.

Nathan Hale begins the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, viii. 497.

Inquisition abolished in Peru, viii. 324.

Capt. David Porter's cruise in the "Essex" in the Pacific, his ship being destroyed *Mar. 28, 1814*, vii. 395, 434.

1814. *Jan. 22.* Fight with the Creeks at Emuckfau, vii. 436.

Jan. 24. Fight with the Creeks at Enitachopco, vii. 436.

Jan. 27. Jackson defeats the Creeks at Horse Shoe Bend, or Tohopeka, vii. 393, 436.

Jan. 27. Fight with the Creeks at Calabee, vii. 436

Jan. Morelos at Puruaran, viii. 222.

Mar. British treaty at Montreal with the Indians, viii. 147.

Mar. 13. Affair at La Colle Mill (Canada), vii. 458.

Apr. 29. Action of the "Peacock," vii. 458.

Spring. Izard's northern campaign, vii. 459.

May. Oswego attacked, vii. 347, 459.

June 28. "Wasp" and "Reindeer," vii. 458.

July 5. Battle of the Chippewa, vii. 394, 459.

Gen. Jacob Brown on the Niagara frontier, vii. 393.

July 25. Battle of Lundy's Lane (Bridgewater, or Niagara), vii. 394, 459; viii. 147.

Wilkinson's feeble invasion of Canada, vii. 393.

Aug. 3–Sept. 21. Siege of Fort Erie, vii. 395, 459.

Aug. 10. Treaty with the Creeks at Fort Jackson, vii. 436.

Aug. 19–25. Battle of Bladensburg, and subsequent capture of Washington city, vii. 401–2, 434; viii. 413.

Sept. 1. Action of the "Wasp" and "Avon," vii. 458.

Sept. The British repulsed at Fort McHenry, vii. 403, 435.

Sept. 11. Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain, and the retreat of the British from Plattsburg, vii. 400, 433.

Sept. The U. S. privateer "Gen. Armstrong" destroyed at Fayal, vii. 501. The claim upon Portugal for damages decided in her favor in 1851.

Oct. 12. Battle of Rancayua (Chile), viii. 326.

1814. *Oct. 29.* The "Fulton the First" launched, the first steam war-vessel built, vii. 460.

Nov. 4. England offers to negotiate a peace with the U. S., vii. 483.

Dec. 15. Hartford Convention, vii. 252, 277, 321.

Dec. 24. Treaty of Ghent, vii. 176, 278, 486, 523; viii. 147.

Various minor single ship actions, vii. 396.

Jackson reinstates the Spaniards in Pensacola, vii. 546.

The Republican party begins to call itself the Democratic party, vii. 278.

Louisiana campaign ending in Jan. 1815, vii. 436.

Francia's rule in Paraguay begins, viii. 360.

British Guiana (Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice) confirmed to the English, viii. 366.

1815. *Jan. 8.* Battle of New Orleans, vii. 404, 437.

Jan. 15. The "President" captured outside New York, vii. 405, 458.

Feb. The "Constitution" takes the "Cyane" and "Levant," vii. 405, 488.

Mar. 23. Action of the "Hornet" and "Penguin," vii. 405, 458.

May. Decatur with a fleet sent against the Algerines and other Barbary powers, vii. 405, 438.

July. Commercial convention of the U. S. with Great Britain, vii. 488.

Bonapartist revolt in Martinique, viii. 290.

Diplomatic relations of Spain and the U. S., which had been suspended for seven years, resumed, vii. 498.

Benjamin Lundy denounces slavery, and continues to do so for twenty-five years, vii. 287.

Revival of interest in Arctic exploration in England, viii. 83, 115.

Dec. Brazil made a part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil, viii. 324, 357.

1816. *Apr.* The second Bank of the United States created, vii. 277.

Mar. 24. Buenos Ayres declared independent, viii. 361.

July 9. Independence of the Argentine Republic proclaimed, viii. 332.

Gen. Wilkinson's *Memoirs* published, the earliest purely military account of the Revolution, viii. 480.

Congress imposes an *ad valorem* duty on woollen and cotton imports; confirmed or extended in 1819, 1824, 1826, 1828, vii. 278.

Protective duties imposed on iron imports; increased in 1818, 1824, 1828, vii. 278, 345.

Indiana admitted, vii. 280, 543.

Map of Selkirk's Red River Settlement (Manitoba), viii. 40, when the Northwest Company's forces attack it; the warfare continued till 1820, viii. 40, 42, 78.

1817. *Jan. 17.* San Martin begins his march across the Andes, viii. 330.

Simon Bolivar in Venezuela, viii. 334.

Revolt at Pernambuco, viii. 358.

Interest of the United States in South American affairs, viii. 362.

English settlement in Illinois, viii. 493.

March 4. Monroe's first term as President of the United States begins, vii. 279, 344.

Mar. 8. The Territory of Alabama created, vii. 546.

1817. *Apr. 28.* Agreement between Great Britain and the U. S. as to naval forces on the lakes, vii. 489.

Nov. 24. The islands in Passamaquoddy Bay confirmed to Gt. Britain, vii. 177.

Col. Mina's expedition into Mexico, viii. 269.

Dec. 6. Battle of Talcahuano, viii. 332.

Dec. 10. Mississippi admitted, vii. 280, 546.

Efforts by the United States to secure a treaty with Turkey, vii. 508.

Conferences between Spain and the United States over the Florida boundary, vii. 498.

First Seminole War begins, vii. 406, 438.

1818. *Feb. 13.* Independence of Chile proclaimed, viii. 331.

Mar. Petion dies (Hayti), viii. 287.

Mar. 31. Battle of Yerbas Buenas, viii. 332.

Apr. 5. Battle of Maypu (Chile), viii. 331, 332.

July 9. The king of Spain ratifies the Convention of 1802, vii. 498.

Aug. 18. Convention between Great Britain and the United States, vii. 490, 554; viii. 167.

New survey of the U. S. boundary at Rouse's Point, vii. 179.

Gen. Jackson seizes Pensacola, vii. 498, 546.

Trial of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, vii. 438.

Neutrality Act of the United States, vii. 462.

Illinois admitted, vii. 280, 543.

Map of the Polar regions, viii. 123.

Ross and Parry's Arctic expedition, viii. 84, 115, 117.

Silliman's *American Journal of Science and Arts* begun, i. 438.

1819. *Feb. 22.* Treaty between the U. S. and Spain as to the Florida and other bounds, and the Spanish king ratifies it *Oct. 24,* 1820, vii. 499, 500, 524, 546, 550, 558, 559.

Territory of Arkansaw created, vii. 550.

Alabama admitted, vii. 280, 546.

The protective policy begins to be discussed, vii. 330.

Aug. 7. Bolivar victor at Boyaca, viii. 334.

An English legion leads the Venezuelans, viii. 334.

Dec. Venezuela and New Grenada united as Colombia, viii. 335.

Robt. Walsh's *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain* published, viii. 493.

Dr. S. F. Jarvis the earliest to consider the myths of the Indians, i. 429.

Maj. S. H. Long's expedition to the "Great American Desert," vii. 558, 559.

Parry's first Arctic expedition, viii. 84, 117.

Franklin's overland Arctic explorations, viii. 117.

1820. Missouri admitted, vii. 280, 550.

Clay's Missouri Compromise, vii. 281.

Apr. News of Ferdinand VIIth's adhesion to the Spanish constitution reaches Mexico, viii. 224.

Maine admitted, vii. 280.

Jedediah Morse among the Indians, i. 320.

Oct. 2. Webster's speech for incidental protection, vii. 325.

H. R. Schoolcraft's explorations of the sources of the Mississippi, vii. 553.

Large appropriations for internal improvements in the U. S., continued thereafter, vii. 275.

Oct. Emperor Cristophe assassinated (Hayti), viii. 287.

Family compact in Canada, viii. 151.

1821. Revolution in Spain, viii. 358.

Jan. 29. Viceroy Pezuela deposed in Peru, viii. 329.

March 4. Monroe's second term, and the "Era of Good Feeling" begins, vii. 279, 344.

The U. S. navy suppressing piracy in the West Indies during this and succeeding years, vii. 406, 439.

Union of the Hudson Bay and North West Companies, viii. 42, 79.

Sir George Simpson the first governor of Rupert's Land, viii. 15.

Parry's second Arctic voyage, viii. 85, 118.

June 24. Bolivar victor at Carabobo, viii. 335.

July 28. Peru declared independent, viii. 334.

Sept. Iturbide enters Mexico, viii. 225; his proclamation at Iguala, 225.

The Portuguese court returns to Lisbon from Brazil, viii. 341.

1822. *May 1.* Dom Pedro perpetual protector of Brazil, viii. 341.

May 4. The Congress of U. S. refers to the struggling colonies of Spain as "independent," vii. 501.

June 16. Bolivar enters Quito, viii. 335.

June 18. The U. S. boundary line along the great Lakes determined, vii. 554.

June 24. Treaty of France and the U. S., vii. 496.

The Hudson Bay Co. secure rights for 21 years in the "Indian Territory," west of the Hudson Bay basin, and in 1838 its rights are extended for another 21 years, viii. 44, 48.

July. San Martin's conference with Bolivar, viii. 335.

Sept. 7. Dom Pedro declares Brazil independent, viii. 341, 358.

Sept. 20. San Martin resigns his protectorate, viii. 335.

Oct. 12. Dom Pedro declared emperor of Brazil, viii. 341, 358.

Boyer establishes the Republic of Hayti, viii. 287.

1823. O'Higgins abdicates (Chile), viii. 340.

Aug. South American patriots defeated at Zepita, viii. 336.

Sept. 1. Bolivar enters Lima, viii. 336.

Nov. National Assembly of Mexico, viii. 227; and Guadalupe Victoria chosen first president of the United States of Mexico, viii. 227.

Albany Regency (New York politics), vii. 283.

Dec. 2. Monroe enunciates "the Monroe Doctrine," vii. 281, 502, 524.

The Holy Alliance aiming to thwart the Spanish-American efforts for independence, vii. 502.

Slavery struggle in Illinois begins, vii. 325.

Symptoms of approval in the U. S. for the struggles of the Greeks, lasting several years, vii. 503.

Gallatin begins his studies of the American Indians, i. 424.

1824. *Mar. 2.* Callao Castle surrendered to the Spaniards, viii. 336.

Mar. 13. Convention on the subject of the slave trade between Great Britain and the U. S.; but it is not ratified, vii. 492.

Mar. 25. Constitution of Brazil adopted, viii. 341, 358.

Apr. 5–17. Russia and the United States agree that the line 54° 40′ shall divide their settlements, vii. 510, 559.

1824. *Aug. 6.* Battle of Junin, viii. 336.

Oct. 3. Treaty of the U. S. with Colombia, vii. 504.

Dec. 9. Battle of Ayacucho, viii. 337.

Lafayette's visit to the United States, vii. 344.

Parry's third Arctic voyage, viii. 85.

1825. *March 4.* John Quincy Adams president of the U. S., vii. 282, 346.

The followers of John Quincy Adams constitute the National Republican party, vii. 282.

The followers of Andrew Jackson constitute the Democratic Republican party, vii. 282.

Canada Company formed, viii. 148.

France makes a treaty with Hayti, viii. 287, 288.

Aug. Upper Peru becomes Bolivia, viii. 338.

Treaty of the U. S. with the States of Central America, vii. 504.

Navarrete publishes his *Colecçion*, ii. p. v.

Russia's agreement with Great Britain on the same terms as with the U. S. in 1824, vii. 559.

Beechey's Arctic exped. by way of Behring's Straits, viii. 87, 118.

1826. *Jan. 19.* The Spaniards surrender Callao Castle, viii. 337.

Bolivar proclaimed president for life of Peru, viii. 338.

June. The Panama Congress, vii. 503.

July 4. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson die, vii. 307.

Georgia expels the Cherokees, vii. 286.

Treaty of the United States with Denmark, vii. 504.

Murder of Wm. Morgan, vii. 284.

1827. *Aug. 8.* The U. S. and Great Britain agree to extend the agreement as to the Oregon bounds, vii. 492, 559.

Sparks announces his preparation of the life and letters of Washington, which are published 1833–37, viii. 417.

Treaty of the U. S. with the Hanseatic republics, vii. 504.

James Grahame begins the publication of his *Hist. of the Rise and Progress of the United States*, v. 620.

Irving publishes his *Columbus*, ii. p. vi.

Mexico declines to sell Texas to the U. S., vii. 550.

1828. High protective tariff of the U. S., vii. 286.

Aug. 27. Uruguay independent, viii. 341.

Dec. Calhoun's exposition of state sovereignty passed by the South Carolina legislature, vii. 286.

Beaumarchais' claim finally settled by the United States, vii. 33.

Treaty of the United States with Prussia, vii. 504.

The boundary line between the U. S. and Mexico confirmed as arranged with Spain in 1819, vii. 505

Graah's explorations of the Greenland coasts begin, i. 109.

Timothy Pitkin's *United States*, the first political history of the United States, viii. 475.

Hutchinson's third volume of his *Massachusetts* published in London, viii. 469.

The Blackhawk War lasts till 1832, vii. 439, 406.

1828. *Dec.* The Beothuks of Newfoundland become extinct, i. 321.

1829. Spain sends a fleet against Mexico, viii. 228.

March 4. Jackson's administration (U. S.) begins, vii. 283, 348.

Aug. 31. Peru adopts a democratic constitution, viii. 339.

Clay becomes leader of his party, vii. 281.

William Lloyd Garrison founds American abolitionism, vii. 287.

Dec. 8. Jackson's message against the U. S. Bank, vii. 351.

Sahagún's narrative first published by Bustamante, ii. 416.

John Ross's first Arctic voyage (to 1833), during which the position of the magnetic pole is discovered and his ships are abandoned, viii. 88, 89, 119.

1830. *Feb.* Hayne and Webster debate in the U. S. Senate, vii. 254, 263, 286.

Freer commercial intercourse of the U. S. with Great Britain secured, vii. 492.

Treaty of the U. S. with Denmark, vii. 287, 511.

Treaty of the U. S. with Turkey, vii. 508.

The beginning of the spoils system in American politics, vii. 351.

Nullification in South Carolina, vii. 252, 253.

Alaman's history of Mexico ends, viii. 268.

Colombia divided into Venezuela, New Grenada, and Ecuador, viii. 339.

Dec. 17. Simon Bolivar dies, viii. 339.

Sparks begins his *American Biography*, viii. 475.

Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico* published (up to 1848), i. 203.

Aubin on Mexico, i. 160.

1831. *Jan. 10.* The king of Netherlands' award in the U. S. boundary controversy, vii. 177.

Apr. 7. Dom Pedro I (Brazil) abdicates, and Dom Pedro II succeeds, viii. 341, 358.

July 4. Treaty of France and the U. S. making reciprocal reparations. The French refusing to comply, diplomatic relations suspended, and in 1863 payment is made by France, vii. 287, 496–7.

Calhoun's nullification address, vii. 322.

Disruption of Jackson's cabinet, vii. 349.

A national convention to nominate for the presidency first held, vii. 283.

J. Q. Adams in the House of Representatives till his death in 1848, vii. 283.

Garrison begins *The Liberator*, vii. 287.

Treaty of the U. S. and Mexico, vii. 505.

Republic of Colombia divided, vii. 504.

1832. *July 10.* Jackson vetoes the recharter of the Bank of the U. S., vii. 284.

Nov. 19. South Carolina nullification ordinance, vii. 286.

Dec. 11. Jackson's nullification proclamation, vii. 286.

Treaty with Naples, vii. 287.

A commercial treaty of the U. S. with Russia, vii. 511.

Treaty of the U. S. and Chile, vii. 504.

Protective tariff, vii. 284.

The U. S. possesses the Oregon country by settlers, vii. 559.

The New England Anti-slavery Society formed, vii. 287.

Anti-Mason party in N. Y. and Penn., vii. 284, 348.

1832. *Dec.* The Great Salt Lake Basin first explored by Bonneville (1832–36), and again by Frémont in 1842–44, vii. 558.

Geo. Catlin spends 7 years among the Indians, i. 320.

Cholera in Canada in this and succeeding years, viii. 148.

Fréderic de Waldeck begins his study of the Mexican ruins, i. 194.

1833. *Mar. 2.* Clay's compromise tariff, vii. 287.

Mar. 4. Jackson's second term as President of the U. S., vii. 284.

Sept. Jackson's "Removal of the Deposits," and the Senate censures him in a resolution, expunged in 1837, vii. 285.

Treaties of the U. S. with Siam and Muscat, vii. 508.

The *Congressional Globe* established, vii. 295.

The N. Y. *Morning Post* the first American penny newspaper, viii. 497.

Jackson's "Force Bill" and Clay's "Compromise Act," vii. 255.

American Anti-slavery Society formed, vii. 287.

Catlin's map of the Indian tribes, i. 321.

Chilean Constitution adopted, viii. 340.

Capt. Geo. Back's overland Arctic expedition, viii. 89, 119.

Map of the Arctic regions, viii. 120.

1834. Spain agrees to make reparation to the United States for damage to American commerce during the wars of her colonies for independence, vii. 287, 501.

Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, vii. 300.

1835. De Tocqueville's *Démocratie*, vii. 264.

Richard H. Dana's visit to the California coast as described in *Two Years before the Mast*, viii. 231.

The second Seminole War, ending in 1842, vii. 407, 408, 439.

1836. *March 2.* Texas declares herself independent, vii. 505, 551.

Apr. Battle of San Jacinto, vii. 551.

Dec. 19. The Texan government announces the Rio Grande as its boundary towards Mexico, vii. 551.

The U. S. Treasury issues the specie circular, vii. 289.

The United States debt extinguished, vii. 289.

Territory of Wisconsin created, vii. 543.

State of Arkansas admitted, vii. 287, 550.

Michigan admitted, vii. 550.

Treaty of the U. S. with Venezuela, vii. 504.

Treaty of the U. S. with the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, vii. 504.

Albert Gallatin publishes his earlier studies of the Indians, i. 320.

Mexican federation ends, viii. 228.

Sparks's edition of Franklin published (finished in 1840), viii. 422.

James Grahame's *United States* published, viii. 501.

Mahon's (Earl Stanhope's) *Hist. of England* published (finished in 1851), viii. 504.

Arctic exploration of Simpson and Dease, viii. 35.

Back's Arctic voyage, viii. 89, 119.

1837. *March 4.* Van Buren President of the United States, vii. 288, 252.

The financial panic (U. S.), vii. 289, 353.

1837. *Mar.* Michigan admitted, vii. 287, 583.

The U. S. refuses to annex Texas, vii. 551.

Treaty of the U. S. and Greece, vii. 503

Rebellion in Canada (ending in 1838), viii. 157, 161, 181.

Dec. McLeod and the steamboat "Caroline," vii. 494.

Perry's first results with steam war-ships, vii. 460.

The publication of Force's *American Archives* (stopped in 1853), viii. 425.

Ternaux-Compans' *Voyages*, i. xxxvii, ii. vi.

1838. Territory of Iowa created, vii. 543.

Lower Canada set up, viii. 171.

Dease and Simpson's Arctic discoveries, viii. 119.

English Public Record Office established, viii. 459.

1839. The Liberty Party (United States) formed, vii. 288.

Marshall's collected decisions on constitutional questions (U. S.) published, vii. 261.

Treaty of the U. S. with Ecuador, vii. 504.

S. G. Morton holds the American Indian to be a distinct race, i. 372.

The so-called Aroostook War in Maine, vii. 177.

Anti-rent troubles in N. York, lasting for several years, vii. 353.

1840. *July 4.* The Sub-Treasury Act; repealed in 1841, vii. 289.

July 23. Upper and Lower Canada reunited, viii. 163, 177.

Sutter prominent in California, viii. 231.

The Abolition party (U. S.) split, vii. 288.

The American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society formed, vii. 288.

The "Tip and Ty" political campaign (U. S.) the first of the modern method, vii. 289.

Dr. Francia dies in Paraguay, viii. 360.

1841. *March 4.* Harrison and Tyler administration, vii. 290, 353; Harrison dies, and Tyler becomes President, vii. 290.

Case of the slaver "Creole," vii. 494.

The U. S. steam vessels "Mississippi" and "Missouri," the earliest conspicuous steam war-vessels, vii. 460.

The Hudson Bay Co. colonize Vancouver's Island, viii. 52.

John L. Stephens first published his Yucatan Studies, i. 176.

Santarem's *Atlas* (finished 1853), iii. 217.

Oct. 7. Santa Anna enters Mexico, viii. 229.

The Russians abandon California, viii. 231.

Paredes' revolt in Mexico, viii. 229.

1842. *Aug 9.* Webster-Ashburton Treaty and the N. E. boundary, vii. 179, 292, 493, 525, 554; viii. 231.

New tariff passed, vii. 290, 355.

Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island, vii. 355.

Frémont's explorations through the Rocky Mountains and to the Pacific coast, continued in later years, vii. 558; viii. 260.

Margry begins his researches in early French American history, and at last (1873) is aided by the United States government, iv. 242.

Gold first found in California in the Los Angeles district, viii. 231.

1843. Boyer deposed (Hayti), viii. 288.

Frémont's second expedition, viii. 260.

Treaties of extradition between the U. S. and France, vii. 497.

Annexation of Texas agitated, vii. 291.

1843. Prescott publishes his *Conquest of Mexico*, ii. 425.

Prescott's *Peru* published, ii. 577.

1844. *Feb. 27.* The Spanish part of San Domingo declared independent, viii. 288.

Apr. 12. Calhoun's treaty for the annexation of Texas; but it is rejected by the U. S. Senate, vii. 506.

July 3. Treaty of the U. S. with China, vii. 509.

Treaties concluded for the U. S. by Wheaton with the lesser German powers, vii. 512.

Roselly de Lorgues begins the movement to procure the canonization of Columbus, ii. 69.

Map of the Arctic regions, viii. 121.

The memorial of Tecpan-Atitlan discovered, i. 167.

1845. *Mar. 3.* Congress by a joint resolution annexes Texas, and the President confirms the action; Texas annexed *July 4*, vii. 506.

Mar. 4. J. K. Polk President of the U. S., vii. 291, 355.

May 19. Sir John Franklin's Arctic expedition in the "Erebus" and "Terror" sails from England, viii. 89, 122, 127.

May 29. Treaty of France and Great Britain, vii. 493.

July 4. Texas annexed, and in *Dec.* admitted as a State, vii. 291.

Florida admitted, vii. 291.

The Naval Academy at Annapolis founded, vii. 460.

Garneau's *Canada* published originally — the book generally accepted by French Canadians, iv. 359.

1846. *March.* The United States government order Gen. Taylor to pass the Nueces River, bringing on the war with Mexico, vii. 292, 408, 440.

May 8. Battle of Palo Alto, vii. 408, 442.

May 9. Battle of Resaca de la Palma, vii. 408, 442.

May 13. Congress declares that war with Mexico exists, vii. 292.

May 18. Gen. Taylor crosses the Rio Grande, vii. 408.

June. Com. Sloat and Frémont at Monterey (California), vii. 410; viii. 232.

Bear Flag insurrection in California, vii. 445.

July. Com. Stockton takes Los Angeles, and California made a territory of the U. S., vii. 410.

Aug. 18. Gen. Kearney at Santa Fé, vii. 408.

Aug. "Wilmot's Proviso" to prevent slavery in territory acquired of Mexico, vii. 292.

Sept. 21–23. Battle of Monterey, vii. 409.

The Sub-Treasury Act reënacted, vii. 289.

Non-protective tariff, vii. 293.

Iowa admitted, vii. 291.

Treaty of the U. S. and New Grenada, vii. 504.

Treaty of the U. S. and Great Britain as to the Oregon boundary, vii. 559; viii. 52.

Maj. Emory's explorations to the Pacific, vii. 558.

Dr. Rae's overland Arctic exped., viii. 121.

Smithsonian Institution founded, i. 439.

Dr. O'Callaghan publishes his *New Netherland*, iv. 431.

The New Mexico and California campaigns in this and the next year, vii. 444.

1847. *Jan. 8 and 9.* Stockton, by two fights, again takes Los Angeles, vii. 410.

Feb. 22–23. Battle of Buena Vista, vii. 409, 442.

Mar. 2. Col. Doniphan at Chihuahua, vii. 410.

Mar. 29. Gen. Scott captures Vera Cruz, vii. 411, 442.

April 18. Battle of Cerro Gordo, vii. 411.

May. N. P. Trist at Scott's headquarters with power to make a treaty with Mexico, vii. 506; but negotiations fail, vii. 506.

June and July. Gen. Scott in Puebla, vii. 411.

Aug. 19, 20, 21. Battles of Contreras, Cherubusco, and San Antonio, vii. 411.

Aug. 23–Sept. 7. The armistice between the American and Mexican armies, vii. 412.

Sept. 8. Scott again defeats Santa Anna, vii. 412.

Sept. 13. Scott attacks Chapultepec, and on the *16th* the City of Mexico is possessed, vii. 412.

Wisconsin proposed, vii. 543.

The Isbister movement against the Hudson Bay Co., viii. 48.

Hakluyt Society publications begun, i. p. xxxvii.

1848. C. M. Bustamante dies, viii. 268.

Jan. 13. The Hudson Bay Co. acquire rights at Vancouver's Island, viii. 9, 52, 73, 74, 80.

Feb. 2. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed by Trist and the Mexican commissioners; ratified by the U. S. *Mar. 10*, and the treaty settled *May 30*, vii. 412, 507, 535, 553.

Wisconsin admitted, vii. 291.

Freesoil party (U. S.) formed, vii. 293.

The New York "Barnburners" allied with the Abolitionists, vii. 293.

Sir John Richardson's Franklin Search Expedition by way of the Mackenzie River, viii. 91, 121.

First expedition under Sir James Clarke Ross in search for Sir John Franklin, viii. 91.

Kellett and Moore's Franklin Search Expedition by way of Behring's Straits, lasting three years, viii. 91, 121.

Arthur Helps begins to publish his studies of Spanish American history, iv. 428.

American Asso. for the Advancement of Science begins to publish, i. 437.

Brasseur de Bourbourg begins his researches in Mexico, i. 170.

1849. Simpson announces his discovery of cliff houses in the Colorado region, i. 395.

Treaty of the U. S. with Guatemala, vii. 504.

Richard Hildreth's *United States* originally published, with a second series in 1851, viii. 479.

1850. The Democratic policy of "popular sovereignty" and "Squatter sovereignty" (U. S.), vii. 293.

Sept. 9 (Dec. 13). Congressional boundary act determines the upper bounds of Texas, vii. 553.

Seven expeditions engaged in searching for Sir John Franklin, viii. 92.

Austin and Ommanney's Arctic expedition through Lancaster Sound, viii. 94.

Capt. Wm. Penny's Arctic exped., viii. 95, 121.

1850. The first U. S. Grinnell Arctic exped. under De Haven, with Dr. Kane as surgeon; discover Grinnell Land, viii. 95.

Collinson and McClure's Behring's Straits exped., viii. 92, connecting by McClure's foot journey with Parry's earlier discoveries on the Atlantic side, showing water all the way and proving the existence of a northwest passage (*Oct.*).

Life and Works of John Adams published (finished in 1856), viii. 427.

San Martin dies in Europe, viii. 336.

1851. Kennedy in the Arctic regions, viii. 96.

Dr. Rae descends the Coppermine River in the Franklin search, viii. 96.

Francis Parkman's first studies of Indian character in his *Pontiac*, i. 317.

L. H. Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*, i. 325.

The Sparks-Mahon controversy, lasting three years, viii. 418.

B. J. Lossing publishes his *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, viii. 480.

Treaty of the U. S. with Costa Rica, vii. 504.

1852. Sir Edw. Belcher's Arctic expedition, when the "Resolute" is abandoned, *May 15, 1854*, but subsequently found, *Sept., 1855*, in Davis' Straits, and the next year is restored by the U. S. government to the Queen, viii. 97–99, 122.

Geo. Bancroft's volumes covering the Revolutionary war published between this date and 1875, viii. 475.

1853. Dr. Kane in the "Advance" again goes to the Arctic regions, viii. 99, reaching nearly 79° N. lat. — the highest yet — and discovering Washington Land; but the vessel is abandoned *May 17, 1855*, viii. 99, 100, 125.

Dr. Rae in the Arctic regions finds (*Apr., 1854*) articles in the hands of Eskimos which had belonged to Franklin, viii. 100, 126.

Dec. 30. The Gadsden Purchase by the U. S., vii. 553.

Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes* published, i. 376.

1854. Dr. Hayes' Arctic boat journey, viii. 125.

Varnhagen publishes his *Historia do Brazil*, viii. 350.

Reciprocity treaty of the U. S. and Canada, viii. 167.

The New Republican party in the U. S. formed, vii. 282.

Curtis' *Hist. of the Constitution* (vol. i.) published, vii. 263.

1855. Freesoil party (U. S.) formed, vii. 288.

Hartstein searching for Kane in the Arctic regions, viii. 100.

1856. Gov. Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* published, iii. 293.

C. R. Markham begins his publication of his Peruvian studies, ii. 578.

The English *Calendar of State Papers* begun, viii. 459.

E. G. Squier publishes his Nicaragua researches, i. 197.

Geo. Tucker's *United States* published, one of the earliest sustained Southern views of the U. S. history, viii. 480.

1857. Parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of the Hudson Bay Co., viii. 53.

McClintock in the "Fox" in the Arctic regions, and finds, *May, 1859*, a written record of the progress of the Franklin exped. of Apr. 26, 1848, by which it appears that Franklin had died *June 11, 1847*, viii. 102, 127.

1857. Movement begun in France, under the direction of Aubin, Brasseur, and others, to study American archæology, i. 441.

New Grenada becomes the United States of Colombia, viii. 339.

The *Historical Magazine* begun, viii. 480.

Brasseur de Bourbourg's *Nations Civilisées* published, ii. 418.

1858. Icazbalceta publishes his *Coleccion de documentos* (the last volume in 1866), ii. 397.

Charnay begins his Mexican studies, i. 176.

Photography first used in delineating the Yucatan ruins by Charnay, i. 195.

Right of search at sea abandoned by Great Britain, vii. 493.

1859. Kunstmann's *Atlas*, iii. 217.

San Juan Island in Washington Sound jointly occupied by American and British forces, vii. 560.

Map of the Northwest Passage, viii. 124.

1860. Léon de Rosny's studies in Mexican hieroglyphics first attracted notice, i. 201.

Dr. Hayes' Arctic explorations, viii. 125; and his map of his supposed open Polar Sea, viii. 126.

Capt. C. F. Hall's Arctic voyages (the last in 1871), reaching 82° 16′, with the "Polaris," viii. 129.

Civil war in the United States, viii. 169.

1863. Squier's explorations in Peru, i. 272.

Brasseur discovers Landa's *Relacion*, i. 200.

Brasseur develops his new theories about early Mexican history, i. 165.

October. Conference at Quebec to consider the consolidation of Canada, viii. 170.

The *Documentos inéditos* of Pacheco, etc., begun, ii. p. vii.

C. C. Rafn dies, i. 193.

1865. Faillon begins his record of the Sulpitian labors in Montreal in his *Colonie Française en Canada*, iv. 360.

Reciprocity treaty between U. S. and Canada ended, viii. 167.

Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams published, viii. 428.

1866. Jomard's *Monuments de la géographie*, iii. 217.

Henry Harrisse begins his publications with his *Notes on Columbus*, ii. p. viii.

Feb. The Calaveras skull found, i. 351, 384.

Peabody Museum of Amer. Archæology and Ethnology founded, i. 439.

Jared Sparks dies, viii. 475.

1867. The United States secure the right of transit across the isthmus by treaty with Nicaragua, vii. 504.

May 27. Alaska purchased by the U. S., vii. 559.

British North America Act, viii. 172.

1867. *July 1.* The Dominion of Canada begins its life, viii. 170.

The Hudson Bay Co. surrender their charter, viii. 64.

1869. Royal Historical MSS. commission established (England), viii. 460.

Lossing publishes his *Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812*, viii. 480.

1872. The German Emperor gives an award favorable to the Americans in the De Haro controversy, vii. 562.

The U. S. boundary line from the Lake of the Woods westerly run, vii. 555.

The Reports of the Dominion (Canada) archivist begin, viii. 464.

Richard Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic* published, viii. 480.

1873. Dr. C. C. Abbott's earliest announcement of human implements being found in the Trenton gravels, i. 333.

Map of the Arctic regions, viii. 109.

Von Holst begins his publications on the Constitutional History of the United States, vii. 264; viii. 507.

1875. Las Casas' *Historia* first printed, ii. 340.

First session of the Congrès des Américanistes, i. 442.

H. H. Bancroft begins the publication of his series of historical works, i. 415.

Nares' Arctic exped., when A. H. Markham with sledges reaches 83° 20′ 26″ N. lat., viii. 129.

Allen Young in the "Pandora" in the Arctic seas, viii. 129.

1876. Le Plongeon discovers the statue of Chackmool at Chichen-Itza, i. 190.

Count Circourt publishes a translation, with comments, of Bancroft's Chapters on the French Alliance in 1777, viii. 506.

1877. The *Cartas de Indias* published, ii. p. viii.

Maj. Powell begins to publish the *Contributions to Ethnology*, i. 440.

1879. Archæological Institute of America founded, i. 438.

Map recording attempts to reach the North Pole, viii. 128.

1880. The publication of James Schouler's *Hist. of the United States* begun, viii. 481.

1881. The Bureau of Ethnology begins to publish, i. 439.

Greely's Arctic expedition attains the highest latitude yet, 83° 24′, viii. 129.

1882. Bancroft's *Hist. of the Constitution*, vii. 263.

1883. The publication of J. B. McMaster's *Hist. of the People of the United States* begun, viii. 481.

George Bancroft's *United States* in its final revision appears, viii. 477.

1886. *Feb. 28.* Henry Stevens dies, i. p. xv.

1887. H. T. Cresson's first announcement of supposed prehistoric pile dwellings found in the Delaware River, i. 341, 363.

⁂ This *History* was intended to close at about the middle of the present century; but in the record of the several countries some convenient stopping place has been found, without strict attention to that common purpose. The scanty entries in this Conspectus for the last forty years show that the events of these later days have been only incidentally touched upon in the work.

GENERAL INDEX.

⁂ This index, as respects the present volume, is itemized as the indexes of the previous volumes have been; but it is also comprehensive and grouped as respects the entire work. In the more general parts of it the names of persons, places, events, etc., are grouped under comprehensive heads, instead of being placed in their alphabetical position, in order to show by such grouping the scope of the work in its main phases. In such cases a volume number only is often given, so that the index of the volume thus referred to must be consulted for details and pages. For a large number of minor entries the separate indexes must also be used, since these entries are not repeated in the present index.

In this and previous indexes the titles of works cited have been italicized, so that the sources of the work can be picked out by this distinction of type. If more than a single reference is given to a book, it is because something distinctive about the book is presented. No attempt has been made to record all references to any book.

The principal comprehensive headings employed, *beside those of countries*, are AMERICANA, ARCHÆOLOGY, DISCOVERERS, FORTS. INDIANS, LAKES, MAPS, MILITARY EVENTS, NAVIGATION, OCEANS, PERIODICALS, PORTRAITS, PORTRAITISTS, RELIGIOUS BODIES, RIVERS, SOCIETIES, TREATIES. The greatest subdivision is under UNITED STATES.

ABASCAL, J. F., viii, 323, 342; in Peru, viii, 323; made Marquis de la Concordia, viii, 328.
Abbad, Inigo, *Puerto Rico*, viii, 289.
Abbot, B. V., on American Jurisprudence, viii, 482. Cf. vii.
Abbot, G. D., *Mexico and the U. S.*, viii, 225. Cf. vii.
Abbott, Edw., *Paragraph Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482.
Abreu, J. C. de, viii, 349.
Abreu Lima, J. I., de, on Brazil, viii, 350.
Academies. *See* Societies.
Acadia, deportation of its inhabitants, viii, 131. MS. sources, viii, 461. Cf. iii; iv; v.
Acapulco, views of, viii, 197, 209; trade of, viii, 197; harbor map, viii, 208.
Achá, J. M., viii, 348.
Acosta, Col., *Nueva Grenada*, viii, 346. Cf. ii.
Aculco, viii, 218.
Adam, G. M., viii, 169; *Toronto*, viii, 183; *Canadian Northwest*, viii, 184; *Canadian literature*, viii, 187.
Adams, Abigail, corresp. with John Adams, viii, 427; letters to Mercy Warren, viii, 435. Cf. vi.
Adams, C. F., on Sparks's *Diplom. Corresp.*, viii, 414; edits *John Adams's Works*, viii, 427; *J. Q. Adams*, viii, 427; on Sparks's *Gouv. Morris*, viii, 475. Cf. vi; vii.
Adams, H., on St. Domingo, viii, 286.
Adams, Henry, *N. E. Federalism*, viii, 434; *Gallatin*, viii, 446. Cf. iii; vii.
Adams, Herbert B., *Pioneer Work of Sparks*, viii, 419; using the Sparks' memorial papers, viii, 475. Cf. v; vi; vii.
Adams, John, papers, viii, 427; *Works*, viii, 427; diary, viii, 427; letters, viii, 427, 429; corresp. with Prof. Winthrop, viii, 427; with Mercy Warren, viii, 427; papers on the peace (1782), viii, 428; letter books, viii, 428; letters to Rush, viii, 428; to his wife, viii, 428; *Familiar Letters*, viii, 428, 488; on Sam. Adams's papers, viii, 428; letters to James Warren, viii, 435; to Gen. Varnum, viii, 442; as Son of Liberty, viii, 460; on the speeches in Congress during the Amer. Revolution, viii, 468; on the material for a history of the American Revolution, viii, 469; relations with Wm. Gordon, viii, 470; relations with Mercy Warren, viii, 474; as orator, viii, 485. *See* United States.
Adams, J. G., *Fifty notable years*, viii, 487.
Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, viii, 427; letters on the study of the Bible, viii, 428. Cf. vii.
Adams, Samuel, papers, viii, 428, 477; destroyed, viii, 428; letters to James Warren, viii, 435; as Son of Liberty, viii, 460; hurt at Gordon's intimation of his enmity to Washington, viii, 471; as orator, viii, 485. *See* United States.
Adams, W. T., *Voyages*, viii, 346.
Adams and Liberty, song, viii, 484.
Adams (Virginia family), papers, viii, 455.
Adolphus, John, *England*, viii, 503.
Africa, its position in the history of discovery and in the spread of populations, i; discoveries along its coast, ii; instigated by Prince Henry the navigator, ii; conducted by Vasco da Gama and others, i; ii; Sierra Leone receives negro settlers from Nova Scotia, viii, 140; company trading to, viii, 265.
Ageno, Francisco, letters from London, viii, 468; *Guerra per l'independenza d'America*, viii, 468.
Agüero, José de la Riva, *Independencia del Peru*, viii, 346.
Aigremont, Sieur de, viii, 363.
Aitken, *Gen. Amer. Register*, viii, 498.
Akins, T. B., *Nova Scotia Archives*, viii, 175; *Church of England in the Brit. Amer. Provinces*, viii, 184; his labors on the Nova Scotia Archives, viii, 464; *List of MS. docs.*, viii, 464.
Alba de Liste, Count of, viii, 303, 342.
Albany, viii, 445.
Albemarle, Duke of, viii, 5; captures Havana, viii, 272.
Albuquerque, A. de, on the coast of Brazil, viii, 254, 374.
Alcedo, Ant. de, *Diccionario*, viii, 259.
Alcedo y Herrera, D. de, *Guayaquil*, viii, 301; *Peru, Tierra-Firme, etc.*, viii, 294, 343.
Alden, Roger, viii, 415.
Alexander VI., bull of demarcation, viii, 356. Cf. ii.
Alexander, Sir J. E., *Canada*, viii, 180; *Newfoundland*, viii, 180.
Alexander, Wm. *See* Stirling, Lord, viii.
Alfonso, Simão, viii, 384.
Alaman, Lucas, acc. of, viii, 267; *Repub. Mexicana*, viii, 267; *Méjico*, viii, 260, 268; dies, viii, 268.
Alaska, Russians at, viii, 211.
Alegre, F. J., *Compañia de Jesus*, viii, 249.
Algiers. *See* Barbary Powers, viii.
Aliaga, Ant., viii, 316.
Alien Act (1804) in Canada, viii, 143.
Allan, Col. John, plan for attacking Nova Scotia, viii, 464.
Allard, Carolus, viii, 294.
Allen, Ethan, corresp. with B. Robinson, viii, 440; papers, viii, 440. *See* United States.
Allen, Ira, papers, viii, 440.
Allen, Paul, *Amer. Rev.*, viii, 474.
Allen, Thaddeus, *Inquiry*, viii, 480.
Allende, Gen., viii, 216; in command, viii, 220; shot, viii, 220. *See* Mexico.
Allibone, S. A., life of Sir John Franklin, viii, 122; *Dict. Authors*, viii, 494.
Allyn, John, letters, viii, 444.
Almeda, F. de, viii, 374.
Almon, *Charters of the Brit. Colonies*,

viii, 416; *Parliamentary Register*, viii, 499; *Remembrances*, viii, 498; *Prior Documents*, viii, 498; *Tracts*, viii, 498. Cf. vi.

Alotsen, S., viii, 447.

Alsop, Richard, viii, 347.

Alvarez, Diego, at Bahia, viii, 389.

Alvarez, F., *Noticia*, viii, 498.

Alvarez, Seb., viii, 375.

Alvarez de Arenales, J. A., *Memorial hist.*, viii, 345.

Alzate y Ramirez, J. A. de, map of Mexican bishoprics, viii, 200.

Amat, Manuel de, viii, 311, 312, 342.

Amazon, explored, viii, 319, 343; map (1585), viii, 390. *See* Rivers and Maps

America, aboriginal condition of, i; the ancients' knowledge of, i; early relations with the old world, i; geological history, i; early agriculture, i; early architecture, i; ancient man in, i, 369: earliest European contacts, ii; considered a part of Asia, iii, 69: earliest English publications on, iii, 199; early migrations, i; collections of voyages to, i; English America, iii; v; vi; vii; Spanish America, ii; viii; French America, iv; viii; Portuguese America, iv; viii; Arctic America, iii; viii; North America, i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; Central America, i; ii; viii; South America, i; ii; viii.

General writers (selection), including collections of early descriptions.

Aa, Van der, i; ii.

Belleforest, iv. Blome, Richard, iv; v; viii. Brevoort, J. C., i; iv. Bry, Theo. de, i; ii; iii; viii.

Charlevoix, v; viii.

Dapper, iv, 423. D'Avezac, iii; iv; viii.

Eden, Richard, i; iii. Gaffarel, Paul, i; ii; iv; viii.

Glareanus, i. Gottfriedt, J. L., iv; viii. Gravier, Gabriel, i; ii; iv; v. Grynaeus, Simon, ii; iii.

Hakluyt, Richard, i; ii; iii; iv. Harrisse, Henry, i; ii; iii; iv. Herrera, ii. Heylin, P., iii. Hulsius, iv; viii.

Laet, Johannes de, i; iv; viii. Linschoten, i; ii; iv; viii.

Margry, P., iv; vii; viii. Markham, C. R., ii; viii. Martyr, Peter, i; ii. Mela, Pomponius, i; ii. Monardes, iii, 204. Montanus, i; ii; iii; v. Murphy, H. C., ii; iv.

Ogilby, John, iii; iv; v. Oldmixon, John, v.

Peschel, Oscar, i; ii; iv. Prévost, i; viii. Purchas, Samuel, i; iii; iv.

Ramusio, i; ii; iii; iv; viii. Robertson, Wm., i; ii; viii. Ruge, S., ii.

Shea, Dr. J. G., i; ii; iv; viii.

Ternaux-Compans, Henri, i; ii; iv; viii. Thevenot, i; iv. Thevet, André, iv; viii.

Wieser, Franz, ii. Willes, Richard, iii, 35, 204. Winsor, Justin, i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii.

The introduction of volume i. contains a detailed account of the earlier collections of travels and voyages respecting America.

American Monitor, viii. 267. *See* Periodicals.

American Revolution, viii. *See* United States.

Americana, including Bibliographies and Libraries.

Acadia, iv; v. Allan, John, i, p. xiii. Americana in general, i, pp. ii, iii, vi, xii, xv, xvi, xvii, 413, 414, 423, iii, 217, 499; iv, 367; v. Amazon, ii. American Antiquarian Society, i, p. xvii. American Revolution, vi. Ancients, i. Andrade, J. M., i, 414; ii, 399, 430. Archæology, i. Arctic regions, iii; viii. Asher, G. M., iv; viii. Aspinwall, Col. T., i; iii; viii. Astor, i, p. xvii. Aubin, i, 162.

Baltimore, i, p. xviii. Bancroft, Geo., i, p. xvii; viii. Bancroft, H. H., i, pp. viii, ix. Barlow, S. L. M., i, pp. iv, xviii; ii, 48; iii, 159; v, 592. Bartlett, J. R., i; ii; v; vii. Berlin, ii, 449. Blenheim, i, p. xiii. Bodleian, i, 203. Boon, E. P., i, p. xiii. Boston, i, pp. x, xvii: Public library, i; iv; Athenæum, i; viii, 476. Boturini, B., i. Brasseur de Bourbourg, i, pp. xiii, 162; ii, 418. Brazil, viii, 349. Brevoort, J. C., i, pp. x, xviii. Brinley, Geo., i, p. xii; iii, 211, 374, 375. British Museum, ii; v; viii, 475. Brown, John Carter, i; iii; iv; viii.

Cabots, iii; Canada, iv; v; viii. Parliamentary library, i, p. xviii; iv, 366; viii. Carolina, v. Cartier, Jacques, iv. Central America, i; ii; viii. Champlain, iv. Colombina (Columbus, Ferdinando), i, p. vi; ii, 65. Columbus, ii. Congress, iv, 248, 299. Cooke, J. J., i, p. xii. Cortes, ii. Cosatenensis, ii, 159. Court, Dr. J., i, p. xiii; ii, 163. Crevenna, ii, 171. Crowninshield, E. A., i, p. xii; iii, 206. Cutter, C. A., viii.

Dalrymple, iii. 544. Deane, Charles, i; iii. Dexter, H. M., i, p. xvii; iii, 246. Discovery, Age of, ii; iii; iv; viii. Dorado, El, ii. Drake, Sir Francis, iii, 81; viii. Drake, S. G., i, p. xv. Dresden, i, 205.

Ebeling, i; iv, 495. Elzévirienne, ii, 293. English colonies of North America, iii; v. Estense, ii, 107.

Field, T. W., i, pp. xiii, 414. Florida, Early, ii. Force, Col. Peter, i, pp. vi. 171; viii. French, and Indian wars, v. French colonies of North America, iv.

Geography, ii. Georgia, v. Great Lakes (North America), iv. Greene, Albert G., i, xiii. Greenland, i. Grenville, i. p. iv. Griswold, A. W., i; iii. Guatemala, i; ii; viii.

Harvard College library, i; iv, 248, 299; viii, 475. *See* Colleges. Hawkins, iii. Historical Societies, i, p. xviii. *See* Societies. Hudson's Bay, viii. Humboldt, Alex. von, i, p. vi. Hutchinson, Thomas, i; viii. Huth, iii, 82.

Incas, i. Indians, i.

Kennett, White, i; iii. Kalbfleisch, C. H., i; iv.

Labanoff, iii, 200. Las Casas, ii. Lenox, James, ii; iii; iv; vii. Libri, ii, 166. Linguistics, i. Louisiana, v; vii.

Magellan, ii; viii. Magliabechian, iv. 17. Maryland, iii; v; vi; vii. Massachusetts State library, i, p. xvii. Mathers, i, p. i. Maximilian, Emperor, i, p. viii; ii, 430. Man, Antiquity of, viii. Marciana, i, p. vi. Menzies, William, i, p. xii; iii. Mexico, i; ii; viii. Missions, ii; iv; v; viii. Mississippi Valley, iv; v; vii. Mondidier, iii. Moravian, iii, 500. Muller, Fred., i; iii; iv; vii. Munsell, Joel, iv. Murphy, H. C., i, p. ix; iv, 22. Museums, i. Myths, i.

New England, iii; v; vi; vii. Newfoundland, viii. New Jersey, iii. New Mexico, ii; viii. New Netherland, iv. New Sweden, iv. New York State, iii; iv; v; vi; vii. Northmen, i. Norumbega, iii.

Old French war, v.

Pacific Ocean, ii. Pennsylvania, iii; v; vi; vii. Periodicals, i. Peru, i; ii; viii. Philadelphia, i, p. xviii. Phillipps, Sir Thomas, ii; iii, 208. Pilgrims of Plymouth, iii. Pilling, J. C., i; vii. Pinart, Alp., i; ii. Prescott, W. H., i, 269; ii, 427, 577. Prince, Thomas, i, i. Providence, iii, 381.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, iii. Ramirez, J. F., ii, 398, 399. Religions, i. Rich, Obadiah, i; ii; iii; vi. Rogers, Horatio, iii, 381.

Sabin, Jos., i; iii. San Francisco, i, p. xviii. Shurtleff, N. B., iii, 362. Sobolewski, i, p. xiii. South America, viii. Spanish Colonies, ii; viii. Sparks, Jared, i, p. vi; iii, 211. Spofford, A. R., vii. Squier, E. G., i. Stevens, Henry, i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Strozzi, iv, 17. Stuttgart, Lit. Verein, ii, 579. Sunderland, i, p. xiii.

Ternaux-Compans, i, p. iv; ii; vi. Thorpe, Thomas, bibliographer, v, 354. Thottiana, ii, 171. Tiele, P. A., iv. Trivulgiana, i, p. vi; ii, 51, 58.

United States, Colonial, iii; v; Revolution, vi; vii; federal, vii; territorial growth, vii.

Valenciana, ii, p. iii. Virginia, iii; v; vi; vii.

Warden, D. R., i, p. iii. Walckenaer, iii; viii. Watkinson, i, p. xii. West Indies, viii. Williams, Daniel, iii, 245. Williams, Dr., Library (London), viii, 460.

Yucatan, i; ii; viii.

Ames, Ellis, on the Mass. troops in the West Indies, viii, 242.

Ames, Fisher, as orator, viii, 485. Cf. vii.

Amherst, Sir Jefferey, thought of to command in America during the Rev. War, viii, 502. Cf. v.

Amiens, peace of, viii, 285. *See* Treaties.

Amory, T. C., viii, 439; his books in defence of Gen. John Sullivan, viii, 478.

Amos, A., *Trials relative to the destruction of Selkirk's settlement*, viii, 40, 78.

Amphlett, W., *Western States*, viii, 494.

Amunátegui, M. L., *Chile*, viii, 347; *O'Higgins*, viii, 347, 348.

Anburey, Thos., *Travels*, viii, 490.

Anchieta, J. de, viii, 356.

Ancients, their discoveries. *See* America, Discoverers.

Ancon, viii, 334.

Anderson, Adam, *Origin of Commerce*, viii, 250.

Anderson, A. C., viii, 79, 80.

Anderson, James, in the Arctic regions, viii, 101.

Anderson, J. S. M., *Church of England in the Colonies*, viii, 184.

Andes, crossed by San Martin's army, viii, 330.

André, Maj. John, his letters to Washington, viii, 462. Cf. vi.

André, J. F., *Flibustiers*, viii, 251.

Andrews, John, letters from Boston, viii, 429.

Andrews, John, *Hist. of the War*, viii, 500.

Andrews, *Hist. Journalism*, viii, 497.

Anendaño y Vilela, F. de, *Relacion*, viii, 351.

Angelis, Pedro de, *Coleccion*, viii, 344, 346, 358; *La Plata*, viii, 375, 388.

Ango, family of Dieppe, viii, 374.

Angostura, viii, 334.

Anian, Straits of, viii, 33, 214, 257. *See* Oceans.

Annand, Wm., *Howe's Speeches*, viii, 186.

Annapuquio, viii, 329.

Anquetil, *Universal History*, viii, 259.

Anson, Geo., bibliog., viii, 252; in the

Pacific, viii, 210, 244, 292, 311; portrait, viii, 210.
Anspach, L. A., *Newfoundland*, viii, 175, 190.
Antarctic Continent, belief in, viii, 384, 387, 397, 398.
Antepara, J. M., *South Amer. Emancipation*, viii, 325, 346.
Antequera, José, viii, 309.
Anthony, H. B., viii, 496.
Antigua, bibliog., viii, 289. *See* West Indies.
Antilles. *See* West Indies.
Anza, viii, 212.
Apodaca, J. R. de, viii, 223.
Appleton, Nathaniel, papers, viii, 437.
Arana, Diego Barros, *Notas para una bibliografia*, viii, 250, 347; *Independencia de Chili*, viii, 347; on the Jesuits, viii, 368.
Aranda, Count de, correspondence, viii, 468. Cf. vii.
Araucanian war, viii, 297, 298, 300. *See* Military Events, etc.
Archæology.
  By Topics: — Agriculture, i. Anthropology, i. Architecture, i.
  Caves, man in, i. Cliff dwellers, i. Codices (Central American and Mexican), i. Craniology of American Indians, i. Cross, symbol of the, i.
  Glacial age, i.
  Hieroglyphics, American, i.
  Mound-builders, i; iv, 53. Mummies, i. Mythology, i; iv, 299.
  Palæolithic age, i. Picture writing, i. Prehistoric times, i.
  Rock inscriptions, i.
  Stone age, i. Sun worship, ii, 251.
  Writers: — Abbot, C. C., i. Agassiz, Louis, i. Aubin, i.
  Bancroft, H. H., i. Bandelier, A. F., i; ii. Beauvois, E., i; iii. Berendt, C. H., i. Boturini, i; ii. *See* Benaduci, ii. Brasseur de Bourbourg, i; ii; iv. Brinton, D. G., i; ii; iv. Buschmann, J. C. E., i.
  Carr, Lucien, i; v; vi. Charnay, D., i. Cushing, F. H., i.
  Dawkins, W. B., i. Dawson, Sir J. W., i; iv. Domenech, Abbé, i.
  Grotius, Hugo, i; iv.
  Haven, S. F., i; iii; v. Haynes, H. W., i; ii. Holmes, W. H., i.
  Jefferson, Thomas, i. Jones, C. C., i.
  Kingsborough, Lord, i; ii.
  Le Plongeon, Dr., i. Lewis, T. H., i. Lubbock, Sir John, i.
  Markham, C. R., i. Major, R. H., i; ii; iii; iv. Morgan, L. H., i; ii; iv; v; vi. Mortillet, G. de, i. Morton, S. G., i.
  Nadaillac, Marquis de, i. Nordenskjöld, A. E., i; ii.
  Peet, S. D., i; iv; vii. Pinart, Alphonse, i. Powell, Maj. J. W., i. Putnam, F. W., i.
  Rafinesque, C. S., i. Rafn, C. C., i. Rau, C., i. Rink, Hinrich, i.
  Shaler, N. S., i. Squier, E. G., i; ii. Stephens, J. L., i.
  Thomas, Cyrus, i. Tylor, E. B., i.
  Viollet-le-Duc, i.
  Waldeck, Frederic de, i. Wallace, A. R., i. Whittlesey, Col. Chas., i; iv; v; vi; vii. Whitney, J. D., i; ii. Wilson, Sir Daniel, i. Wright, Geo. F., i. Wyman, Jeffries, i.
Archenholtz, J. W. von, *Flibustier*, viii, 251.
Archives. *See* United States.
Architecture in the U. S., viii, 489. *See* Archæology.
Arctic Regions. *See* Discoverers, Oceans.
  Explorations in, iii; viii, 81; question of an open polar sea, viii, 100, 125, 126; bibliog. of, viii, 104; number of expeditions, viii, 105; vessels lost, viii, 106; desirability of such efforts, viii, 108; fleets (1600), viii, 112, 113, 114; first steam vessels, viii, 121.
  Places: Baffin's Bay, iii; viii. Boothia, viii. Davis' Straits, iii; viii. Grinnell Land, viii. Hudson's Bay, viii. King William's Land, viii. Victoria Land, viii. Wollaston Land, viii.
  Writers and bibliog., viii.
  Maps: viii, 105. Sanson's (1666), viii, 105; Delisle (1700, 1703), viii, 106, 107; (1752), viii, 110; Forster (1783), viii, 118; Modern (1844), viii, 121; O'Reilly (1818), viii, 123; Others, viii, 123; Osborn's (1859), viii, 124.
Arcos, S., *La Plata*, viii, 361.
Ardouin, B., *Haiti*, viii, 279.
Areche, J. A., in Peru, viii, 314, 316; judges Tupac Amaru, viii, 344.
Arechederreta, Dr., viii, 267.
Arequipa, viii, 304, 319.
Argentine Republic, viii, 340, 346. *See* Buenos Ayres.
Arizona, bibliog. of, viii, 254. *See* United States.
Arlington, Lord, viii, 5.
Armand, Col., letters, viii, 420.
Armand, Wm., *Joseph Howe*, viii, 186.
Armendariz, José de, viii, 309.
Armitage, J., *Brazil*, viii, 350.
Armitage, *Baptists*, viii, 486.
Armstrong, J., *Richard Montgomery*, viii, 475; *Ant. Wayne*, viii, 452, 475.
Arnold, Gov. Benedict, papers, viii, 442.
Arnold, Gen. Benedict, in Canada, viii, 171; letters, viii, 435, 444, 446; in Virginia, viii, 454; papers captured, viii, 461; correspondence, viii, 466. Cf. vi.
Arnold, C. H., *New and Impartial Hist. of America*, viii, 500.
Arnold, Jas. N., *Rev. in R. I.*, viii, 440.
Arnold, S. G., MSS., viii, 441.
Arquellada Mendoza, J. de, viii, 347.
Arricivita, *Crónica*, viii, 259.
Arrowsmith, map of Mexico, viii, 200. *See* Maps.
Arthus Gothard, viii, 3.
Arundel, MSS., viii, 461.
Asbury, Francis, first Amer. Methodist bishop, viii, 487.
Ashe, Thos., *Travels*, viii, 492.
Asher, *Bibliog. Essay on Dutch books*, viii, 350.
Ashley, Lord, viii, 5.
Asia, its relations to the discovery and peopling of America, i, ii, iv; called Cathay, i, ii, iii, iv; visited by Marco Polo, i, ii; Japan (Cipango, Zipangu), ii, iii.
Asiento de Negros, viii, 307.
Aspinwall, Col. Thomas, papers, viii, 446, 455, 462.
Asplund, John, *Baptists in Amer.*, viii, 487.
Assiento trade, viii, 208, 307; treaty, viii, 208. *See* Treaties.
Associations. *See* Societies.
Astorga, Marquis of, viii, 302.
Astoria bought by the N. W. Co., viii, 78. Cf. vii.
Asuncion (La Plata) founded, viii, 360, 387.
Atkinson, Edw., on the commercial development of the U. S., viii, 482.
Atkinson, Rev. C., *New Brunswick*, viii, 177.
Atlantic. *See* Oceans.
Atlantis, myth of, i. *See* Oceans.
Atlases. *See* Maps.
Athenæums. *See* Societies.
Atwood, Thos., *Dominica*, viii, 290.
Auchinleck, G., on the War of 1812, viii, 179.
Auchmuty, Sir Samuel, assaults Montevideo, viii, 361; portrait, viii, 362.
Auckland papers, viii, 462.
Audiencias, viii, 295. *See* Mexico, Peru, etc.
Augustines, viii, 249, 367. *See* Religious Bodies.
Austin, Benj., viii, 428.
Austin, *Gerry*, viii, 4 1.
Austin, *Independent Chronicle*, viii, 497.
Auto da Fé, earliest, in Mexico, viii, 197 *See* Religious Bodies, etc.
Avalon Charter of, iii; viii, 188.
Avery, David, sermon, viii, 485.
Aviles, Gabriel, viii, 323.
Aviles, Marquis of, viii, 342.
Ayacucho, battle, viii, 337.
Ayala, Lieut., explores San Francisco Bay, viii, 211.
Ayala, *Estadistica*, viii, 260.
Ayeta, *Defensa de la Verdad*, viii, 248.
Ayolas founds Asuncion, viii, 387.
Azangaro, viii, 318.
Azores. *See* Oceans.

Bacalhao, viii, 2. *See* Baccalaos, in vol. ii.
Bache, B. F., viii, 497.
Bache, Richard, viii, 413; *Colombia*, viii, 367.
Bache, R. M., viii, 424.
Bachiller on the literary hist. of Cuba, viii, 272.
Back, Sir George, in the Arctic regions, viii, 89, 119; *Arctic Land Exped.*, viii, 119; its map, viii, 120; *Narrative*, viii, 119.
Backer, A. A. de, *Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, viii, 249.
Backus, Isaac, iii; viii, 487; papers, viii, 441.
Bacon, Nath., iii; life, by W. Ware, viii, 475; rebellion, viii, 460.
Badajos, Congress of, ii; viii, 383.
Badelli, *Milione*, viii, 372.
Baelæus. *See* Baerle.
Baerle, Caspar van, *Brazil. Geschichte*, viii, 352; *Rerum in Brasilia*, viii, 354.
Baffin's Bay explored, iii; viii, 83; Maps (1662), viii, 3; by Sanson (1666), viii, 105; Delisle (1700, 1703), viii, 106, 107; Modern map, viii, 109; Buache (1752), viii, 110; Jefferys (1768), viii, 111; Cluny (1769), viii, 114; Phipps (1774), viii, 116; German map (1782), viii, 117; Explored by Kane, viii, 122; O'Reilly's map (1818), viii, 123; Osborn's map (1859), viii, 174.
Bägart, Jacob, *California*, viii, 254.
Bahia de Todos los Santos, viii, 358, 391; Capital of Brazil, viii, 350; attacked by the Dutch, viii, 351; discovered by Jaques, viii, 373.
Bahr, I. F., viii, 450.
Bailey, Wm., *Records of Patriotism*, viii, 474.
Bailey, *Andover, Mass.*, viii, 427.
Baillardel, Capt., viii, 252.
Baillie, Thos., *New Brunswick*, viii, 177.
Baily, Francis, *Journal*, viii, 492.
Bain, Jas., librarian of Toronto, viii, 175, 187.
Baird, C. W., *Huguenot Emigration*, viii, 394.
Baird, R., *Christianity in the U. S.*, viii, 486.
Bajon, *Guiana*, viii, 366.
Baker, W. S., *Bibl. Washingtoniana*, viii, 417. Cf. vii.
Balcarras, Earl of, before Parliament, viii, 502.
Balch, Thos., prints Shippen papers, viii, 451; *Maryland Line*, viii, 453, 482; edits Blanchard's Journal, viii, 505; *Les Français en Amérique*, viii, 467, 505, 506.
Baldwin, Geo. W., viii, 444.
Baldwin, Henry, viii, 489.

Baldwin, J. G., *Party Leaders*, viii, 482.
Baldwin, Robert, viii, 152, 164.
Baldwin, Simeon E., viii, 444.
Baleato, Andreas, viii, 319, 320.
Balize, viii, 265.
Ballantyne, R. M., *Hudson's Bay*, viii, 75; *Fur Hunters*, viii, 75; *Northern Coast of America*, viii, 108.
Ballesteros, J. de, *Chile*, viii, 347.
Ballivian, Y. Roxas, V. de, *Archivio Boliviano*, viii, 348.
Ballman, John, viii, 265.
Ballou, Hosea, viii, 487.
Ballou, M. M., *Cuba*, viii, 272.
Baltimore (City), Com. of Safety Records, viii, 413; Newspapers, viii, 453. Cf. vii.
Baltimore, Lord, in Avalon, viii, 188; abandons it, viii, 188. Cf. iii.
Bancroft, Geo., his use of the federal archives, viii, 413; on Force's labors, viii, 425; owns the Sam Adams papers, viii, 428; uses the Schuyler papers, viii, 447; on Gordon's *History*, viii, 471; *Amer. Revolution*, viii, 475; his opportunities, viii, 475; his MS. sources, viii, 475, 477; portrait, viii, 476; autog., viii, 476; at home, viii, 476; omits notes and references, viii, 477; *Centenary ed. of his United States*, viii, 477; *Hist. of the Constitution*, viii, 477; *Final revision edition*, viii, 477; his judgments criticised, viii, 477; in respect to Col. Pickering, viii, 478; to Gen. Greene, viii, 478; to Gen. Schuyler, viii, 478; to Gen. Sullivan, viii, 478; to Joseph Reed, viii, 478, 479; *Joseph Reed*, viii, 479. *See* United States.
Bancroft, H. H., *Northwest Coast*, viii, 77, 79; sources of his history, viii, 79, 80; *Mexico*, viii, 248; his MS. sources, viii, 248, 260; *North Mex. States*, viii, 252; *Arizona and New Mexico*, viii, 252; *California Pastoral*, viii, 257; *California*, viii, 260; *Central America*, viii, 263, 265. *See* United States.
Bandelier, A. F., on the Settlement of New Mexico, viii, 254. *See* Archæology.
Banister, Richard, viii, 265.
Banks Island, viii, 109, 124.
Banquiero, S., *Yucatan*, viii, 263.
Baptists in the Amer. Rev., viii, 486; in the U. S., viii, 487; *Missionary Jubilee*, viii, 487. *See* Religious Bodies.
Barahona, Jacinto de, viii, 238.
Baralt, R. M., *Venezuela*, viii, 367.
Barataria, v. *See* Buccaneers.
Barbadoes, occupied by the English, viii, 290; connection with New England, viii, 290; bibliog., viii, 290; map, viii, 290. *See* West Indies.
Barbary Powers, relations with the United States, vii; Algiers, vii; Morocco, vii; Tripoli, vii; Tunis, vii.
Barbé-Marbois, *St. Domingue*, viii, 279; correspondence, vii, 466.
Barber, J. W., *Our Whole Country*, viii, 482.
Barclay, Sidney. *See* L. M. Post.
Bardsen, Ivan, i; iv; viii.
Barenlon-Montchal, L. de, viii, 490.
Barlow, Joel, vii; had the Gates papers, viii, 455; *Vision of Columbus*, viii, 494; in the army, viii, 494; *Columbiad*, viii, 494; memoir, viii, 494; letters, viii, 494; bibliog., viii, 495; papers, viii, 495. *See* United States.
Barlow, S. L. M., i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; owns the Aspinwall papers, viii, 446; the Wm. Livingston papers, viii, 449; the Barlow papers, viii, 495; his MSS., viii, 462; died, 462.
Barnard, F. A. P., on the progress of the exact sciences in the U. S., viii, 482.
Barnum, H. L., *Spy Unmasked*, viii, 484.
Barnwell, J. G., viii, 451.
Barradas sent with a fleet against Mexico by Spain, viii, 228; surrenders to Santa Anna, vii, 228.
Barras, correspondence, viii, 466.
Barré, Isaac, vi; vii; letters, viii, 460; Speeches in Parliament, viii, 499.
Barré, Nic., *La Navigation de Villegaignon*, viii, 394.
Barrère, P., *France Equinoxiale*, viii, 364; *Essai*, viii, 364.
Barrett, Wm., papers, viii, 429.
Barriger, J. W., Subsistence Dept. U. S. Army, viii, 483.
Barrington, Daines, viii, 128; his tracts on reaching the north pole, viii, 129; *Miscellanies*, viii, 258.
Barrington, Gen., viii, 290.
Barros, A. de, *Vieyra*, viii, 351.
Barros, *Decada da Asia*, viii, 372.
Barrow, Sir John, *Geog. of Hudson Bay*, viii, 68, 108; *Anson*, viii, 252; and Arctic Exploration, viii, 83; *Chron. Hist. of Voyages*, viii, 107; *Voyages of Discovery*, viii, 107. *See* Arctic Regions.
Barrow Strait, viii, 121.
Barrows, W., vii; *America the World's Puzzle*, viii, 257; *Oregon*, viii, 77.
Barry, David, *Noticias Secretas*, viii, 343.
Barskett, Sir James, viii, 289.
Barthe, J. G., *Souvenirs*, viii, 173; *Canada reconquis*, viii, 173.
Bartlett, Josiah, correspondence, viii, 438; statue, viii, 438.
Bartlett, J. R., i; *Personal Narrative*, viii, 197; *Bibliog. of Rhode Island*, viii, 440; *Index to Printed Acts*, viii, 440.
Bartlett, W. H., *United States*, viii, 504; completed by B. B. Woodward, viii, 504.
Bartol, C. A., *Radical problems*, viii, 487.
Barton, Wm., viii, 485.
Bartram, John, viii, 423.
Bartram, Wm., *Travels*, viii, 491.
Bas, buccaneer, viii, 251.
Basle, Peace of, viii, 285. *See* Treaties.
Basques. *See* Discoverers.
Bassett, Wm., *Richmond*, viii, 438.
Batchelder, Samuel, *Cotton Manufacture*, viii, 494.
Bath, Marquis of, papers, viii, 460.
Bathurst, Lord, viii, 152.
Battles. *See* Military Events.
Batty Bay, viii, 96.
Baude, on De Gonneville, viii, 374.
Baudin, Admiral, viii, 205.
Bayano, viii, 232.
Bayard, F. M., *Voyage*, viii, 491.
Bayard, T. F., his plan to print the Washington and other papers, viii, 419, 426.
Baydes, Marquis de, viii, 301.
Bayne, John, of Galt, viii, 184.
Baylies, Francis, papers, viii, 429.
Bayly, Charles, viii, 13.
Beard, J. B., *Toussaint*, viii, 286.
Beardsley, A., *Derby*, viii, 444.
Beardsley, E. E., vi; *Samuel Seabury*, viii, 487; *Episc. Chh. in Conn.*, viii, 487; *W. S. Johnson*, viii, 443.
Beatson, *Naval and Mil. Memoirs*, viii, 502.
Beatty, Capt. Wm., papers, viii, 453.
Beauchamp, A. de, *Brésil*, viii, 350.
Beaufoy, Col. Mark, *Possibility of approaching the North Pole*, viii, 129.
Beaujour, L. P. F. De, *États-Unis*, viii, 492.
Beaumarchais, vii; his claims, viii, 466.
Beaumont, J. A. B., *Buenos Ayres*, viii, 362.
Beaumont, *Friar Pablo*, viii, 249.
Beaumont, *Michoacan*, viii, 249.
Beaurain, plan of Cartagena, viii, 294.
Beaver Dams, fight, viii, 146.
Beaver, Pa., viii, 451.
Beckford, Wm., *Negroes in Jamaica*, viii, 279; *Jamaica*, viii, 279.
Bective, Lady, viii, 322.
Bedard, *Cinquante Ans*, viii, 172.
Bedell, Col. Timothy, papers, viii, 438, 439.
Bedford, Duke of, papers, viii, 460, 463; *Correspondence*, viii, 463, 503.
Beéche, *Bibl. Amer.*, viii, 342.
Beechey, Capt. F. W., in the Arctic seas, viii, 87; his *Voyage*, viii, 108, 118, 259; *Discovery towards the North Pole*, viii, 119.
Beesly, A. H., *Sir John Franklin*, viii, 118.
Begg, Alex., *Creation of Manitoba*, viii, 79.
Behaim, Martin, ii; supposed map of the southern part of South America, viii, 376; his improbable voyage thither, viii, 376. *See* Discoverers.
Behring's Straits, map (1772), viii, 113. *See* Oceans.
Belcher, Sir Edw., in the Arctic seas, viii, 93, 97, 98; *Last of the Arctic Voyages*, viii, 122, 259.
Belcher, Gov. Jonathan, v; letter books, viii, 427; correspond. with Waldron, viii, 439.
Belcher, Jona., jr., governor of Nova Scotia, viii, 177.
Belcher, Jos., *Relig. Denom.*, viii, 486.
Belgrano, Gen., in Upper Peru, viii, 327; portrait, viii, 366; life by Mitre, viii, 346.
Belhaven, Lord, viii, 266.
Belknap, Jeremy, iii; papers, viii, 429, 435, 437; on the N. H. grants controversy, viii, 438; New Hampshire papers, viii, 438; correspondence with Eben Hazard, viii, 439; with Rush, viii, 451; on William Gordon, viii, 471.
Bell, Andrew, *Canada*, viii, 186.
Bell, Chas. H., viii, 438.
Bell, C. N., *North. Waters*, viii, 79.
Bell, Wm., *Hints to Emigrants*, viii, 179.
Belleforest, i; ii; his ed. of Münster, viii, 392.
Bellin, v; *Antilles*, viii, 272; *Débouquemens au nord de St. Domingue*, viii, 286; *Géog. de la Guiane*, viii, 364, 365; map of the Isthmus of Panama, viii, 242. *See* Maps.
Bellomont, Lord, v; on the Darien Colony, viii, 266.
Bellot, Lieut., viii, 96.
Bellot Strait, viii, 96.
Belsham, *George III*, viii, 503; *Great Britain*, viii, 503.
Bemis, C. A., *Marlboro, N. H.*, viii, 38.
Benavides y de la Cueva, Diego, viii, 303.
Bender, Prosper, *Canada*, viii, 173.
Benedict, D., *Baptists in Amer.*, viii, 487.
Benedictines. *See* Religious Bodies.
Beneventanus in Ptolemy, ii; viii, 349.
Benjamin, S. G. W., *Pre-revolutionary Editors*, viii, 497.
Bennington battle, vi; viii, 437. *See* Military Events.
Bennett, Jas. Gordon, memoir, viii, 479.
Benzoni, i; ii; on San Domingo, viii, 279.
Berbice, confirmed to the English, viii, 366; occupied by the French, viii, 363.
Bercy, Drouin de, *Saint Domingue*, viii, 289.
Berczy leads Germans to Canada, viii, 141.

Beresford, Gen., viii, 360.
Berkel, A. van, *Berbice und Surinam*, viii, 364; *Voyagien*, viii, 364.
Berkeley, Bishop, v; letters from Rhode Island, viii, 460.
Berlin, Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, i; viii, 105.
Bermuda. *See* Oceans.
Bernard, Gov. Francis, v; papers, viii, 429; letters, viii, 432; *State of the Disorders* (1774), viii, 429; on riots in No. America, viii, 429; recalled, viii, 429.
Bernard, John, *Retrospections*, viii, 492.
Bertuch, *Ephemeriden*, viii, 105.
Bessel, Dr. Emil, on Smith Sound, viii, 122.
Betancur, G., founder of the Bethlehemites, viii; 264; *Regla, etc.*, viii, 249; dies, viii, 249.
Bethune, Admiral, viii, 377.
Bethune, Bishop, *Bishop Strachan*, viii, 186.
Bettencourt, E. A. de, ii; *Descobrimentos dos Portuguezes*, viii, 372.
Bettridge, Wm., Chh. of Upper Canada, viii, 184.
Bibaud, iv; *Canada*, viii; 172.
Bibliographies. *See* Americana.
Bickford, Eli, *Memoir*, viii, 485.
Biddle, W. L. C., viii, 488.
Bidwell, John, *California*, viii, 259.
Biet, Ant., *Voyage*, viii, 363.
Bigelow, John, vii; publishes the whole text of Franklin's Autobiog., viii, 423; *Life of Franklin*, viii, 423; bibliog. of Franklin, viii, 423; *Works of F.*, viii, 423.
Bigelow, Col. Timothy, viii, 484.
Bilboa, Manuel, viii, 348.
Bill, I. E., *Baptist Ministers*, viii, 184.
Bilson, B., *Hunters*, viii, 259.
Binns, John, life, viii, 497.
Bird, Capt. E. J., viii, 91.
Birkbeck, M., *Notes on a Journey*, viii, 493; *Letters*, viii, 493; *Extracts*, viii, 493.
Biscay, A. da, *Voyage*, viii, 358.
Biscayans on the Newfoundland Coast, viii, 263. *See* Discoverers.
Bishop, J. L., *Amer. Manufactures*, vii; viii, 494.
Bishop, N. H., viii, 449.
Bishop, W. H., *Old Mexico*, viii, 200.
Bishops, their proposed introd. into the English colonies (1769), opened a controversy, represented in *A Collection of Tracts*, vi; viii, 498.
Black, Wm., Wesleyan, viii, 184.
Blackwell, Isaac, *Darien*, viii, 265.
Blain, Ephraim, record books, viii, 413.
Blake, E. V., *Arctic Experiences*, viii, 129.
Blake, Thomas, Journal, viii, 485.
Blanchard, Claude, vi; MS. Journal, viii, 505; transl. by William Duane, viii, 505.
Blancharderie, Abbé de la, viii, 367.
Blanchet, J., *Coll. de MSS. relatifs à la N. France*, viii, 465.
Blanco y Ramon Azpurua, J. F. *Documentos*, viii, 366.
Bland, Col. Theodorick, jr., vi; papers, viii, 455; *Bland Papers*, viii, 455.
Blatchford, John, *Narrative*, viii, 485.
Blome, Richard, *Jamaica*, viii, 275, 290; *Present State*, viii, 275.
Blood, H. A., *Temple, N. H.*, viii, 438.
Blount MSS., viii, 459.
Boenechea, Domingo, viii, 314.
Bogota, viii, 314.
Boisrond-Tonnerre, *Haiti*, viii, 285.
Bolivar, Simon, goes to England, viii, 324; in Jamaica, viii, 325; in Venezuela, 334; its President, viii, 334; victor at Boyaca, viii, 335; at Carabobo, viii, 335; portraits, viii, 335, 339; his character, viii, 335; meets San Martin, viii, 335; enters Lima, viii, 336; President, viii, 338; dies, viii, 339; accounts, viii, 346; documentary sources, viii, 366.
Bolivia, viii, 315; created, viii, 338, 340; sources of its colonial period, viii, 348.
Bollan, v; his papers, viii, 477.
Bolles, A. S., *Indust. Hist. U. S.*, vii; viii, 494.
Bonaparte, sends a force to Saint Domingo, viii, 285. *See* under "Bonaparte" and "Napoleon" in vii.
Bonne-Maison, Alonso de, *Bucaniers of America*, viii, 251.
Bonnet, Abbé J. E., *États Unis*, viii, 492.
Bonnet, Edmond, *Rev. de St. Domingue*, viii, 289.
Bonnycastle, Sir R. H., *Spanish America*, viii, 259; *Canada*, viii, 180; *Newfoundland*, viii, 190.
Bonvouloir, viii, 466.
Boone, Daniel, vi, vii; papers, viii, 459; life by Peck, viii, 475.
Boot, Adriano, Engineer in Mexico, viii, 200; his map, viii, 203.
Booth, Felix, viii, 87.
Boothia Felix, viii, 109, 119, 121, 124.
Borde, P. G. L., *Trinidad*, viii, 291.
Bordone, ii; *Isolario*, viii, 199, 382; *Libro di Bordone*, viii, 382.
Borja y Aragon, F. de, viii, 297.
Borland, Rev. F., *Darien*, viii, 266.
Borthwick, J. D., *Montreal's prisons*, viii, 183.
Boston Book, viii, 417.
Boston, Mass., iii; v; vi; vii; Catholic Church in, viii, 486; letter-book (Port-Bill), viii, 437; letters during the siege, viii, 443; records of, viii, 427; *Reports of its Record Commissioners*, viii, 427; Sons of Liberty, viii, 460; Unitarianism in, viii, 487.
Bosworth, N., iv; *Hochelaga Depicta*, viii, 183.
Botecourt, Lord, viii, 454.
Botocudo, viii, 371.
Botta, C., *Storia della Guerra Americana*, viii, 507; opinions of, viii, 507.
Boucher, Jona., *Amer. Rev.*, viii, 501.
Bouchette, Joseph, vii; *Brit. Dominions*, viii, 173.
Boudinot, Elias, papers, viii, 450.
Bougainville in Canada, v; in Magellan's Straits, viii, 411.
Bouguer, viii, 310; *Figure de la Terre*, viii, 310.
Boulton, D'Arcy, *Upper Canada*, viii, 174.
Bouquet, Col., v; vi; his papers, viii, 419, 446, 461; letters from Gage, viii, 463; died, viii, 461.
Bourbon, Jean, viii, 7.
Bourinot, J. G., *Federal and Provincial Constitutions*, viii, 171; *Manual*, viii, 172; *Parliamentary Practice*, viii, 172; *Local Government in Canada*, viii, 172.
Bourke, Sir R., viii, 503.
Bourne, Gen., Journal, viii, 413.
Bourne, H. Fox, *Cochrane*, viii, 348.
Bouton, Nath., v; viii, 438.
Bouyer, F., *Guyane*, viii, 366.
Bowdoin, James Temple, viii, 429.
Bowdoin, James, vi; letters from Franklin, viii, 423; corresp. with Pownall, viii, 429; with Lafayette, viii, 429; papers, viii, 429; likenesses, viii, 429, 430; letters, viii, 436; relations with Wm. Gordon, viii, 470.
Bowdoin College, viii, 429.
Bowen, Col. Ephraim, on the "Gaspee" Affair, viii, 442.
Bowen, Francis, *Gen. Lincoln*, viii, 434, 475; *James Otis*, viii, 434, 475; *Steuben*, viii, 448, 475; *Life of Sir Wm. Phips*, viii, 475.
Bowles, Samuel, viii, 497.
Boyaca, battle, viii, 335.
Boyer, Paul, *Veritable Relation*, viii, 363.
Boyer, in St. Domingo, viii, 287; established the Republic of Hayti, viii, 287; deposed, viii, 288.
Boyer, Peyrelean, E. E., *Antilles*, viii, 290.
Boylston, E. D., *Hillsborough County Congresses*, viii, 438.
Brace, C. L., on humanitarian progress in the U. S., viii, 482.
Brackenridge, H. M., *Voyage to South America*, viii, 362.
Bradbury, J., *Travels*, viii, 492.
Braddock, Gen., v; his expedition, viii, 462; Washington in, viii, 417.
Bradford, Alden, surrenders Hutchinson's papers, viii, 432; *Federal Government*, viii, 478.
Bradford, Geo., Notes on Kentucky, viii, 459.
Bradford, G. P., viii, 487.
Bradford, Thos., papers.
Bradford, Col. Wm. (Penna.), vi; viii, 497; papers, viii, 450; life by Wallace, viii, 450, 485.
Bradstreet, Col., vi; letters from Gage, viii, 463; papers, viii, 463.
Brady papers, viii, 459.
Braganza, viii, 353. *See* Portugal.
Brainerd, D., life by Peabody, viii, 475.
Brand, C., *Voyage to Peru*, viii, 367.
Brandis, J. D., viii, 347.
Brant, Joseph, vi; settles in Canada, viii, 137, 174; statue, viii, 137; papers on, viii, 459.
Brasher, Col. A., viii, 439.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, i; *Canada*, viii, 172.
Brauns, J. E. L., viii, 492.
Bravet, *Mémoires*, viii, 360.
Bravo, Nicolas, portrait, viii, 226; intrigues, viii, 227.
Braybrook, Lord, viii, 461.
Brazil (island). *See* Oceans.
Brazil (country), i; ii; disputes with France over bounds, viii, 371; Friess' map (1504), viii, 373; disputed voyage of De Gonneville, viii, 374; early use of the name, viii. 375; *Copia der Newen Zeytung auss Presillg Landt*, viii, 379; map by Martines (1578), viii, 386; made an island, viii, 387, 389, 390, 408; captaincies established and revoked, viii, 391; Jesuit letter, viii, 391 (*see* Maps); independent, viii, 341, 358; Dom Pedro perpetual protector, viii, 341; Pedro I, viii, 341, 358; Constitution, viii, 341, 358; Pedro II, viii, 341; bibliog., viii, 349; geography, viii, 349; earliest description, viii, 349; Indians of, viii, 349; histories, viii, 350; divided into captaincies, viii, 350; De Sousa governor, viii, 350; Jesuits, viii, 350, 356; *Avisi* and *Novi Avisi*, viii, 350; Guararape hills, viii, 354; disputes over bounds, viii, 356; the Braganzas arrive, viii, 357; proclaimed a kingdom, viii, 357; war with Montevideo, viii, 358; discovered by Cabral, viii, 371; called "Terra Sanctæ Crucis," viii, 371; Monte Pascoal, viii, 371. *See* South America.
Breckenridge Papers, viii, 459.
Bretigny, Mons. de, viii, 363.
Breton, J. B. J., *Saint Domingue*, viii, 289.
Brevoort, J. C., ii; iv; *Verrazano*, viii, 210.
Brewer, W. H., on the Agricultural Progress of the U. S., viii, 482.
Brewster, *Portsmouth*, viii, 438.
Bridge, G. W., *Jamaica*, viii, 279.
Briggs, C. A., *Amer. Presbyterianism*, viii, 486.
Briggs, James, *Miranda*, viii, 346,
Briseño, Ramon, *Lit. chilena*, viii, 347.
Brissot de Warville, J. P., on Franklin, viii, 422; on Chastellux, viii, 490;

Nouveau Voyage, viii, 491; *Commerce of America*, vii, 491; portrait, viii, 491.
Bristed, J., *Resources, etc.*, viii, 493.
Britaniola, viii, 190.
British Columbia, archæology of, i; works on, viii, 184.
British Museum, ii; v; manuscripts, viii, 461.
British Sailors Discovery, viii, 209.
Brito Freyre, F. de, *Nova Lusitania*, viii, 354.
Brock, Gen. Isaac, vii; in Canada, viii, 144; his monument, viii, 144, 145; life, viii, 179.
Brock, R. A., iii; v; viii, 454.
Brodhead, Gen., letter-books, viii, 450.
Brodhead, J. R., iii; iv; his work on the N. Y. Archives, viii, 445.
Broglie, Count, proposed leadership in America, viii, 465.
Bromwell, W. J., *Immigration to the U. S.*, viii, 494.
Bronson, Henry, *Waterbury*, viii, 443.
Brook Farm experiment, viii, 487
Brougham, Lord, vi; vii; on the Maroons, viii, 279.
Brown, Alex., *Genesis of the U. S.*, viii, 454, 460, 468; MS. collection, viii, 455.
Brown, Dr. Andrew, his papers, v, 458.
Brown, C., *Exped. to South America*, viii, 334.
Brown, Chas. Brockden, life by W. H. Prescott, viii, 475, 492.
Brown, George (Canada), viii, 167, 186; life, viii, 186.
Brown, G. S., *Yarmouth, N. S.*, viii, 174.
Brown, H. E., *Med. Dept., U. S. Army*, viii, 488.
Brown, John, *North West Passage*, viii, 105, 108.
Brown, Col. John Mason, viii, 459.
Brown, John Carter, library, MSS. in, viii, 441. *See* Americana.
Brown, Jona., *St. Domingo*, viii, 279, 289.
Brown, Moses, papers, viii. 442.
Brown, S. W., *West. Gazetteer*, viii, 493.
Brown, Tarleton, *Memoirs*, viii, 485.
Browne, Dr. Patrick, *Jamaica*, viii, 277.
Browne, Wm. Hand, edits Maryland papers, v; viii, 453.
Brownson, O. A., *Writings*, viii, 486.
Brué, viii, 200.
Brulius, *Hist. Peruana*, viii, 368.
Brunswick, Duke of, receives reports on his troops in America, viii, 468, 477.
Brush, commissary of Mina, viii, 269.
Bryant, E., *Californie*, viii, 259.
Bryant, W. C., his slight connection with the so-called Bryant and Gay *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 481.
Bryce, George, "Canada from 1763 to 1867," viii. 131; *Canadian People*, viii, 187; *Manitoba*, viii, 791, 184; *Five forts of Winnipeg*, viii, 184; journeys in Rupert's Land, viii, 77; on the forts at Winnipeg, viii, 46.
Brymner, Douglas, Canadian Archivist, vi; viii, 171, 464; his *Reports*, viii, 461, 465.
Buache's theory of the Arctic regions, ii; viii, 110.
Buccaneers, in San Domingo, viii, 280; in the West Indies, viii, 202; in the Pacific, viii, 306, 307; act with the Cimarrones, viii, 233; in the XVIIth century, viii, 233; attack Panama, viii, 238; take Cartagena, viii, 240; bibliography, viii, 250, 251, 252.
Buckingham, James S., *Canada*, viii, 180.
Buckingham, Jos. T., *Newspaper Lit.*, viii, 497; *Personal memoirs*, viii, 497.
Buckle, *Hist. Civilization*, viii, 504.
Buckminster, J. S., viii, 487.
Buddington, Capt. J. M., viii, 98.
Bueno, Cosme, description of Peru, viii, 343.
Buenos Ayres, viii, 295; viceroyalty, viii, 315; revolution, viii, 327; San Martin, viii, 329, 340; sources of colonial history, viii, 346; plan, viii, 358; history, viii, 360; seal of government, viii, 360; captured by the English, viii, 360; by Liniers, viii, 360; assaulted, viii, 361; independent, viii, 361. *See* La Plata, South America.
Buffaloes, ii; iv; v.
Buie, *Saguenay*, viii, 183.
Bulger papers, viii, 187.
Bull, Henry, Gov. (R. I.), papers, viii, 441.
Buller, Chas., viii, 162, 181.
Bulos, Mons., viii, 466.
Bülow, H. D. von, *Schriften*, viii, 507.
Bunbury, Sir Henry, viii, 455.
Burdon, W., viii, 366.
Burgoa, F., *Geog. Descripcion*, viii, 249.
Burgoyne, Gen., vi; vii; in Canada, viii, 135; letters in his campaign (1777), viii, 420, 465; letters to Heath, viii, 431; letters, viii, 461, 468; controversy with Clinton, viii, 462; papers concerning, viii, 464; his army, viii, 490.
Buriel, André, viii, 257.
Burke, Edmund, vi; vii; agent of N. Y., viii, 446; his speeches written out for Cavendish, viii, 499; wrote the American chronicle in the *Annual Reg.*, viii, 500; published as *Impartial History of the War in America*, viii, 500; modified in *Hist. of the War in America* (Dublin), viii, 500; original text reprinted in Boston, viii, 500; much modified in another *Impartial Hist.* (Boston), viii, 500; *Correspondence*, viii, 503; *Works*, viii, 503; lives, viii, 503.
Burke, Gov. (N. C.), viii, 457.
Burke, Wm., *South Amer. Independence*, viii, 366; *Additional reasons*, viii, 366.
Burmeister, H., *Repub. Argentine*, viii, 358.
Burmudez, J. M., *Revolucion*, viii, 260.
Burnaby, Andrew, *Travels*, vi; viii, 489.
Burnap, G. W., *Life of Calvert*, viii, 475.
Burney, Jas., *Buccaneers*, viii, 251; *Discovery in the South Sea*, viii, 258.
Burney MSS., viii, 461.
Burns, R. F., *Dr. Robert Burns*, viii, 184.
Burr, Aaron, vi; vii; papers, viii, 446; interviews with, viii, 492.
Burrows, Acton, *Guelph*, viii, 183.
Burton, J. H., *Criminal Trials*, viii. 266.
Burton, R. F., on the Brazil Indians, viii, 349; edits Hans Stade, viii, 391.
Bury, Viscount, *Exodus, etc.*, viii, 504.
Bushnell, C. I., *Crumbs for Antiquarians*, viii, 485, 496.
Bustamante, Anastasio, President of Mexico, viii, 229, 270.
Bustamante, Cárlos Maria, acc. of, viii, 268; his MSS., viii, 260, 268; his diary, viii, 268; joined the revolutionary party, viii, 268; *Calleja*, viii, 268; *Cuadro histórico*, viii, 268; *Iturbide*, viii, 268; *Martirologio*, viii, 269; *El Gabinete*, viii, 270; *Santa Anna*, viii, 270.
Bute, Earl of, vi; papers, viii, 460.
Butel-Dumont, G. M., *Antilles*, viii, 272.
Butler, Col. (loyalist), viii, 465.
Butler, J. D., ii; on the manufacture of cannon, viii, 483.
Butler, W. F, *Great Lone Land*, viii, 76; *Wild North Land*, viii, 76.
Butler family (Penna.), viii, 450.
Butler's Rangers, settle on the Niagara River, viii, 137.
Butterfield, C. W., vi; edits *Washington-Crawford Corresp.*, viii, 420; *Washington-Irvine corresp.*, viii, 451.
Button's Bay (1662), viii, 3; viii, 105, 108.
Byrd, Wm., *Dividing Line*, v; viii, 454.

Cabeca de Vaca, Alvar, sent to the La Plata, ii; viii, 387; discovers Lake Xarayes, viii, 394.
Cabell, Col. Wm., papers, viii, 455.
Cable, *Creole Days*, viii, 489.
Cabot, Geo., vii; papers, viii, 429; life by H. C. Lodge, viii, 429.
Cabot, Sebastian, ii; iii; in the La Plata region, viii, 384; his map of South America, viii, 385; life by C. Hayward, viii, 475. *See* Discoverers.
Cabral, P. A. de, his discoveries, ii; viii, 371; his instructions, viii, 372; his track, viii, 372.
Cabrera Bueno, J. G., *Navegacion*, viii, 258.
Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, *Filipe Segundo*, viii, 253.
Cabrera, L. G. de, viii. 300.
Cabrera y Quintero, C. de, *Escudo de armas de México*, viii, 249.
Cabrillo, land-fall on the California coast, ii; viii, 257.
Cadiz, ships from, sail for the Indies, viii, 209, 311, 322.
Cadwalader, John, vi; charges Jos. Reed with defection in 1776, viii, 478; as "Brutus," viii, 478; *Reply*, viii, 479.
Calancha, A. de la, *Del orden de San Augustin*, viii, 367.
Caldcleugh, Alex., *Travels*, viii, 362.
Calderon, battle, viii, 219.
Caldwell, David, viii, 484.
Caledonia, Scots colony at Darien, viii, 265.
Calendario de Lima, viii, 343.
Calhoun, J. C., vii; on buying Washington's papers, viii, 416; papers, viii, 457.
California, gulf of. *See* Oceans.
California, i; ii; vii; Jesuits in, viii, 210; presidios created, viii, 210, 258; in the Mexican union, viii, 230; Russians in, viii, 229, 230; list of pioneers, viii, 230; as a penal colony, viii, 230; Solis revolt, viii, 230; Gov. Victoria overthrown, viii, 230; visits of foreign ships, viii, 230; foreigners become political factors, viii, 231; gold found (1842), viii, 231; purchase sought by the United States, viii, 232; bibliog., viii, 246, 258, 259, 260; documentary history, viii, 246, 260; H. H. Bancroft's studies, viii, 254; Venegas' map, viii, 254; Consag's map, viii, 255; other maps, viii, 255; name originally applied to the peninsula, viii, 257; insularity discussed, viii, 257; missions, viii, 258; expeditions before 1769, viii, 258; earliest printing in, viii, 259; Frémont in, viii, 260; Bear-Flag revolt, viii, 260.
Callao, earthquake, viii, 312; castle, viii, 314; view of, viii, 298; view of attack, viii, 299.
Calleja, Gen. F. M., viii, 217; his campaigns, viii, 268; his marches, viii, 217; at Calderon, viii, 219.
Calvert, Leonard, iii; life by Burnap, viii, 475.
Calvert (Md.), papers, viii, 453.
Calvet, Pierre du, viii, 138.
Calvillo, Diaz, *Noticias*, viii, 269.
Calvo, Charles, *Révolution de l'Amérique latine*, viii, 366; *Recueil des traités*, viii, 366.
Camargo on the coast of Chili, viii, 394.
Camba, Garcia, *Memorias*, viii, 348.

Caminha, P. V. de, viii, 371.

Campaigns. *See* Military Events.

Campbell, Chas., iii; *Bland papers*, viii, 455.

Campbell, Sir Colin, viii, 165.

Campbell, Duncan, *Nova Scotia*, viii, 177; *Prince Edw. Island*, viii, 177.

Campbell, John, *Sugar Trade*, viii, 290.

Campbell, Lemuel R., coll. of papers, viii, 458.

Campbell, P., *Travels*, viii, 174.

Campbell, Robt., *Gabriel Street Church*, viii, 184.

Campbell, *Spanish America*, viii, 258.

Campeachy, bay of, viii, 262, 263.

Canada (including French Louisiana). Archæology, i; called New France, ii; iv; v; Early history, iii; iv; in the eighteenth century, v; invaded (1775–76), vi; viii, 171, 420, 435, 465; estranged from the French Revolution, viii, 140; French émigrés, viii, 142; their loyalty, viii, 143; loyalists from the U. S., viii, 173; constitutional act of 1791, viii, 152, 171; constitutional associations, viii, 157, 159; everlasting salary bill, viii, 158; committee of vigilance, viii, 160; alien and sedition act (1804), viii, 142, 143; Clergy Reserve struggle, viii, 152, 185; divided into Upper and Lower Canada, viii, 138; nine provinces reunited (1840), viii, 163, 171; Dominion formed, viii, 170; responsible government, viii, 172; reciprocity treaty with the U. S., viii, 167; fishery disputes with the U. S., viii, 167; recent history, vii; viii, 131.

Connections with the Hudson Bay Company, viii, 32; fur companies, viii, 36, 148, 153; voyageurs, iv; viii.

Archives, viii, 171, 459, 464; sources, viii, 169, 170, 187; biographies, viii, 185; genealogies, viii, 185; general histories, viii, 186; of the lower province, viii, 172; church history, viii, 184; local histories, viii, 182; of the Eastern townships, viii, 182; of the Rebellion of 1837, viii, 180. Royal Society of Canada, viii, 187. *See* Lower and Upper Canada.

Leading characters in Canadian history: —

Aulnay, Sieur d', iv; v.

Beauharnais, Gov., v; viii. Beaujeu, iv; v. Belêtre, v. Bigot, J., iv; v. Bougainville, v. Bourgeois, Margaret, iv. Bourlamaque, v. Brant, Jos., vi; viii. Brock, Sir Isaac, vii; viii. Brown, George, viii.

Cadillac, La Mothe, v. Campbell, Sir Colin, viii. Carleton, Sir Guy, vi; viii. Cartier, Sir G. E., viii. Cartier, Jacques, iv. Cavelier, Jean de, iv. Céloron, v. Chabanel, iv. Champigny, iv. Champlain, iv. Chaumonot, iv. Contrecœur, v. Courcelles, iv. Craig, Sir James, viii.

Dalhousie, Earl of, v. DeMonts, vi. Denonville, iv. Dorchester, Lord. *See* Carleton, Sir Guy. Duchesneau, iv. Duquesne, Marquis, v. Durham, Earl of, viii.

Elgin, Earl of, viii.

Frontenac, iv; v.

Galissonière, Comte de, v. Gore, Francis, viii. Gourlay, Robt., viii.

Haldimand, Gen., v; vi; vii; viii. Harvey, Sir John, viii. Head, Sir F. B., viii. Hincks, Sir Francis, vii; viii. Howe, Joseph, viii.

Joncaire, v. Jumonville, v.

Kirke, David, iv.

La Barre, iv. Lambton. *See* Durham. La Tour, Charles de, iv. Laudonnière, iv, 17. Laval, Bp., iv. Lévis, Chev. de, v; viii.

Mackenzie, W. L., viii. Mascarene, Paul, v. Metcalfe, Gov., viii. Monckton, Robert, v. Montcalm, v. Murray, Gen., v; viii.

Papineau, L. J., viii. Prevost, Sir Geo., vii. Pontgravé, iv.

Riel, Louis, viii. Roberval, J. F. de, iv. Robinson, Sir John Beverly, viii. Ralph, Dr., viii. Rouville, Hertel de, v, 105. Ryerson, Egerton, viii.

Salaberry, Col., viii. Selkirk, Earl of, viii. Simcoe, Gov., viii. Simpson, Sir George, viii. Strachan, Bishop, viii. Subercase, v. Sydenham, Lord, viii.

Talon, iv. Thomson. *See* Sydenham. Tonty, iv. Tracy, iv.

Vaudreuil, P. F., iv; v. Vérenderye, viii. Vetch, Col. Samuel, v.

Wentworth, Sir John, viii.

Places: Acadia, iv; v. Annapolis Royal, v. Anticosti, iv. Athabasca, viii. Avalon, iii; viii. Baccalaos, ii; iii; iv. Bellisle, iv. Breton, Cape, iii; iv; v. British Columbia, viii. Chaleur, bay of, iv. Eastern Townships, viii, 140. Ferryland, iii. Fundy, bay of, iii; iv. Gaspé, iv. Grand Pré, v. Halifax, v; viii. Labrador, ii; iii; iv; viii. Louisbourg, v. Minas, basin of, v. Montreal, iv; v; vi. New Brunswick, vii; viii. Newfoundland, i; ii; iii; iv; v; vii; viii. Nova Scotia, iii; iv; v; vii; viii. Orleans, island, v. Port Royal, v. Prince Edward Island, viii. Quebec, iv; v; vi. Rupert's Land, viii. Tadousac, iv. Three Rivers, v. Toronto, v. Vancouver's Island, viii. Winnipeg, iv; viii.

Historical writers: — In general, v, 619; viii, 170. Individuals (selection):

Atkins, T. B., v; vii; viii.

Bedard, viii; Bibaud, iv; viii. Butel-Dumont, v; viii. Buteux, iv. Boucher, P., iv. Bouchette, Jos., vii; viii. Bourinot, J. G., viii. Brasseur de Bourbourg, v; viii. Bryce, Geo., vii; viii. Brymner, Douglas, Canadian archivist, vi; viii.

Canniff, Wm., viii. Casgrain, Abbé, iv; viii. Charlevoix, iv; viii. Christie, Robt., viii.

Dent, J. C., viii. Dumont de Montigny, v. Dussieux, iv.

Faillon, Abbé, iv; v; viii. Faribault, i; iv. Ferland, Abbé, iv; v; viii.

Gagnon, E., viii. Galt, John, viii. Garneau, F. X., iv; v; viii.

Haliburton, R. G., v. Haliburton, T. C., v; viii. Hannay, James, v; viii. Heriot, Geo., iv; viii.

La Harpe, B. de, v. Lareau, Edmond, v. Laverdière, Abbé, iv; viii. Lemoine, J. M., iv; v; vii; viii. Lescarbot, Marc., iv.

Margry, Pierre, i; iv; v; viii. Masères, Francis, v; vi; viii. Morgan, H. J., vii; viii. Murdock, Beamish, viii.

Parkman, F., i; ii; iv; v; vi. Patterson, Geo., viii. Perrot, Nic., iv.

Rameau, iv; v. Reveillaud, E., v. Ryerson, A. E., vi; vii.

Sagard, i; iv. Selkirk, Earl of, viii. Stewart, Geo., jr., iv. Sulte, Benj., iv; v; vi; viii.

Tassé, Jos., v. Turcotte, L. P., viii.

Verreau, Abbé, iv; v; vi; viii.

Canadian Freeholder, viii, 170.

Canadiana, viii, 173, 187.

Canadien, Le, the first French newspaper in Canada, viii, 140.

Canary islands, emigrants from, to St. Domingo, viii, 281. *See* Oceans.

Cancelada, J. L., *Gazeta de México*, viii, 269; *Verdad Salida, etc.*, viii, 269; *Iturrigaray*, viii, 269.

Cancellieri, *Colombo*, viii, 372.

Cancha, Royada, viii, 331.

Canchon, Jos., viii, 65.

Canizares, F. L. de, viii, 302.

Canniff, Wm., *Upper Canada*, viii, 174.

Canterac, Gen., viii, 336, 337.

Cantino map, viii, 369. *See* Maps.

Cape. *See* in the several volumes under Cape, Cabo, and the names of the capes.

Cape Breton, ii; iii; iv; v. Scottish immigration, viii, 148.

Cape (Cabo) de Sta. Maria, viii, 376.

Cape François, plan, viii, 286; surrendered by the French, viii, 286.

Cape Frio, viii, 376.

Cape Gracias à Dios, ii; viii, 264.

Cape Horn, discovered by De Hoces, viii, 384; seen by Drake, viii, 384; doubled by Schouten, viii, 384; latitude, viii, 412.

Cape St. Augustine, discovered by Pinzon, viii, 369.

Cape de Verde islands, ii; their longitude to decide the line of demarcation, viii, 383.

Capel, D. *Vorstellungen*, viii, 106.

Capron, E. S., *California*, viii, 260.

Captures. *See* Military Events.

Caracas, captain-generalcy of, viii, 367; revolution in, viii, 367.

Caraccioli, C. N., viii, 307.

Carbery, Earl of, viii, 188.

Cardena, P., on Brazil, viii, 352.

Cardim, F., viii, 349.

Carew papers, viii, 459.

Carey, John, viii, 416.

Carey, Matthew, viii, 497.

Caribana, viii, 390.

Caribby islands, viii, 271. *See* West Indies.

Caribs, i; in St. Vincent, viii, 290.

Carleton, Sir Guy, vi, vii; governor of Canada, viii, 134; defends Quebec, viii, 135; returned to England, viii, 135; in command in New York, viii, 137; becomes Lord Dorchester and governs Canada, viii, 138; papers, viii, 462, 464; his reports, viii, 465; before Parliament, viii, 502.

Carlisle and Barbadoes, viii, 290.

Carlyle, Thos., on Francia, viii, 360.

Carlos III (Spain) expels the Jesuits, viii, 210.

Carmelites. *See* Religious Bodies.

Carolana, Dr. Coxe's region, v; viii, 132.

Carolina, MS. sources, viii, 461. *See* United States.

Carpenter, S. C. *Amer. Speeches*, viii, 485.

Carpentier, de Longchamps, Abbé Pierre, *Histoire*, viii, 506.

Carrera, Juan José, viii, 325, 347.

Carrera, José Miguel, viii, 325, 347; portrait, viii, 326.

Carrera, Luis, viii, 325, 347; portrait, viii, 326.

Carrier, *Les Evenéments de* 1837–38, viii, 180.

Carrington, H. B., vi; *Battles of the Amer. Rev.*, viii, 480; *Battle Maps*, viii, 480; on the extent of the British forces in the Amer. Rev. and their losses, viii, 502.

Carroll, Chas., vi; letters, viii, 435; papers, viii, 453.

Carroll, John, *Case and his contemporaries*, viii, 184.

Carroll, John Lee, viii, 453.

Carson, Capt. D. L. V., viii, 332.

Cartagena, ii; iii; v; its trade, viii, 209; captured by buccaneers (1697), viii, 240; maps, viii, 243, 291; attacked by Vernon (1740), viii, 244; Drake's attack, viii, 291; French attack, viii, 291; founded (1532), viii, 292; attacked (1787), viii, 291; plan of attack, viii, 292; various

plans, viii, 292; pamphlets on, viii, 292; attacked (1740), viii, 292; plan of the attack, viii, 293, 294; plan of the town, viii, 294; views, viii, 294.
Carter Brown. *See* Brown, J. C.
Cartier, George Etienne, viii, 168, 186; statue, viii, 168, 169.
Cartography. *See* Maps.
Cartreras revolt in Nicaragua, viii, 232.
Cartwright, Richard. *Life and Letters*, viii, 186.
Cartwright. *Labrador*, viii, 190.
Caruthers, E. W. *David Caldwell*, vi; viii, 484.
Carvalho, S. J. de (Pombal). *Relation*, viii, 360.
Carvalho, V. G. de, viii, 380.
Carvallido y Losada. *Las invasiones*, viii, 280.
Case, acc. of, viii, 184.
Casgrain, Abbé, v, viii, 172; *Biog. Canadiennes*, viii, 185; on the Lévis papers, viii, 465.
Cass, Lewis, vii; papers, viii, 459.
Cassani, Jos. *Comp. de Jesus en Granada*, viii, 315; on the Jesuits, viii, 360.
Cassard at Surinam, viii, 364.
Cassel, Germany, Archives, viii, 468.
Cassell. *United States*, viii, 504.
Castanheda, F. L. de. *Hist. de Descobrimento*, viii, 372.
Castera, Ignacio de, viii, 200, 422.
Castelfuerte, Marquis of, viii, 309, 314, 342.
Castelar, Conde de, viii, 305, 342.
Castell dos Rios, Marques de, viii, 307.
Castelli, Dr., sent to Upper Peru, viii, 327.
Castiglioni, L. *Viaggio*, viii, 491.
Castillo, Francisco del, viii, 304, 368.
Castro-Vireyna, silver mines, viii, 297.
Caswell, Gov. (North Carolina), viii, 456, 457.
Cathay. *See* Asia.
Cathcart, Wm. *Baptists and the Amer. Rev.*, viii, 486.
Cathcart Papers, viii, 460.
Catholics and the Amer. Rev., viii, 486. *See* Religious Bodies.
Caulkins, F. M. *New London*, iii; viii, 443; *Norwich*, viii, 444.
Cavendish, Sir Henry, on the Quebec Act, viii, 171; his records of English Parliamentary *Debates*, vii; viii, 499.
Cavendish, Capt. Thomas, iii; on the Brazil coast, viii, 351; on the Pacific coast, viii, 198; in Magellan Straits, viii, 407.
Cavo, Andres. *México*, viii, 248.
Cayenne, settled, viii, 363; recaptured by the Dutch, viii, 363; attacked, viii, 364; map of the island, viii, 364.
Cazal, Ayres do. *Corog. Brazilica*, viii, 371, 372.
Celaya, viii, 219.
Centenera, B. *Argentina*, viii, 390.
Central America, i; ii; viii; later history of, viii, 232; the new laws in, viii, 232; confederation of, viii, 244; bibliog., viii, 246. *See* Mexico.
Cerro Pasco, viii, 336.
Cespedes. *Regimiento de Navigacion*, viii, 407.
Cevallos, Pedro de, viii, 315.
Chacabuco, viii, 331.
Chaco, bibliog., viii, 358.
Chagres River, map, viii, 239.
Chalmers, Chas. *St. Domingo*, viii, 286
Chalmers, Geo., iii; v; vi; "Queries," viii, 462; his MSS., viii, 429, 462; in Thorpe's *Catal.*, viii, 462; bought by Sparks, viii, 462.
Chalus, Comte de, in Canada, viii, 142.
Chamberlain, Mellen, v; vi; *Declar. of Independence*, viii, 415; on Jared Sparks, viii, 419; his MSS., viii, 416, 431; edits Dearborn's journals, viii, 431; the Wheelock papers, viii, 439; review of McMaster, viii, 481.
Chamisso, *Werke*, viii, 259.
Champlain, Samuel de, in Canada, iv; *West Indies and Mexico*, viii, 248, 279, 441; his sketch of an harbor in St. Domingo, viii, 280.
Chamuscado, F. S., expedition, viii, 254.
Chanchite, viii, 382.
Channing, Edw., ii; v; vi; vii.
Channing, E. T., *Wm. Ellery*, viii, 441, 475.
Channing, W. E., viii, 487.
Champlin, J. D., on the U. S. seal, viii, 484
Chappe d'Autoroche, *Voyage to California*, viii, 200.
Chappell, Edw., *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, viii, 72.
Charcas, viii, 295, 315, 360. *See* Upper Peru.
Charleton island in James' Bay, viii, 7.
Charles II (England), iii; vi; his grants of territory, iv, viii; grants Rupert's Land, viii, 4.
Charles the Bewitched (Spain), viii, 303.
Charles, John, viii, 79.
Charleston, S. C., v; vi; *Year Book*, viii, 457; letters from, viii, 460; defended by Lincoln, viii, 489.
Charlevoix, iv; v; *Paraguay*, viii, 358, 359; *St. Domingue*, viii, 279.
Charotte, P. S., *St. Domingo*, viii, 289.
Charts. *See* Maps.
Chas and Lebrun, *Histoire Politique*, viii, 506.
Chase, *Haverhill, Mass.*, iii; v; viii, 427.
Chase, Jonathan, papers, viii, 439.
Chase, Samuel, letters, viii, 435; papers, viii, 454.
Chassereau, viii, 294.
Chastellux, J. F., Marquis de, vi; *Voyage*, viii, 490; *Travels*, viii, 490.
Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, viii, 491.
Chateauguay, fight at, vii; viii, 146.
Chatham, Earl of, vi; vii; papers, viii, 463; *Correspondence*, viii, 463; corresp. with Hollis, viii, 463; his views expressed in Adolphus, viii, 503; lives and speeches, viii, 503.
Chatham (Upper Canada), viii, 142.
Chaudonnet, Abbé, *Notre Dame*, viii, 185.
Chavanne, J., and others, *Lit. of the Polar Regions*, viii, 104.
Chaves de la Rosa, P. J., viii, 324.
Cheadle, Dr. W. B., viii, 75.
Checacape, viii, 317.
Cheetham, James, *American Citizen*, viii, 497.
Chenusio Indians, viii, 461.
Cherokees, struggle in Georgia, etc., with, viii, 458. *See* Indians.
Chester, Col. J. L., iii; on the Hutchinson family, viii, 433; assists Ollier in his *United States*, viii, 504.
Chesterfield inlet, viii, 27, 112.
Chesterton, Geo. L., *Venezuela*, viii, 367.
Chevalier, E., *La Marine française*, viii, 506.
Chiapa, ii; map, viii, 262.
Chiapas, Dominicans in, viii, 249.
Chica, viii, 407.
Childs, E. E., *Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482.
Chile, Conquest of, ii; Audiencia of, viii, 295; Manso captain-general, viii, 311; Amat captain-general, viii, 312; under Jaurequi, viii, 314; early visit of Camargo to its coast, viii, 394; the revolution begins in (1810), viii, 325; Dr. Rosas, viii, 325; the revolt fails, viii, 326; San Martin in, viii, 331; under O'Higgins, viii, 323, 340; constitution adopted, viii, 340; early maps, viii, 343, 347; of its coast, viii, 386 (*see* Maps); sources of its history, viii, 446; bibliog., viii, 346, 347, 367; *Historiadores*, viii, 347, 368; literature, viii, 347; its war of independence, viii, 347; loss of documents, viii, 347; ecclesias. hist., viii, 367.
Chiloe island, viii, 325, 334.
Chinchon, Count of, viii, 300.
Chinchona, ii; viii, 302.
Choaca, viii, 261.
Choate, Rufus, vii; on the eloquence of the Amer. Rev., viii, 485.
Choiseul, *Mémoire à Louis XV.*, viii, 467.
Cholera in Canada, viii, 148.
Choles, viii, 261.
Cholmondeley papers, viii, 560.
Choris, Louis, *Voyage*, viii, 259.
Chotteau, Léon, *La Guerre de l'indépendance*, vii, 506.
Choules, J. O., extended Hinton's *United States*, viii, 504.
Christie, Robert, iv; v; *Canada*, viii, 173; *Administrations of Lower Canada*, viii, 173.
Chrystler's Farm, fight, vii; viii, 146. *See* Military Events.
Chuquisaca, viii, 338.
Church, Dr. Benj., vi; viii, 460, 488.
Churchill River, viii, 27.
Cimarrones, viii, 237.
Cincinnati Society, vi; Connecticut branch, viii, 444.
Circourt, Conte Adolphe, vi; vii; translates part of Bancroft, viii, 506; *Hist. de l'action Commune* etc., 506; *Conclusions historiques*, viii, 506.
Cisneros, Fray, viii, 368.
Cisneros, J. B. de, on Iturrigaray, viii, 269.
Claez, Aris, viii, 410.
Clarendon papers, viii, 446.
Clark, E. H., *A Century of Amer. Medicine*, viii, 488.
Clark, Geo. Rogers, vi; vii; nar. of his exped., viii, 454; letters, viii, 458; intercepted, viii, 465; papers, viii, 459.
Clark, Samuel, *Plantations of the English in America*, viii, 290.
Clarke, E. D., viii, 72.
Clarke, M. St. Clair, viii, 425.
Clausson, L. J., *Saint Domingue*, viii, 289.
Clavière, Etienne, viii, 491.
Clavigero, F. X., i; ii; *California*, viii, 259.
Clay, Henry, vii; papers, viii, 459.
Clay, Lucretia H., viii, 459.
Clement, John, papers, viii, 450.
Clement XIII, Pope, viii, 210.
Clergy Reserve controversy (Canada), viii, 152, 185.
Clergy, the, in the Revolution, viii, 485.
Clerke, Capt. Chas., viii, 83.
Clervaux in St. Domingo, viii, 286.
Cleveland, R. J., *Voyages*, viii, 259.
Cleveland, H. R., *Henry Hudson*, viii, 475.
Climate, influence of, i; iv.
Chinese. *See* Discoverers.
Clinton, DeWitt, vii; papers, viii, 446.
Clinton, Geo., vi; papers, viii, 446.
Clinton, Geo. W., viii, 446.
Clinton, Col. Henry, his library, viii, 462; *Catalogue*, viii, 463.
Clinton, Sir Henry, in America, vi; letters, viii, 446, 460, 461; papers, viii, 462; controversy with Burgoyne, viii, 462; maps of his Jersey campaign, viii, 463; correspondence with Haldimand, viii, 463; his secret records, vi; viii, 463, 478; implicates Gen. Sullivan, viii, 478; annotates Stedman's *American War*, viii, 502; *Observations on Stedman*, viii, 502.
Clive, Lord, thought of as commander in America at the beginning of the Rev. War, viii, 502.
Clodoré, J. de, gov. of Martinique, *Relation*, viii, 276, 363.
Club. *See* Societies.
Cluny, *American Traveller*, map, viii, 114.
Clyde, John C., *Rosbrugh*, viii, 485.

Coats, Capt. W., viii, 68, 108.
Cobbett, Wm., vii; *Res. in U. S.*, viii, 493; *Parliamentary History*, viii, 499; *Parliamentary Debates*, viii, 499.
Cocamés, viii, 261.
Cochabamba, viii, 360.
Cochran, Dr. John, viii, 488; portrait, viii, 488.
Cochrane, *Antrim*, viii, 438.
Cochrane, C. S., *Columbia*, 367.
Cochrane, John, on Dr. John Cochrane, viii, 488.
Cochrane, Lord (Earl of Dundonald), his house at Quintero, viii, 332; portrait, viii, 333; at Valparaiso, viii, 333; commands the Chilean fleet, viii, 333; cuts out the "Esmeralda," viii, 334; resigned, viii, 334; sources of his history, viii, 348; his *Narrative of Services, etc.*, viii, 348.
Cockburn, John, *Journey*, viii, 265; *Unfortunate Englishman*, viii, 265.
Cockburn Island, viii, 85.
Cockburn Land, viii, 124, 127.
Coelho, Gonçalo, sent to the Brazil coast, viii, 372, 380.
Coello, Duarte da Albuquerque, *Memorias*, viii, 354.
Coffin, Chas., *Gen. Thomas*, vi; viii, 435.
Coffin, Col., *Chronicle of 1812*, vii; viii, 179.
Coffin, C. C., *Building the Nation*, viii, 482.
Coffin, J. F., *Residence in Chili*, viii, 347.
Coggeshall, on the lit. of the Western States, viii, 494.
Cogulludo, *Yucathan*, i; ii; viii, 261.
Cohen, Mrs. D. J., viii, 426.
Cogswell, *Nottingham*, viii, 438.
Colbert, iv; patronizes expedition to Guiana, viii, 363.
Colburne, Sir John, viii, 152, 155, 157; recalled, viii, 159.
Colden, Cadwallader, v; papers, viii, 423, 446; letter-books, 446.
Coleridge, Sarah H., viii, 360.
Coligny, Adm., viii, 391.
Colin, Michael, viii, 411.
Colleges and Universities: In the American Revolution, viii, 496.
  Bowdoin, viii.
  Columbia, v, 248.
  Cornell, viii, 475.
  Dartmouth, v.
  Harvard, iii; v; vii, 314.
  Mexico, viii.
  Pennsylvania, v.
  Princeton, v.
  Rutgers, v, 230.
  St. Gregory (Mexico), viii, 257.
  San Borja, viii, 297.
  San Carlos (Peru), viii, 319.
  San Marcos (Peru), viii, 314.
  William and Mary, iii; v.
  Williams, v.
  Yale, v.
Colliber, *Columna rostrata*, viii, 188.
Collins, John, gov. of R. I., letters, viii, 442.
Collins, J. E., *Macdonald*, viii, 186.
Collinson, Capt., *or* Sir Richard, his search for Franklin, viii, 92, 94; his track, viii, 108; his expected *Journal*, viii, 121.
Colman, Benj., v; letters, viii, 437.
Colman, *Evening Post*, viii, 497.
Colombia, revolution in, viii, 334, 367; created, viii, 335; divided into Nueva Grenada, Venezuela and Ecuador, viii, 339; sources of its Colonial history, viii, 346.
Colonial Advocate, viii, 151.
Colucci, G., viii, 468.
Columbia River, visited, ii; as a proposed boundary, vii; source of, viii, 111.
Columbus, Christopher, his career, ii; wrote notes on lands to the West, used by Las Casas, viii, 372; his remains removed to Havana, viii, 285.
Columbus, Ferd., ii; *Colon de Concordia*, viii, 375; alleged map, viii, 385; at the Cóngress of Badajos, viii, 383.
Commerce of New Spain, viii, 250.
Compaen, Kleas, *Zee-Rover*, viii, 250.
Conant, S. S., on a Century of American Fine Arts, viii, 482.
Concordia, Marquis de la, viii, 328.
Condamine, La, measures an arc of the Meridian, vii, 310; his *Relation*, viii, 310; *Journal*, viii, 310.
Condorcet on Franklin, viii, 422.
Condor-Kunka, viii, 315, 337.
Conferences. *See* Treaties.
Congdon, C. T., *Reminiscences*, viii, 497.
Congregationalists in the U. S., 487. *See* Religious Bodies.
Congresses, literary, etc. *See* Societies.
Connecticut, early history, iii; iv; v; Revolutionary history, vi; later history, vii; Archives, viii, 442; *Colonial Records*, viii, 442; *Roll of State Officers*, viii, 442; in the Revolution, viii, 442; *Rept. on the Anc. Court Records*, viii, 442; records of the New Haven jurisdiction, viii, 442; State houses, viii, 442; Council of Safety Records, viii, 443; claims the Trumbull papers, viii, 443; local records, viii, 443; Mohegan case, viii, 443, 445; Rev. troops raised at Wyoming, viii, 450; first bishop of, viii, 487; history of Episc. Chh. in, viii, 487; poets of the Rev. period, viii, 495.
Consag, Ferdinando, map of California, ii; viii, 254, 255.
Constable, *Miscellanies*, viii, 367.
Constancio, F. S., on Brazil, viii, 350,
Constitution, The, viii, 160.
Conventions. *See* Treaties.
Conway, H. S., letters, viii, 460.
Conway, M. D., vii; viii, 454; edits Washington letters, viii, 420; on Brook farm, viii, 488.
Conway, Gen. Thomas, papers, vi; viii, 446.
Conway Cabal papers, viii, 453.
Cook, Capt. James, portrait, viii, 82; his voyage, viii, 83; illustrative MSS., viii, 83; his route, viii, 110; *Voyage*, viii, 112; on the Pacific coast, viii, 213.
Cooke, Edward, *Voyage*, viii, 252.
Cooke, J. E., iii; v; on Chas. Lee, viii, 456.
Cooke, Gov. Nic., letters, viii, 442.
Cooke (Va.) papers, viii, 455.
Cooney, Robt., *New Brunswick*, viii, 177.
Cooper, Dr. (Boston), corresp. with Franklin, viii, 423.
Cooper, T. (So. Carolina), viii, 457.
Cooper, T., *America*, viii, 491.
Cooper and Fenton, *Amer. Politics*, vii; viii, 482.
Coote, C. H., iii; viii, 412.
Cóporo Hill, viii, 222.
Coppermine river, viii, 34.
Cordeiro, L., on the Portuguese discoveries, ii; viii, 372.
Cordova, Diego de, *Solano*, viii, 368.
Cordova, Diego Ferd. de, viii, 298.
Cordova, Gen., viii, 336, 337.
Cordova, P. T., *Puerto Rico*, viii, 289.
Cordova y Figueroa on Chile, viii, 346.
Cordova on the Yucatan coast, viii, 261.
Coreal, F., *Voyages*, viii, 265.
Corning, C. B., *John Fenton*, viii, 438.
Cornwallis, Earl of, in the Amer. Rev., vi; vii; viii; letters and papers, viii, 460, 461; testifies for Howe in Parliament, viii, 501.
Cornwallis island, viii, 95.
Corregidors abolished, viii, 319.
Corsairs. *See* Buccaneers.
Cortés, Martin, in Mexico, viii, 194.
Cortés, Hernando, his career, ii; his map of California, viii, 257; on the Yucatan coast, viii, 261.
Cortlandt, Col. Philip van, viii. 445.
Cosa, La, map, viii, 369. *See* Maps.
Costa Rica archæology, i; early history, ii; bibliog., viii, 265; map, viii, 264; not in the Mexican federation, viii, 244.
Costanso, Miguel, *Hist. Journal*, viii, 212, 258.
Costello, Dudley, viii, 261.
Cothren, Wm., *Auc. Woodbury*, viii, 443.
Cotton, Rev. John, iii; papers, viii, 435.
Cottonian MSS., viii, 461.
Coulon, J. P. G., *Saint Domingue*, viii, 282; *Inquiry*, viii, 282.
Coulter, John, *Adventures*, viii, 259.
Coureurs de bois, iv; viii, 37.
Courteer and Barbadoes, viii, 290.
Cousin, C. Y., *Toussaint*, viii, 286.
Cousin, Jean (engraver), viii. 391.
Cousin, Jean (explorer), his alleged voyage, ii; viii, 374. *See* Discoverers.
Coverly, Nath., viii, 500.
Cowell, *Spirit of '76 in R. I.*, vi; viii, 440.
Cowley, *Voyage*, viii, 252.
Cox, Ross, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, vii; viii, 78.
Coxe, Daniel, v; *Coll. of Voyages*, viii, 292.
Cozzens, S. W., *Marvellous Country*, i; viii, 254.
Cozumel island, i; ii; viii, 261, 262.
Craig, Maj. Isaac, papers, viii, 450.
Craig, Sir James, governor of Canada, viii, 140.
Craighill, R. T., *Virginia Peerage*, viii, 482.
Craigie House (Cambridge, Mass.), vi; viii, 417.
Cramer, Zadok, viii, 492.
Craufurd, Brig. Gen., viii, 361.
Craven, Earl of, viii, 5.
Cree Indians, viii, 42. *See* Indians.
Creole peculiarities, viii, 489.
Crespin, *Hist. des Martyrs*, viii, 394.
Crèvecœur, J. H. St. J., acc. of, viii, 490; *American Farmer*, viii, 490; *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, viii, 490.
Cristophe in St. Domingo, viii, 285, 286; succeeds to Dessalines, viii, 287; at Cape François, viii, 287; dies, viii, 287; bibliog., viii, 288.
Crofton, F. B., *Haliburton*, viii, 179.
Croil, James, *Dundas*, viii, 182; *Story of the Kirk*, viii, 184; *Rev. Alex. Mathieson*, viii, 184.
Croix des Bouquets, battle of, viii, 282.
Croix, Marquis of, viii, 318.
Croix, Teodora de, viii, 318, 342.
Croly, Geo., *Edmund Burke*, vi; vii; viii, 503.
Cromot-Dubourg, *Journal*, viii, 467.
Cromwell, Oliver, iii; sends a force (1755) to the West Indies, viii, 273.
Crosby, Enoch, viii, 484.
Crosby, P. H., viii, 362.
Cross, D. W., on the Canadian rebellion, viii, 482.
Crowell, *Amer. Baptists*, vii, 487.
Crowninshield, B. W., papers, viii, 414.
Crozier, Capt. F. R. M., in the Arctic seas, viii, 89; autog., viii, 103.
Cruz, Gen., viii, 219.
Cuautla, siege of, viii, 221.
Cuba, early history, ii; histories of, viii, 272; lit. hist. and publications of, viii, 272; unusual shape of, in the Nordenskjöld gores, viii, 380. *See* West Indies.
Cuesta, N. F., *Viajero*, viii, 264.
Cuevas, J. F. de, *Mexico*, viii, 199.

Cullen, Edw., *Darien*, viii, 265.
Cumberland House, viii, 11.
Cumberland, Stuart, *Queen's Highway*, viii, 39.
Cuming, F., *Tour*, viii, 492.
Cunha, T. da, viii, 374.
Cunningham, Peter, edits Walpole, viii, 503.
Curtis, Geo. T., vii; *Webster*, viii, 437.
Curtis, T. F., *Baptist Principles*, viii, 487.
Cusco, early history, ii; audiencia at, viii, 319.
Cushing, Caleb, i; on Simon Bolivar, viii, 346.
Cushing, F. H., i; finds inscription in New Mexico, viii, 254.
Cushing, Thomas, vi; papers, viii, 429; seized, viii, 429; portrait, viii, 429, 432.
Custana, viii, 382.
Cutari, revolt of, in Upper Peru, viii, 344.
Cutter, Chas. A., cataloguer, i; vii; viii, 475, 476.
Cutts, J. M., *Conquest of California*, viii, 260.
Cutts, Lord, viii, 437.
Cuyo, viii, 315.

D'Anville, map of West Indies, viii, 281. *See* Maps.
D'Avezac, ii; iii; iv; *L'Espoir de Honfleur*, viii, 374; *Sur Brésil*, viii, 350; controversy with Varnhagen, viii, 350.
Dahlgren, C. B., *Historic Mines of Mexico*, viii, 193.
Dalhousie, Lord, governor of Canada, viii, 156.
Dallas, R. C., *Maroons*, viii, 279.
Dalmas, *Rev. de St. Domingue*, viii, 285.
Dalrymple, Alex., on the bibliog. of the Rio de la Plata, viii, 358.
Dalton, H. G., *Brit. Guiana*, viii, 366.
Dalton, Wm., *Travels*, viii. 493.
Dambrini, viii, 244.
Dampier, Capt. Wm., his career, viii, 238; bibliog., viii, 252; on the Pacific coast, viii, 205, 206; *New Voyage*, viii, 257; South American map, viii, 342.
Dana, Francis, vii; papers, viii, 429; corresp. with Ostermann, viii, 429; letter-books, 429; on the condition of the army at Valley Forge, viii, 502.
Dana, R. H., *Two Years before the Mast*, viii, 231, 259.
Dancing of the Central American nations, viii, 233.
Danenhower, J. W., *Nar. of the Jeannette*, viii, 129.
Darby, W., *Tour*, viii, 493.
Darien, ii; Scots at, viii, 239, 240, 241, 265; maps of the isthmus, viii, 240; bibliog., viii, 265.
Dartmouth, Earl of, vi; letters, viii, 460; papers, viii, 461; journal, viii, 463, 477.
Darusmont, F., *Soc. in America*, viii, 493.
Datorne, Count, viii, 353.
Dauncey, John, *Portugal*, viii, 372.
David, L. O., *Les patriotes*, viii, 180; *Biographies*, etc., viii, 185; *Cartier*, viii, 186.
Davidson, Prof. Geo., on the Pacific landfalls, viii, 257; *Voyages on the N. W. Coast*, viii, 257.
Davidson, L. M., life by C. M. Sedgwick, viii, 475.
Davie, W. R., life by F. M. Hubbard, viii, 475.
Davies, C. S., viii, 433.
Davies, John, *Caribby Islands*, viii, 271.
Dávila, a Mexican monarchist, viii, 225.
Davila, G. G., *Teatro*, viii, 249.
Davila Padilla, A, *Santiago de México*, viii, 249.
Dávilla, P., on the So. Amer. coast, viii, 375.
Davin, N. F., *Irishman in Canada*, viii, 183.
Davis, A. McF., v; vi; on the *Impartial Hist.*, viii, 500.
Davis, Admiral C. H., viii, 129.
Davis, C. H. S., *Wallingford*, viii, 444.
Davis, James (North Carolina), viii, 457.
Davis, John, iii; *Worldes hydrograph. Desc.*, viii, 258.
Davis, John, on Josiah Quincy, viii, 435.
Davis, John (1798), *Travels*, viii, 492.
Davis, N. D., *Barbadoes*, viii, 290.
Davis, Robt. T., viii, 438.
Davis, W. H. H., ii; *Spaniards in Mexico*, viii, 254.
Davis, W. J., viii, 496.
Davis, W. M., viii, 197.
Davis's Straits, maps (1610), ii; (1662), viii, 3; (1722), viii, 26; (1748), viii, 27; (1666), viii, 105; (1700, 1703), viii, 106, 107.
Davity, *Monde*, viii, 258.
Dawson, H. B., vi; vii; viii, 447; uses Gen. Wayne's papers, viii, 452; on the charges against Jos. Reed, viii, 479; *Battles of the U. S.*, viii, 480; memoir and portrait, viii, 480; *Hist. Mag.*, viii, 480; on the Methodists in the Amer. Rev., viii, 486; *Gleanings*, viii, 496.
Dawson, S. J., *Red River Exped.*, viii, 79.
Day, C. N., *Pioneers*, viii, 183; *Eastern Townships*, viii, 183.
D'Esnambuc, P. B., viii, 252, 307; died, viii, 307.
D'Estaing, vi; correspondence, viii, 466; papers, viii, 466.
De Berdt, Dennis, agent of Mass., vi; viii, 427; letters, viii, 427.
De Bow, J. D. B., *Industrial Resources*, viii, 494.
De Fonte theories, ii; viii, 108, 110.
De Grasse, Comte de, vi; vii; correspondence, viii, 466.
De Haven, E. J., in the Arctic seas, viii, 95; his *Report*, viii, 122.
De Kalb, vi; vii; letters on his mission to America (1768), viii, 465.
DeLancy, E. F., vi; edits Clinton's secret service records, viii, 463; edits Jones' *N. Y. during the Rev. War*, viii, 501.
De Long, Capt., *Voyage of the Jeannette* (by his widow), viii, 129; its map, viii, 130.
De Neuville, on the records of the French legation, viii, 466.
De Peyster. *See* Peyster.
De Pradt, D. Dafour, v; *Colonies*, viii, 366; *Europe and America*, viii, 366.
De Roos, F. F., on Canada, viii, 179.
De Rossy at Tortuga, viii, 280.
De la Place at Tortuga, viii, 280.
De la Warre, Earl, iii; papers, viii, 460.
Dealy Island, viii, 97.
Dean, J. W., iii; edits Tuttle's *Mason*, viii, 190.
Deane, Chas., i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; on the rise of slavery in the West Indies among the English, viii, 208; edits W. S. Johnson's letters, viii, 443; on Geo. Livermore, viii, 484; on Phillis Wheatley, viii, 496.
Deane, Silas, vi; vii; corresp., viii, 444; *Case of Silas Deane*, viii, 444; address to Congress, viii, 444; agent to France, viii, 444; his accounts, viii, 444; *Paris Papers*, viii, 444; relations with Arthur Lee, viii, 455.
Dearborn, Henry, vi; vii; papers, viii, 429; MSS., military journals, viii, 430, 431; MS. journal at Saratoga, viii, 431; journal of the Kennebec exped., viii, 431; of the Sullivan exped., viii, 431; in the war of 1812, viii, 146.
Dearborn, Gen. H. A. S., papers, viii, 429.
Dease, Peter W., his Arctic journey, viii, 35, 119; map of his discovery, viii, 119.
Debrett, viii, 499.
Decatur, Stephen, vii; life by Mackenzie, viii, 475.
Deerfield, Mass., v; Memorial Hall, viii, 427.
Defouri, J. H., *Church in New Mexico*, viii, 254.
Del Cano, ii; his return in the "Victoria," viii, 382.
Delaware, archæology, i; early hist., iii; v; Revolutionary history, vi; vii; Archives, viii, 413, 452; carried off by the British, viii, 452; Sparks copies some, viii, 452; Delaware Reg. in the Rev., viii, 452; Council, viii, 452. *See* United States.
Demarcation, line of, ii; iv (*see* Alexander VI); established the right of Portugal to Brazil, viii, 371; position of the line of, in question, viii, 383.
Demerara confirmed to the English, viii, 366.
Denis, F., *Une Fête Brésilienne*, viii, 349; ed. Yves d'Evereux, i, vii, 351; *Guyanne*, viii, 386; *Tabac en France*, viii, 392.
Denis, Jean, iv; on the Brazil coast, viii, 374.
Denmark, relations with the United States, vii.
Dennison, Fred., *Westerly*, viii, 440.
Denny, Maj. Eben., *Journal*, viii, 485.
Dent, J. C., *Forty Years of Canada*, viii, 173, 186; *Canadian portrait gallery*, viii, 174, 185; *Upper Canadian Rebellion*, viii, 181.
Depon, François, *Voyage*, viii, 346.
Derby, E. H., vi; viii, 438.
Derby, J. C., *Fifty Years*, viii, 477.
Derham, W., viii, 266.
Descourtily, M. E., *St. Domingue*, viii, 285
Desmarquets, iv; *Dieppe*, viii, 374.
Desnoyers, Abbé, viii, 466.
Dessalines in St. Domingo, viii, 286; governor-general, viii, 286; portrait, viii, 287; becomes Jacques I, viii, 287; shot, viii, 287.
Dessalles, A., *Antilles*, viii, 272.
Detroit, iv, v, vi, vii; affairs at (1777), viii, 465.
Devens, Richard, vi; letters, viii, 435.
Devine, Thomas, viii, 65.
Dewees, Samuel, viii, 485.
Dewey, Orville, viii, 487.
Dexter, F. B., iii; v; edits Doggett correspondence, viii, 444.
Dexter, H. M., iii; v; *Congregationalism*, viii, 487.
Dexter, Samuel, vi; vii; viii, 432.
Diamond-fields in Brazil, viii, 356.
Diario de Lima, viii, 314.
Diaz, J. D., *Rebelion de Caracas*, viii, 367.
Diaz, R., *Venezuela*, viii, 367.
Diccionario Univ. de Hist. y de Geog., viii, 248.
Dickinson, John, vi; vii; letters, viii, 436; conduct of, viii, 451; a speech against independence given to him in Botta, viii, 507.
Diego Ramirez islands, viii, 297.
Dillwyn, Wm., letters, viii, 450.
Dilworth, H. W., viii, 251.
Dinwiddie, Gov., v; papers, viii, 455.
Discoverers: *The Ancients.* In general, i; their possible knowledge of America, and the supposed references to a western world in Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, Virgil, etc., i, ii; the views of the ancient geographers, Eratosthenes, Ptole-

my, Strabo, etc., i, ii; the Sea of Darkness, i, ii; the later views of Pierre d'Ailly, Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Toscanelli, etc., ii. Hanno and the Carthaginians, i.
The Basques and Biscayans, i.
The Chinese and Fousang, i; ii.
The Dutch, i, iii, iv; under Hudson, i, iii, iv; in South America, viii; Van Noort, viii, 401; Schouten, viii, 410.
The English and Americans, their explorations and claims, iii, v, vii, viii; the discoveries of Sir George Back, viii; Wm. Baffin, iii; F. W. Beechey, viii; John and Sebastian Cabot, i, ii, iii, iv; Jonathan Carver, ii, iv, v, vi, vii; Capt. R. Collinson, viii; Capt. James Cook, ii, viii; John Davis, i, iii; Dease and Simpson, viii; E. J. De Haven, viii; Capt. De Long, viii; Sir Francis Drake, i, ii, iii, vii; Sir John Franklin, viii; Martin Frobisher, iii; Sir Humphrey Gilbert, iii; A. W. Greely, viii; C. F. Hall, viii; H. J. Hartstein, viii; Sir John and Sir Richard Hawkins, i, ii, iii; I. I. Hayes, viii; Samuel Hearne, viii; Capt. Thomas James, i, iii, v; E. K. Kane, viii; Henry Kelsey, viii; Lewis and Clark, vii; Alexander Mackenzie, vii, viii; F. L. McClintock, viii; R. M. McClure, viii; A. H. Markham, viii; Sir John Narborough, viii, 442; Sir G. S. Nares, viii; Sherard Osborn, viii; W. E. Parry, viii; Capt. W. Penny, viii; Martin Pring, iii; John Rae, viii; Sir Walter Raleigh, ii, iv; Sir John Richardson, viii; James C. Ross, viii; John Ross, viii; William Scoresby, viii; Thomas Simpson, viii; Capt. Geo. Vancouver, ii, vii, viii; Capt. George Waymouth, iii, iv; Col. Wood, viii; Allen Young, viii.
The French. Early Bretons and Normans on the coast, iv; French discoverers in general, iv; in South America, viii; the various discoveries of Allefonsce, ii, iv; Bienville, v; Jacques Cartier, ii, iii, iv; Champlain, i, iii, iv, v, vii, viii; Jean Cousin, iv; De Gonneville viii, 374; Jean Denys, iv, viii, 374; D'Iberville, iv, v; Du Lhut, iv; Jean Florin, iv; Grosseilliers, iv, viii; Hennepin, ii, iv, v; Joliet, iv; Joutel, iv; La Franche, viii; Lahontan, iv, v; La Salle, ii, iii, iv, v, vii; Marquette, iv, v; Jean Nicolet, iv; André Thevet, i, iii, iv; Henri de Tonti, ii, v; Vérendrye, iv, v; Verrazano, ii, iii, iv, viii, 384.
German. Hans Stade, viii, 391.
The Hindoos, i, 371, 372.
The Jews and Canaanites, i, viii.
The Northmen, i, ii; occupy Iceland, i, ii, iii; Greenland, i, ii, iii, iv; under Eric the Red and others, i; reach Vinland, i; and Ireland the Great, i; as detailed in the Sagas, i.
The Portuguese, early on the coast, i, ii, iv; under the Cortereals, etc., i, ii, iii, iv; in South America, viii; Coelho, viii, 373.
The Russians, under Behring and others, ii, viii; in California, viii.
The Spaniards, ii, iii, iv, viii; restrained by the Bull of Demarcation, ii, iii, iv; Congress of Badajos, ii, iii, iv; led in explorations by Ayllon, iv; Balbóa, ii, iii; Boenechea, viii, 314; Cabral, viii, 371; Cabrillo, ii, iii, vii, viii; Camargo, viii, 394; Columbus, i, ii; Coronado, ii; De Fonte and De Fuca (alleged), i, ii; Gomez, i, ii, iv, viii, 384; Magellan, i, ii, iii, viii; Maldonado (alleged), i, ii; Nodal, viii, 412; Orellana, ii, viii, 398; Pizarro, ii; the Pinzons, ii, viii, 374; De Soto, i, ii; J. D. Solis, viii, 375; ships "Sutil" and "Mexicana," ii, viii; Vespucius, i, ii; Viscaino, ii, viii.
The Welsh under Prince Madoc, etc., i, iii, v, viii.
The Zeni Story of a mariner from Finland, i; finding Estotiland, i, ii, iii, iv, and Drogeo, i, ii, iii, iv.
Dixon, *New America*, viii, 488; *Spiritual Wives*, viii, 488.
Dobbs, Arthur, v; *Countries adjoining Hudson's Bay*, viii, 68; controversy with Middleton, viii, 68; his map, 69.
Dobrizhoffer, M., *De Abiponibus*, viii, 360.
Doetechum, Johannes à, cartographer, viii. *See* Maps.
Doggett, David, correspondence, viii, 444.
Doheny, Michael, *Amer. Rev.*, viii, 501.
Dolores, revolt at, viii, 216.
Dominguez, Luis, *Hist. Argentina*, viii, 346.
Dominica (Dominique), viii, 290; held by the French, viii, 252. *See* West Indies.
Dominicans. *See* Religious Bodies.
Donaldson, Thomas, Mrs., viii, 435.
Donelson papers, viii, 458.
Doniol, vii; *Participation de la France à l'établissement des États Unis*, viii, 466, 506.
Donne, W. B., edits *George III.'s corresp. with North*, vii, viii, 463, 504.
Donop, Count, vi, viii, 479.
Doran, Dr., edits Walpole, viii, 503.
Dorchester, Lord, acc. of, viii, 174; papers, viii, 462. *See* Sir Guy Carleton.
Dorrego, Gen., viii, 362.
Dorvo-Soulastre, *Voyage*, viii, 288.
Douglas Harbor, viii, 27; view, viii, 28.
Doyle, J. A., v; *Maryland and the Carolinas*, viii, 457; *Amer. Colonies*, viii, 501.
Doyle, J. T., ii; viii, 260; criticises H. H. Bancroft, viii, 211; edits Palou, viii, 258.
Doyle, Wm., *Brit. Dominions*, viii, 112.
Drage, T. S., *Northwest Passage*, viii, 112.
Dragon's tail of Galvano, viii, 377.
Drake, Francis, at New Albion, ii; career, iii; his marauding voyages, viii, 195, 196; in the Pacific, viii, 233; allies with the Cimarrones, viii, 233; captures treasure, viii, 233; bullion secured at Cartagena, viii, 291; plans of his attack, viii, 291; *Expeditio*, viii, 291; *Sir Francis Drake revived*, viii, 291; sees Cape Horn, viii, 484.
Drake, F. S., *Knox*, viii, 433.
Drake, J. R., *Amer. Flag.*, viii, 484; *Croakers*, viii, 496.
Drake, S. G., i; ii; iii; v; on Gov. Hutchinson, viii, 433.
Drake's Bay (California), ii; viii, 257.
Draper, L. C., iii; v; vi; *autograph collections*, viii, 426; his MSS., viii, 459; on S. S. Forman, viii, 491.
Draper, Chief Justice (Canada), viii, 164.
Drayton, Jona., letters, viii, 421.
Drayton, John, vi; *Mem. Amer. Rev.*, viii, 458; *letters*, viii, 491.
Drayton, W. H., papers, viii, 457; died, viii, 457; portrait, viii, 458.
Dreer, F. J., viii, 453; his MSS., viii, 426.
Drexel, J. W., viii, 426.
Driesen, L., *Moritz von Nassau*, viii, 352.
Drouin-de-Bercy, *Jamaique*, viii, 279.
Drummond, Gen., viii, 147.
Du Calvet, Peter, case of, viii, 171.
Du Casse, leader of buccaneers, viii, 292; governor of San Domingo, viii, 292; attacked Jamaica, viii, 281.
Du Pradt, *St. Domingue*, viii, 289.
Du Simitière, vii; collects material for a history of the Amer. Rev., viii, 469.
Duane, Col. W., *Colombia*, viii, 367.
Duane, Wm., vii; edits Franklin, viii, 422; *Letters to B. Franklin*, viii, 424; edits Marshall's diary, viii, 451; *General Adventures*, viii, 397; translates Blanchard's journal, viii, 505.
Duarte, J. P., revolt of (St. Domingo), viii, 287.
Dubroca, Louis, *Toussaint*, viii, 286; *Dessalines*, viii, 287.
Dubuisson, P. U., *Rév. de l'Amèrique*, viii, 506.
Ducœur-Joly, *S. Domingue*, viii, 279.
Dudley, Jos., iii; v; letters, viii, 429; papers, viii, 437.
Dudley, *Arcano del Mare*, ii; iii; viii, 257; its MS., viii, 257.
Duer, Wm., papers, viii, 448.
Duer, Wm. A., *Stirling*, vi; viii, 448.
Dufey, P. J. S., *Resumé*, viii, 506.
Duflot du Mofras, E., *Oregon*, etc., viii, 259.
Dufour, viii, 200.
Dugast, Abbé, on the first women in the Red River region, viii, 184.
Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, viii, 259.
Dulany, Daniel, papers, viii, 454.
Dullaert, H., viii, 271.
Dumas, Comte Mathieu, *Souvenirs*, viii, 805.
Dumas, C. W. F., corresp., viii, 414.
Dumas, M., *Précis*, viii, 288.
Dummer, Jeremy, v; letters, viii, 429.
Duncan, David, *Voyage*, viii, 119.
Duncan, Francis, *Royal Artillery*, viii, 463, 562.
Duncan, John M., *Travels*, viii, 179, 493.
Dunkin, viii, 181.
Dunlap, John, printer, viii, 450.
Dunlop, Dr., viii, 148.
Dunlop, Maj., *Upper Canada*, viii, 179.
Dunmore, Lord, vi; in Va., viii, 455; letters, viii, 455; papers, viii, 462; instructions, viii, 462; correspondence, viii, 462.
Dunmore's war, viii, 458. *See* Military Events.
Dunn, John, *Oregon Territory*, vii; viii, 73.
Dunning, speeches in Parliament, viii, 499.
Dupetit-Thonars, *Mémoires*, viii, 467.
Durand, John, on the French Archives, viii, 466; *New Materials*, viii, 466.
Durham, Earl of, in Canada, viii, 161, 171, 181; his *Report*, viii, 181.
Duro, C. F., ii; *Colón y Pinzón*, viii, 369; on Cortes' Map of California, viii, 257; *Peñalosa*, viii, 253.
Durret, *Voyage*, viii, 310, 313.
Durrett, Col. R.T., MS. coll., viii, 458.
Dussieux, *Grands Faits*, viii, 374.
Dutch, the, explorers (*see* Discoverers); war with the Portuguese in Brazil, viii, 351; West India Co., bibliog., viii, 350. *See* Holland.
Duyckinck, E. A., *John Allan*, viii, 496; on Freneau, viii, 496; *Cy. Amer. lit.*, viii, 494.
Dwight, Theo. F., i; ii; iv; v; vi; vii; on the records of the Continental Congress, viii, 415; in charge of the Adams MSS., viii, 428
Dwight, Timothy, life by William Sprague, viii, 475; *Travels*, viii, 492; *Remarks on Inchiquin*, viii, 493.
Dwight, Timothy, poet, viii, 496.
Dwinelle, J. W., viii, 260.

EAGER, COL. JOHN, his mansion, viii, 489.
Earth, early notions of its shape, i; ii.
Earthquakes, iv; v; viii; at Lima and elsewhere, viii, 344.
Eastern Townships of Lower Canada, viii, 140, 182.
Eaton, Wm., vii; life by Felton, viii, 575.
Ebeling collection of Americana, i; viii, 475.
Eburne, Richard, *Newfoundland*, viii, 190.
Echávarri, Gen., viii, 226.
Echave y Assu, *Lima*, viii, 313.
Ecuador created, viii, 339; literature of, viii, 366. *See* South America.
Eddis, Wm., *Letters*, viii, 490.
Eddy, R., *Universalism*, viii, 487.
Eden, Gov. Wm. (Md.), viii, 453, 462; papers, viii, 462.
Edwards, Bryan, *West Indies*, ii; viii, 272, 279; *Maroon Negroes*, viii, 277, 279; *St. Domingo*, viii, 279.
Edwards, Jona., v; life by S. Nutter, viii, 475.
Edwards, *Men of Eminence*, viii, 504.
Eelking, Max von, vii; his collections, viii, 468, 477.
Egerton MSS., viii, 461.
Eggleston, Edw., v; minor histories of the U. S., viii, 482.
Egle, W. H., iii; v; vi; *Dauphin* and *Lebanon County*, viii, 450.
Egmont, Earl of, papers, viii, 460.
Ekins, Adm. Chas., *Naval Battles*, viii, 502.
Elder, *Life of Dr. Kane*, viii, 122.
Eldredge, Lieut. Chas., viii, 332.
Elgin, the Earl of, investigates the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 49; in Canada, viii, 166; life of, viii, 185.
Eliot, Andrew, vi; viii, 431; papers, viii, 476.
Eliot, John, i; iii; life by C. Francis, viii, 475.
Eliot, Jared, viii, 423.
Elizondo, viii, 220.
Ellery, Wanton, viii, 441.
Ellery, Wm., vi; papers, viii, 429, 441; life by E. T. Channing, viii, 475.
Ellet, Mrs. E. F., *Women of the Rev.*, viii, 488; *Domestic History Amer. Rev.*, viii, 488; *Queens of Amer. Soc.*, viii, 489.
Ellice, Edward, Rt. Hon., and the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 37, 44, 53, 54, 62.
Elliot, Andrew, collector of New York, viii, 460; his letters, 460.
Elliott, Charles Wyllys, iii; *St. Domingo*, viii, 286.
Ellis, Geo. E., i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; "The Hudson Bay Company," viii, p. i; on the Sparks-Mahon controversy, viii, 419; *Rumford*, viii, 433; on Gov. Hutchinson, viii, 433; on C. W. Upham, viii, 434; *Capt. John Mason*, viii, 475; *Anne Hutchinson*, viii, 475; *Wm. Penn*, viii, 475; *Unitarian Controversy*, viii, 487.
Ellis, Henry, *Voyage to Hudson Bay*, viii, 69, 112; *North West Passage*, viii, 112.
Ellsworth, Oliver, vii, letters, viii, 443.
Elvas, congress of, ii; viii, 383. *See* Badajos.
Elwyn, A. L., viii, 420, 439.
Ely, Mrs. W. D., viii, 426.
Emerson, R. W., viii, 487; on Brook Farm, viii, 488.
Emlen, Susanna, viii, 450.
Emmet, Thomas Addis (the elder), as orator, viii, 485.
Emmet, Dr. T. A., his MSS., viii, 426, 430, 448, 455, 463.
Empáran, viii, 220.
Empoli, G. da, viii, 375.
Encomiendas, ii; viii, 192.
Engel, Samuel, ii; *Mémoires*, viii, 112; other books, viii, 112; *Neuer Versuch*, viii, 117.
England, her American explorations, iii; viii; her colonies, i; iii; v; vi; in Guiana, viii, 366; her ideas of colonization, vi, 687; prerogative of the king, vi; her navy, vi, vii; Triple Alliance, iii; relations with the United States, vi, vii; histories touching the Amer. Rev., viii, 503; *Pictorial History*, viii, 504; forces and losses in the Amer. Rev., viii, 502; character of her officers, viii, 502; drawing of a grenadier, viii, 502.
  Relations of Parliament to her No. Amer. colonies, vi; several acts of Parliament: Conciliatory Act, vii; Declaratory Act, vi; Grenville Act, vi; Molasses Act, vi; Mutiny Act, vi; Navigation laws, iii, v, vi; Orders in Council, vii; Quebec Act, vi; Sugar Act, v, vi; Townshend Acts, vi; Trade, acts of, vi.
  Relations with Spanish America, viii; offers to mediate between Spain and her colonies, viii, 324; interest in California, viii, 231; acquires rights of trade in the West Indies by the treaty of Utrecht, viii, 307; sends troops to Venezuela, viii, 334; invades La Plata, viii, 360; interposition in South America, viii, 366.
  Historical Sources: Archives, viii, 459; State Paper Office, viii, 459; Public Record Office, viii, 459, 464; Master of the Rolls, viii, 459; *Calendar of State Papers*, viii, 459; sources of the Commonwealth period, viii, 459; of Charles II, viii, 459; of George III, viii, 459; Treasury papers, viii, 459; Colonial papers, viii, 459; Henry VIII, viii, 459; Elizabeth, viii, 459; genealogies, viii, 459; Royal Hist. MSS. Commission, viii, 460; its *Reports*, viii, 460; House of Lords MSS., viii, 460; Lords of Trade papers, viii, 462; papers in the War Office, viii, 464; Brit. Museum, viii, 464; spirit of her periodicals respecting the United States, viii, 498, 499; House of Lords Journal, viii, 499; debates secret, viii, 499; private records of them, viii, 499; the press finally allowed to report debates, viii, 499; French version, *Discussions importantes*, viii, 499; extracts by Roubaud, viii, 499; *Hist. Records* of her regiments, viii, 502.
  Relations of historical characters to the English Colonies and to the United States:—
  Ashburton, Lord, vii. Ashurst, Sir Henry, v, 107. Ashurst, Sir Wm., v, 107, 111.
  Bacon, Francis, iii. Barré, Isaac, v, vi, vii, viii. Brougham, Henry, Lord, vii. Burke, Edmund, v, vi, vii, viii.
  Camden, Lord, vi, vii. Canning, George, vii. Chatham, *see* Pitt, Wm. Cobbett, Wm., vii, viii. Conway, Gen. H. S., vi, vii, viii.
  Dartmouth, Earl of, vi; viii. Downing, Sir Geo., iii.
  Eden, Wm., vi; vii; viii.
  Fox, C. J., vi; vii; viii.
  George I, v. George II of England, v; vi. George III, vi; vii; viii. Germain, Lord Geo., vii; viii. Gibbon, Edw., vii. Grenville, Geo., vi; vii; viii. Grenville, Thomas, vii.
  Hillsborough, Earl of, vi. Hollis, Thomas, vi; viii.
  Johnson, Dr. Samuel, vi; vii.
  Locke, John, v.
  Mansfield, Lord, vi.
  North, Lord, vi; vii; viii.
  Oswald, Richard, vii.
  Pakenham, Gen., vii. Pitt, Wm. (Chatham), v; vi; vii; viii. Pitt, Wm. (the younger), vii. Price, Dr. Richard, vi; vii. Priestley, Jos., vii.
  Rockingham ministry, vi; vii.
  Shelburne, Earl, vi; vii; viii. Smith, Adam, vi. Smollett, Tobias, v; viii. Stormont, Lord, vii.
  Townsend, Chas., v; vi. Tucker, Dr. Josiah, vi, vii.
  Vernon, Admiral, v; viii.
  Warwick, Earl of, iii. Watts, Isaac, v. Wilkes, John, vi; viii. William and Mary, v.
English discoverers. *See* Discoverers.
Enos, Roger, vi; viii, 443.
Ericeyra, Conde da. *See* Menerez.
Ermatinger, E., on Col. Talbot, viii, 180.
Escalante, *Carta*, viii, 253.
Escandon, Juan de, *Paraguay*, viii, 360.
Escholtz Bay, viii, 87.
Eskimos, i; Arctic explorers on the, viii, 118. *See* Indians.
Esmangart, C., *Colonies Françaises*, viii, 286.
"Esmeralda," frigate, cut out by Cochrane, viii, 334.
Espinosa, I. F. de, *Chron. Apostolica*, viii, 249.
Espoz y Mina, viii, 223. *See* Mina, F. J.
Esquemeling. *See* Exquemelin.
Essequibo River, viii, 363; Essequibo region confirmed to the English, viii, 366.
Estaing, Comte d', vi; an officer of his fleet gives an acc., viii, 506.
Estotiland, i; viii, 105.
Estrada, A. F., *Spain and her Amer. Colonies*, viii, 366.
Estrées, Comte d', viii, 364.
Evans, A. S., *A la California*, viii, 260.
Everett, A. H., i; ii; vii; *Patrick Henry*, viii, 455, 475; *Joseph Warren*, viii, 475.
Everett, Edw., i; iii; v; vi; vii; on Washington's letters, viii, 420; papers, viii, 437; on Gouv. Morris, viii, 447; *John Stark*, viii, 475.
Everett, R. P., viii, 442.
Everett, Sydney, viii, 506.
Everett, Dr. Wm., i; viii, 437.
Ewald, *Sir Robert Walpole*, viii, 244.
Explorations. *See* Discoverers.
Exquemelin, A. O., *Zee-Roovers*, viii, 250; translations, viii, 250.
Eyzaguirre, J. I. V., *Chili*, viii, 347.

FAJARDO, M. P., *Rev. in So. America*, viii, 366.
Fajaro, Juan, viii, 351.
Falhernas, P. T., his map, viii, 412.
Falke, Johannes, *Gesch. des Deutschen Handels*, viii, 381.
Falkland, Viscount, viii, 165, 188.
Falkland Islands, viii, 358.
Family Compact (Canada), viii, 151; splits in, viii, 158; triumphant, viii, 160; responsible for the Rebellion of 1837, viii, 161.
Fancourt, C. St. J., *Yucatan*, viii, 261.
Farcy, General, viii, 142.
Farias, viii, 228.
Faribault, i; iv; his use of the French archives, viii, 465.
Farnham, *California*, viii, 259.
Fauchet, on Franklin, viii, 422.
Faulkner, B. R., viii, 88.
Faux, W., *Days in America*, viii, 493.
Favier, J. L., letters, viii, 466.
Fearon, H. B., *Journey*, viii, 493.
Felton, C. C., *Life of Wm. Eaton*, viii, 375.
Fencible Regiment in Canada, viii, 142.

Fenety, G. E., *New Brunswick*, viii, 177.
Fenians, viii, 169.
Fenno, John, vii; *Gazette*, viii, 497.
Fenwick, John, iii; papers, viii, 449.
Fer, Nic. de, map of California, viii, 254. *See* Maps.
Ferdinand VII (Spain), portrait, viii, 224.
Fergus, Henry, on U. S. history, viii, 504.
Feria y Morales, B. S., on Solano, viii, 368.
Ferland, Abbé, iv; *Canada*, viii, 172.
Fermin, Philip, *Surinam*, viii, 365; *Tableau Historique*, viii, 365.
Fernandez, Duarte, viii, 391.
Fernandez, J. P., *Missiones*, viii, 360.
Fernow, Berthold, iv; v; vii; viii, 445.
Ferrand, Gen., viii, 287; portrait, viii, 288.
Ferrault, J. F., viii, 173.
Ferrelo, landfall on the California coast, ii; viii, 257.
Field, Thomas W., i; edits Garden's *Amer. Rev.*, viii, 474.
Figueroa, *Manifesto*, viii, 259.
Filibusters, viii, 250. *See* Buccaneers.
Finlayson, Roderick, viii, 80.
Fisher, Alex., *Journal*, viii, 117.
Fisher, Elijah, journal, viii, 485.
Fishery disputes of the U. S. and Canada, vii; viii, 167; in the American diplom. corresp., viii, 414.
Fitch, John, vii; papers, viii, 450; autobiog., viii, 450; life by C. Whittlesey, viii, 475.
Fitton, *Cath. Chh. in N. E.*, viii, 486.
Fitzgerald, J. E., *Hudson's Bay Co.*, viii, 74, 80, 184.
Fitzjames, Capt. James, on the Arctic Seas, viii, 89; autog., viii, 103.
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond, vii; on the Shelburne papers, viii, 460; *Life of Shelburne*, viii, 460, 503.
Fitzwilliam, Earl, viii, 503.
Fleckno, Richard, *Travells*, viii, 354.
Fleming, John, *Canada*, viii, 173.
Fletcher, Ebenezer, *Narrative*, viii, 485.
Flint, Austin, on the Medical and Sanitary progress of the U. S., viii, 482, 488.
Flint, J., *Letters*, viii, 493.
Flint, Tim., *Recoll.*, viii, 493.
Flinter, Maj. Geo., *Rev. in Caracas*, viii, 367.
Flon, Gen., viii, 220.
Florencia, Fr. de, *Compañia de Jesus*, viii, 249.
Flores, Gen., viii, 340.
Florida Blanca, vii; viii, 356; correspondence, viii, 468.
Florida, Archæology, i; early history, ii; iv; v; relations with the U. S., vii; Spaniards in, viii, 194; Ponce de Leon's route to, viii, 276.
Flota service of Spain, viii, 209.
Flower, Geo., *English settlement in Illinois*, viii, 493.
Flower, Richard, *Letters*, viii, 493.
Floyd, Thomas, viii, 129.
Fogg, J. S. H., his MSS., viii, 426.
Fonseca, viii, 376; *Real Hacienda*, viii, 260.
Fonseca, M. da, *Belchior de Pontes*, viii, 356.
Font, viii, 212.
Foote, H. W., *King's Chapel*, viii, 487.
Forbes, Alexander, *California*, viii, 260.
Force, Peter, i; ii; iii; vi; vii; *Grinnell Land*, viii, 122; *Supplement*, viii, 122; collects historical material, viii, 412; *Amer. Archives*, viii, 425; his career, viii, 425; *Report on the Doc. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 425; his library and collections bought by Congress, viii, 425; dies, viii, 425; portrait, viii, 425; Spofford's report on Force's papers, viii, 426.
Ford, Gordon L., collections, viii, 446.
Ford, H. C., *Franciscan Missions*, viii, 258.
Ford, Paul L., v; vi; vii; viii, 415; on South American bibliog., viii, 342; bibliog. of the Continental Congress, viii, 415; *Bibliog. of Franklin*, viii, 422, 424; on the *L'Affaires de l'Angleterre*, viii, 498.
Ford, W. C., *Washington*, viii, 419; on Sparks's ed., viii, 419; on Madison papers, viii, 421; on the Pickering papers, viii, 434.
Forlani, Paulo di, map, viii, 398, 400. *See* Maps.
Forman, S. S., *Narrative*, viii, 491.
Forster, J. G., *Gesch. der Reisen*, viii, 106.
Forster, J. R., *Magazin*, viii, 491.
Forsyth, Capt. C. C., in the Arctic Seas, viii, 95.
Forts, including fortified towns, regions, etc. *See also* Military Events.
Adams, vii; Alden (Cherry Valley), vi, 666; Amistigoyan, iv, 258; Ancient, i, vii, 408; Andros, v, 181; Anne (N. Y.), v; vi, 297; Anson, v, 187; Argyle (Georgia), v; Arnold (West Point), vi; Assumption, l', v, 82; Augusta, v.
Baker's, vii, 456; Ball (Sandusky River), vii; Barrington, v; Beaufort (S. C.), v, 332; Beauharnois, v; vii; Beauséjour, v; Bedford, v; vi; Beversrede, iv, 402, 464; Boccachique, viii, 243; Boulaix, v, 41; Bourbon, viii, 28; Bowyer, vii; Box (Brooklyn), vi; Bourbon, viii, 29; Brewerton, vi; Brooke, vii; Brookline, Mass., vi; Brooklyn Heights, vi; Brown, vii; Bonesborough, vi, 715, 716; Brownstown, vii, 454; Bull, v; Byrd, v.
Canso, v; Carillon, iv, 119 (*see* Tyconderoga); Caroline, ii; Carr's, v, 375; Cartagena, viii, 243; Casimir, iv; Castine, Me., vii, 458; Castle William (Boston), vi; Chamblée, vi; vii; Charles, iv, 227; Charlesfort, ii; Charleston, S. C., vi; Charlestown, Mass., vi; Chartres, i; v; vi, 316; Cherokee country, v; Chicago, iv, 231; Christina, iv; Churchill, viii, 30, 72; Clatsop, vii; Clark, vi; Clinton, v; vi; Clinton (West Point), vi; Constitution (Hudson River), vi; Constitution Island (Hudson River), vi; Cornwallis (Augusta, Ga.), vi; Cook, v, 134; Crèvecœur, iv; v, 566; Crown Point, v, 537; Cumberland (Acadia), v, 452, 453; viii, 464; Cumberland (Maine), v; Cumberland (Md.), v.
Dayton (German Flats), vi; Dearborn, vii; Defiance (Long Island), vi; Defiance (Ohio), vii; Detroit, vi; viii; Diego, v; Dillie's, vii, 456; Douglas (Red River), viii, 40, 41, 45, 46; Duane, vii; Dummer, v; Duquesne, i, 310; v; vii.
Edward, v; vi; Elfsborg, iv, 462, 478; Erie, vi; vii; viii, 147.
Findlay, vii; François, v; Frederick, v, 509; vi; Frederick (Albany), v; Frederick (Me.), v, 181; Frederick (Md.), v; Freeland's, vi, 639; Frog's Neck, vi; Frontenac, iv; v.
Gage, vi; Galphin, vi; Garry, viii, 38, 39, 46; Gemesic, v, 476; George, v, 536; George (Georgia), v; George (Lake George), v; George (New York), iv, 411; vi; vii, 332; George (Niagara River), vii; George (S. C.), v; Gibraltar (Manitoba), viii, 40, 41, 46; Gower, vii; Granby, vi; Grant, ii, 482; Gratiot, vii; Greenville, vii; Grierson, vi; Griswold (Conn.), vi.
Halifax, v; Hamilton, vii; Hardy, vi; Harmar, vii; Harrison, vii; Heath (Mass.), v, 187; Henry (Wheeling), vi; Herkomer, v; Hope, iv, 401; Hunter, vi.
Illinois River, v; Independence (N. Y.), vi; Independence (Hudson River), vi; Industry, vii; Isle aux Noix, v, 539.
Jackson, vii; James (New York), iv, 313; James, v; Jefferson (Mississippi River), vi; Jefferson (Ohio), vii; Johnson, vi; Johnson (James Island), vi; Johnson (N. C.), vi; Juandot, vii.
Kennebec, v, 151, 181, 182; Kentucky, vi; King, vii; King George, v; Kingston, vi, 664; Knyphausen (Fort Washington), vi.
La Presentation, v; La Tourette, iv, 189, 229, 230; Laramie, vii; Laurens, vii; Lawrence, v, 451–53; Lazaro, Luis, iv, 37; Lebœuf, v; vi; vii; Leavenworth, vii; Lee, vi; Lévis, v; Ligonier, v; vi; Littleton, v; Logan, vi; Loudon, v; Louis, ii; v; Loyal, iv, 159, 352; Lyman, v.
Madison (Mississippi River), vii; Massac, vi; Massachusetts, v; McArthur, vii; McHenry, vii; viii, 484; McIntosh, vii; viii, 451; Meigs, vii; Mercer, vi; Miami, v, 559; vii; Michilimackinac, v, 559, 566; vi; Mifflin, vi; Miller, vi; Mims, vii; Montgomery, vi; Moore, v; Moritz (Brazil), viii, 353; Morrisania, vi; 561; Motte, vi; Moultrie, vi; Mud Island (Delaware River), vi.
Narragansett Bay, v, 142; vi; Nassau, iii, 422; iv; Natchez, v. 66, 82; Necessity, v; Nelson, iv, 259; viii, 8; New England, v; New Haven, vii, 458; New London, vii, 458; New York, vii, 458; Newcastle (Del.), v; Niagara, v; vi; vii; Nicholson (N. Y.), v; No. 4, v; Nya Korsholm, iv, 462, 473.
Ohio River, v; Ontario (Oswego), v, vi; Orange, iii, 390; Orange (Albany), iv; Orleans, v, 55; Oswego, vii; Ouatanon, vi.
Pelham, v; Pelham (Mass.), v, 187; Pemaquid, v; Penobscot River, v, 183; Pepperrell (Oswego), v; Philadelphia, vii; Phœnix, vii; Pinto, ii, 549; Piqua, vii; Pitt, v; vi; viii, 451; Pittsburg, v; Pontchartrain (Detroit), v; Pontchartrain (La.), v; Pownall, v, 183; Presqu'isle, vi; Prince George, Prince of Wales, viii, 16, 30, 31, 71; Providence, R. I., vi, 593; Prudhomme, iv, 200, 225; Putnam, vi.
Quebec, iv; v; vi.
Recovery, vii; Redstone, vii, 456; Richelieu, iv; Richmond, v, 181; Rosalie, v, 47; Ross, viii, 229; Rouge, viii, 46; Rouillé (Toronto), v; Roxbury, Mass , vi; Rutledge, vi.
Salem (Mass.), vii, 458; Sandusky, vi; San Francisco (Olinda), viii, 351; Saratoga, v; Schenectady, v; Schlosher, vii; Schlosser, v, vi; Schuyler, v, vii; Seneca, vii; Shirley (Mass.), v, 187; Shirley (Me.), v, 181; Shirley (Va.), v; Sorel, v; St. Andrews (Cumberland island), v, 375; St. Clair, vii; St. Francis (Florida), v; St. Frederick (Crown Point), v; St. Frederick (Saratoga), v, 487; St. George (Olinda), viii, 351; St. George, v; St. George's (Ga.), v, 382; St. Jean, v; St. John (Sorel River), vi; St. Joseph's, vi, vii;

St. Louis, v, 66, 70; St. Louis (Illinois), v; St. Louis (Quebec), v; St. Mary's, vii; St. Pierre (Martinique), viii, 290; St. Thérèse, v; Stanwix, v, vi, vii; Stephenson, vii; Steuben, vii; Stirling (Long Island), vi; Stonington (Conn.), vii, 458; Sullivan (Tioga River), vi; Susquehanna River, v, 80.
Ticonderoga, v, vi; Toulouse, v, 29; Trinity, iv; Trumbull (Conn.), vi; Tryon, vi.
Valley Forge, vi; Valparaiso, viii, 340; Venango, v, vi; Viger Jacques, v, 619; Vincennes, vi.
Washington, vi; Washington (Cinn.), vii; Washington (Potomac), vii; Watson, vi; Wayne, vii; West Point, vi; Western (Augusta, Me.), v, 181; vi, 163; Willem Hendrick, v, 408; Williams, v; William (Lake Superior), viii, 11, 37, 78; William (Cumberland Island), v; William (Castle), near Boston, v, 108; William Henry (Me.), v, 181; William Henry (N. Y.), v, 186; William and Mary (Portsmouth, N. H.), vi, 117; Winchester, vii; Winter Hill (near Boston), vi.
York, viii, 16, 30.
Foster, Nicholas, *Barbadoes*, viii, 290.
Foster, Theodore, papers, viii, 442.
Foster, W. E., v; vi; vii; *S. Hopkins*, viii, 442.
Fousang, i; viii, 110, 111.
Fowler, W. C., *Durham*, viii, 444.
Fox, C. J., vi; vii; speeches in Parliament, viii, 499; papers, viii, 460.
France. Archæological studies in, i; her explorers (*see* Discoverers), her American colonies, i, iv, v, vi, viii; encroachments on the English colonies, viii, 132; in the West Indies, viii; in Rupert's Land, viii, 25, 28, 32, 69; relations with the United States, vii; influence of her Revolution on the United States; of Napoleon, vii; relations to the Armed Neutrality, vii; to the Family Compact, vi; vii; to the Holy Alliance, vii; émigrés in Canada, viii, 142; receives commercial concessions from Spain as respects the West Indies, viii, 206; invades Mexico, and captures Vera Cruz, viii, 229; watching California, viii, 237; compagnie de commerce, viii, 252; in West Indies (*see* West Indies); sends a colony to Rio de Janeiro, viii, 391; archives, viii, 465, 477.
Relations of prominent characters to the English Colonies and to the United States: — Adet, vii; Beaumarchais, vii; viii; Choiseul, vi; Colbert, iv; D'Anville, adm., v; Destouches, vi; Fauchet, vii; Genet, vi; vii; viii; Gérard, vii; viii; Henry IV, iv; Laudonière, ii; iii; v; Luzerne, vii, viii; Marbois, vii; Rayneval, vii; Ribault, ii; Talleyrand, vii; Turgot, vii; Vergennes, vii.
Franchère, Gabriel, *Voyage*, viii, 76.
Francia, Dr. J. G. R. de, accounts of, viii, 360; in Paraguay, viii, 341, 360.
Francis, Convers, *Life of John Eliot*, viii, 475; *Seb Rale*, viii, 475.
Francis, J. W., *Old New York*, v; viii, 471; on Gouv. Morris, viii, 447.
Franciscans. *See* Religious Bodies.
Franck, Seb., ii; *Weltbuch*, viii, 389.
François, Jean, viii, 285.
Francy, letters, viii, 466.
Frankfort Globe, viii, 377. *See* Maps.
Franklin, Dr. Benj., i; his early career, v; in the Revolution, vi; vii; later career, vii; his interest in the Northwest Passage question, viii, 81; movements to recall him from France, viii, 414; papers acquired by H. Stevens, viii, 421; other papers, viii; 421; various eds. of his *Writings*, viii, 421, 422; hist. of the *Autobiography*, viii, 421, 422; the English government charged with suppressing papers, viii, 421; *Private Correspondence*, viii, 422; Sparks's ed., viii, 422; French eds., viii, 422; Robinson's ed., viii, 422; *Private Life*, viii, 422; Bigelow's ed. of the *Autobiog.*, viii, 423; bibliog., viii, 423, 424; *Works on Franklin in Boston Pub. Library*, viii, 423, 424; Bigelow's *Works of F.*, viii, 423, 424; *Life*, by Parton, viii, 423; letters from London, viii, 423; corresp. with Dr. Cooper and Pownall, viii, 423; papers left in Philad. with Galloway, viii, 423; the Fox collection, viii, 423; papers found in London, viii, 423; bought by Congress, viii, 424; reported on by T. F. Dwight, viii, 424; letters to Dana, viii, 429; suspicion respecting, viii, 453; letters to him, viii, 462; correspondence, viii, 466, 477; the Weissenstein letter, viii, 466; concerned in *Affaires de l'Angleterre*, viii, 489.
Franklin, Jas., *Hayti*, viii, 286.
Franklin, Sir John, in the Arctic regions, viii, 35, 86; his last expedition, viii, 89; search for, viii, 90; portrait, viii, 90; autog., viii, 90; relics of, found by Rae and others, viii, 100, 102, 128; monument at Beechey Island, viii, 101; died, viii, 102; his ships deserted, viii, 102; written record of his expedition found, viii, 102; facsimile of it, viii, 103; summaries of the search for him, viii, 108, 119; bibliog. of, viii, 121; his track, viii, 109, 122, 127; *Narrative* (1819-22), viii, 117; *Second Journey*, viii, 118; lives of, viii, 118, 122, 127, 129.
Franklin, Lady, her interest in the search for her husband, viii, 95, 96, 101.
Franklin, Samuel, viii, 423.
Franklin, Wm., gov. of N. J., viii, 421, 449.
Franklin, W. S., *U. S. Pension Laws*, viii, 483.
Franklin, W. T., edits the *Life and Writings of B. Franklin*, viii, 421, 422; agreement with Colburn, viii, 423; dies, viii, 423.
Fraser, Simon, viii, 79.
Frazer, Persifer, papers, viii, 450.
Frederick the Great, vii; correspondence, viii, 468; letters, viii, 477.
Freebooters. *See* Buccaneers.
Freeman, Constant, viii, 485.
Freeman, James, letters, viii, 436; the first Boston Unitarian, viii, 487.
Frémont, J. C., vii; surveying in California, viii, 232, 260.
French, B. F., *Iron Trade*, viii, 494.
Frenchtown, battle of, vii; viii, 145.
Freneau, Philip, vii; *Rising glory of America*, viii, 495; *Brit. Prison Ship*, viii, 495; *Poems*, viii, 495, 496; *Misc. Works*, viii, 496; portrait, viii, 496; *Nat. Gazette*, viii, 497.
Frere, Geo., *Barbadoes*, viii, 290; criticised, 290.
Freyre, Gomez, viii, 356.
Frezier on the coasts of Peru and Chile, viii, 367; *Relation du Voyage*, viii, 367.
Friess, Lorenz, *Carta Marina*, viii, 373. *See* Maps.
Frisland, i; (1610), viii, 2.
Frobisher, Martin, iii; relics of, discovered by Hall, viii, 104.
Frogers, F., *Relation*, viii, 355.
Frontignières, *Hist. des Avanturiers*, viii, 250.
Frost, John, *California*, viii, 260.
Frothingham, O. B., vii; *Transcendentalism in N. E.*, viii, 487.
Frothingham, Richard, vi; on the Heath papers, viii, 431; *Rise of the Republic*, viii, 435, 480, 497.
Fry, *Canadian Prisoners*, viii, 182.
Fuca's passage, ii; viii, 110, 111; mapped, viii, 213.
Fuentes, Manuel, *Memorias de los Vireyes*, viii, 342; *Relaciones*, viii, 342.
Fulford, Bishop, viii, 186.
Fuller, Margaret, viii, 487.
Fulton, Robt., vii; life by J. Renwick, viii, 475.
Fumée, *Hist. des Indes*, viii, 392.
Fuñes, Gregorio, *Paraguay, etc.*, viii, 344, 346, 359, 390.
Funnell, Wm., *Voyage*, viii, 252.
Fur trade, i, iv; vi, vii, viii; Voyageurs, iv; French, viii, 69; of the Northwest, viii, 459.

Gaffarel, Paul, i, iv; *Brésil français*, viii, 350, 374; *Découverte du Brésil*, viii, 374; edits Thevet, viii, 391; edits De Léry, viii, 392.
Gage, Thomas, *English-American*, viii, 265.
Gage, Gen. Thomas, v; vi; papers, viii, 446; letters, viii, 460; in Boston, viii, 462; letters to Dartmouth, viii, 462; letters to Col. Bradstreet and Sir Wm. Johnson, viii, 463; letters in the Shelburne and Trumbull MSS., viii, 463; in the Brit. Museum, viii, 463.
Gagnon, Ernest, *Chansons du Canada*, viii, 173.
Gaine, Hugh, viii, 497.
Gali, F. de, ii; in the Pacific, viii, 197.
Gall, L., *Auswanderung*, viii, 493.
Gallaeus, P., *Enchiridion*, viii, 398.
Gallagher on the literature of the Western States, viii, 494.
Gallatin, Albert, i; vii; viii, 456; papers, viii, 446.
Galleon trade in the West Indies, viii, 209; capture of a galleon, viii, 211; trade diminished, viii, 307.
Gales, *Nat. Intelligencer*, vii; viii, 497.
Gales and Seaton, proposed *Legislative Hist. U. S.*, viii, 426.
Galleyo, Diego, viii, 407.
Galloway, Jos., vi; vii; *Letters to a Nobleman*, viii, 501; testifies in Parliament, viii, 501, 502; *Letter to Viscount H——e*, viii, 502; *Letter from Cicero*, viii, 502.
Galt, Sir Alex. T., *Canada*, viii, 186.
Galt, John, viii, 148; *Autobiog.*, viii, 179.
Galvano, Ant., ii; acc. of, viii, 377; his "Dragon's Tail," viii, 377; in the Moluccas, viii, 377; *Tratado*, viii, 377; his *Tratado* published by Hakluyt in English, viii, 377; reprinted ed. by Adm. Bethune, viii, 377.
Galvão, B. F. R., *Catalogo*, viii, 349.
Galvez in Louisiana, etc., viii, 468.
Gamarra, Augustin, viii, 339.
Gamart, viii, 374.
Gamble, W. H., *Trinidad*, viii, 291.
Gammell, Prof. Wm., iii; *Life of Samuel Ward*, viii, 441, 475; *Life of R. Williams*, viii, 475.
Gandavo, Magalhaes de, *Sancta Cruz*, viii, 349; *Terra do Brazil*, viii, 349.
Gannett, E. S., viii, 487.
Gannett, H., *Statistical Atlas*, viii, 482.
Gansevoort, Col., vi; papers, viii, 446.
Garcès, viii, 212.
Garcia, Diego, viii, 200.
Garcia de la Conception, José, *Hist. Bethlehemitica*, viii, 249, 265.
Garcia y Garcia, J. A., viii, 315; *Relaciones*, viii, 346.
Garcia del Rio, Juan, *San Martin*, viii, 346.

Garden, Alex., vi; *Amer. Rev.*, viii, 474.

Gardiner, Richard, *Exped. against Martinico*, viii, 290.

Gardiner, Manor house, viii, 489.

Gardiner and Mullinger, *Eng. Hist. for Students*, viii, 499.

Gardner, Asa Bird, *N. Y. Continental Line*, viii, 445; criticises McMaster, viii, 481; on the uniforms of the Amer. Rev., viii, 483; on martial law in the Rev., viii, 484.

Gardoqui, Spanish minister, vii; correspondence, viii, 459.

Garneau, F. X., *Canada*, iv; v; viii, 172.

Garrard, L. H., *Chambersburg*, viii, 450.

Garrison, W. L., life, vii; viii, 497.

Gasche, Charles, viii, 77.

"Gaspee," destruction of, vi; viii, 440.

Gastine, C. de, *Haiti*, viii, 289.

Gates, Gen. Horatio, v; vi; letters, viii, 435, 439, 443, 446, 455; defeat at Camden, viii, 454; papers, viii, 455; used by Gordon, viii, 471.

Gaucher, viii, 325.

Gaudais, A., viii, 475.

Gay, S. H., ii; *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 481.

Gaye, Claudio, *Chile*, viii, 347.

Geisler, A. F., *Schilderungen*, viii, 507.

Gelves, Viceroy, viii, 201.

Geneseo (N. Y.), Wadsworth Mansion, viii, 489.

Genoa, Archives, ii; viii, 468.

Geographers. *See* Maps.

Geographical Mag., viii, 105. *See* Periodicals.

Geographical Review, viii, 105. *See* Periodicals.

George II (England), v; his MSS., viii, 461.

George III (England), v; vi; vii; letters to Shelburne, viii, 460; (King's) MSS., viii, 461; his library, viii, 462; correspondence with North, viii, 463, 504; with Lord Harcourt, viii, 463; *Correspondence, ed. by Donne*, viii, 463; suggests Amherst to command in America during the Rev. War, viii, 502; histories of his reign, viii, 503.

Georgia, archæology, i; early history, ii; v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; archives, viii, 458; different removals, viii, 458; corresp. of royal governers, viii, 458; executive council, viii, 458; council of safety, viii, 458; state papers, viii, 413. *See* United States.

Gérard de Rayneval, vi; vii; correspondence, viii, 466; on parties in Congress, viii, 466; private papers, viii, 466; correspondence, viii, 414, 466; land granted to, viii, 467.

Gerbal, Fray Narciso, viii, 319.

Germain, Lord Geo., vi; vii; his correspondence, viii, 461; letters, viii, 460; refusal to reinforce Howe, viii, 501.

Germans settle in Upper Canada, viii, 141.

Germany, emigration to the United States, iv; v; relations of Frederick the Great and Prussia with the United States, vii; settlers in Canada viii, 141; archives, viii, 468, 477.

Gerritsz, H., *Schiffahrt*, viii, 3.

Gerritz, E., *Leven der Zeehelden*, viii, 351.

Gerry, Elbridge, vi; vii; harmonizes John Adams and Mercy Warren, viii, 474; letters, viii, 429, 436; papers, viii, 431; life, viii, 431.

Gesner, Abraham, on New Brunswick, viii, 177.

Getchell, G. H., *Our Nation's Executives*, viii, 482.

Giants, i; ii; iii.

Gibbes, R. W., vii; *Doc. Hist. Amer. Rev.*, viii, 458; papers burnt, viii, 458.

Gibbs, A. R., *Brit. Honduras*, viii, 265.

Gibelin, Jacques, viii, 422.

Gibson, Capt. Geo., viii, 429.

Gil de Taboada y Lemos, Francisco, viii, 320, 342.

Gilbert, Frank, viii, 485.

Gilder, W. H., *Schwatka's Search*, viii, 128.

Gill, Theo., on the progress of the natural sciences in the U. S., viii, 482.

Gillam, Capt. Zach., at Hudson Bay, viii, 7.

Gillett, E. H., *Lit. of the Unitarian Controversy*, viii, 487.

Gillispie, Alex., *Buenos Ayres*, viii, 362.

Gilman, Caroline, edits Eliza Wilkinson's letters, viii, 489.

Gilmer, George, papers, viii, 455.

Gilmor, Robt., papers, viii, 453.

Gilpin, Thos., *Exiles in Va.*, vi; vii; viii, 486.

Gilpin, Wm., on Josias Rogers, viii, 502.

Giraud, A., viii, 362.

Girbal, viii, 343.

Gisla, Countess, viii, 324.

Gist, Gen. Mordecai, portrait, viii, 453; papers, viii, 453.

Gladstone, W. E., and the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 53, 63, 74.

Glazier, W., vii; *Heroes*, viii, 481.

Gleeson, W., *Cath. Chh. in California*, viii, 260.

Glengarry, Canada, viii, 142, 147.

Globensky, C. A. M., *La rebellion de 1837*, viii, 181.

Globes. *See* Maps.

Glover, Gen. John, vi; letter-books, viii, 431; orderly-books, viii, 431; Upham's *Life of G.*, viii, 431; letters, viii, 431, 436; portrait, viii, 431; statue, viii, 431.

Goddard, D. A., on Josiah Quincy, viii, 435; *Newspapers of N. E.*, viii, 497.

Goddard, Wm., viii, 455.

Goderich, Canada, viii, 148.

Godin, viii, 310, 312.

Godoy, Manuel, viii, 342.

Gold, T. S., *Cornwall*, viii, 444.

Gold, mined in Mexico, etc., ii; first found in California, viii, 231; found in Brazil, viii, 356.

Gomara, i; ii; on San Domingo, viii, 279.

Gomez, Estevan, on the coast of No. America, iv; viii, 384; in the "San Antonio," viii, 382.

Gonneville, Binot Paulmier de, Abbé, *Mémoire*, viii, 374; voyage (1503), viii, 374.

Goodell, A. C., Jr., i; iii; v; vi; vii; *Province Laws*, viii, 426; *Chronol. Sketch*, viii, 426.

Goodrich, S. G., i; vii; edited Trumbull's poems, viii, 495.

Goodwin, Daniel, *Provincial Pictures*, viii, 429; *James Pitts*, viii, 485.

Goos, Pieter, *Orbis terrarum*, etc., viii, 254.

Gordon, P., viii, 500.

Gordon, Wm. (Jesuit), *Jesuitas en lá California*, viii, 257.

Gordon, Rev. Wm., vi; lacked the confidence of Sam. Adams, viii, 428; on Hutchinson's papers, viii, 432; comes to America, viii, 470; correspondence with Bowdoin, viii, 470; his sermons, viii, 470; receives the Hutchinson papers, viii, 470; collects on the Amer. Rev., viii, 470; portrait, viii, 470; opinions of him, viii, 470; examines Washington's papers, viii, 470; memoir, viii, 470; dies, viii, 470; helped in his *History* by Washington and others, viii, 471; changed his text in England, viii, 471; published it, viii, 471; opinions of it, viii, 471.

Gore, Christopher, vii; papers not known, viii, 431; letters to Rufus King, viii, 431.

Gore, Francis, gov. of Canada, viii, 149, 151.

Gorham, Col., viii, 464.

Gorrichategui, Dr. A., viii, 314.

Gorton, Samuel, iii; life by Mackie, viii, 475.

Gosford, Lord, viii, 171.

Gosford Commission, viii, 180.

Gosselin, E., *La Marine Normande*, viii, 374, 384.

Gosselin, *L'Eglise du Canada*, viii, 185.

Gottfriedt, J. L., *Newe Welt*, viii, 200, 207.

Gould, W., in Penna., viii, 491.

Gould and Kidder, *New Ipswich*, viii, 438.

Gourlay, Robert, viii, 151; *Upper Canada*, viii, 179.

Gournay, P. F. de, viii, 489.

Gouverneur, Mrs. S. L., viii, 421.

Goyeneche, Gen., viii, 327; his campaigns, viii, 344.

Grafton, Duke of, vii; autobiog., viii, 463, 477.

Graham, Gov. (N. C.), viii, 457.

Graham, John, report on So. America, viii, 362.

Graham, Lady M. D., *Residence in Chile*, viii, 347.

Graham, Col. Robt., viii, 451.

Grahame, James, v; *United States*, viii, 501.

Grand River (Canada), viii, 137.

Granger, Gideon, viii, 442.

Grant, Andrew, *Hist. Brazil*, viii, 350.

Grantham, Lord, correspondence, viii, 460, 463.

Grasse-Tilly, Lieut.-General Comte, *Journal*, viii, 467.

Gratz, Simon, his MSS., viii, 426.

Gravier, G., i; iv; *Le Sauvage du Brésil*, viii, 349; on Gaffarel's *Brésil*, viii, 350.

Gray, F. C., on Botta, viii, 507.

Gray, Harrison, viii, 431.

Gray, Horace, vi; vii.

Gray, Hugh, *Canada*, viii, 174.

Graydon, Alex., vi; *Memoirs*, viii, 479.

Great Britain. *See* England.

Great Fish River, viii, 119.

Greeley, Horace, vii; *Recollections*, viii, 488, 497.

Greely, A. W., *Three Years of Arctic Service*, viii, 129; his *Report*, viii, 129.

Green, S. A., i; iii; v; vi; vii; *Story of a famous book*, viii, 423.

Green, S. P., viii, 35.

Green, *Voyages*, viii, 290.

Greene, Elizabeth, viii, 451.

Greene, G. W., iii; iv; vi; vii; on the journals of Congress, viii, 415; on Peter Force, viii, 425, 426; *Nath. Greene*, viii, 541, 485, 478; on Steuben, viii, 448; *Examination of Statements in Bancroft's History*, viii, 478; *Reply* to, by Bancroft, viii, 478; and a *Rejoinder* made, viii, 478; *Hist. View Amer. Rev.*, viii, 481; on the Continental army, viii, 482; on the expenses of the Rev. War, viii, 483; on the literature of the Rev., viii, 494.

Greene, Nathanael, in the Rev., vi; letter-books, viii, 412; papers, viii, 441, 477; life by Caldwell, viii, 441; by Johnson, viii, 441; by G. W. Greene, viii, 441, 475; letters, viii, 442; letters to Horry, viii, 458; to the gov. of Georgia, viii, 458; his papers used by Gordon, viii, 471; revises the maps in Gordon, viii, 471; his conduct criticised by Bancroft, viii, 478; defended by G. W. Greene, viii, 478.

Greene, Wm., gov. of R. I., letters, viii, 440, 442.
Greenhow, *Oregon*, vii; viii, 260.
Greenland, maps of (1610), viii, 2; ice-fields about, viii, 83; Jones's *Manual*, viii, 104; explorations east of, viii, 129; Sanson's map (1666), viii, 105; Delisle (1700, 1703), viii, 106, 107; Phipps (1774), viii, 116; Forster (1783), viii, 118.
Greenleaf, Moses, papers, viii, 431.
Greenough, C. P., his MSS., vii; viii, 431, 437.
Greg, Percy, *United States*, vii; viii, 504.
Gregg, Dr. Wm., *Presbyterian Chh. in Canada*, viii, 184.
Greive, Geo., viii, 491.
Grenada (West Indies), bibliog., viii, 290; attacked, viii, 290. *See* West Indies.
Grenville, Geo., vi; vii; viii, 503; speeches in Parliament, viii, 499.
Grenville, Richard, viii, 503.
Grenville Papers, viii, 503.
Grey, Earl, favors the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 50.
Grey, Gen., vi; testifies for Howe in Parliament, viii, 501.
Gridley, Richard, v; vi; letters, viii, 435.
Griffeth, Wm., *American Colonies*, viii, 416.
Griffin, A. P. C., iv; v; *Amer. Local History*, viii, 494.
Griffin, S. P., in the Arctic seas, viii, 95.
Grigsby, Hugh Blair, *Va. Convention*, vi; viii, 454.
Grijalva, Juan de, ii; *Crónica*, viii, 249; on the Yucatan shore, ii; viii, 261.
Grimaldi, Marquis de, correspondence, viii, 468.
Grimké, J. F., viii, 457.
Grinnell, Henry, sends out an Arctic expedition, viii, 95; portrait, viii, 99; first exped., viii, 122.
Grinnell Land, discovered, viii, 96, 100, 109, 125, 126.
Griswold, Matthew, viii, 443.
Griswold, R. W., *Republican Court*, vii; viii, 489; *Prose writers*, viii, 494; *Poets*, viii, 494; *Female poets*, viii, 494.
Groselliers, iv; at Port Nelson, viii, 7.
Gruich, Sir Thos., viii, 275.
Gruvel, M., viii, 347.
Guadalajara, Hidalgo at, viii, 219.
Guadalcazar, Marquis de, viii, 298, 342.
Guadaloupe, viii, 270; bibliog., viii, 290; attacked by the British, viii, 290. *See* West Indies.
Gual i Jean, Ricardo, viii, 346.
Guamanga, viii, 319, 337.
Guanajuato, attacked, viii, 216, 219.
Guaranis, viii, 356. *See* Indians.
Guarda Costas, viii, 208.
Guatemala (city), viii, 244; earthquakes at, viii, 244; view in, viii, 245.
Guatemala (country), archæology, i; early history, ii; maps, viii, 245, 262; bibliog., viii, 263; missions, viii, 264.
Guay-Trouin, René du, in South America, viii, 356; portrait, viii. 357; *Mémoires*, viii, 356; lives, viii, 356.
Guayaquil, attacked (1624), viii, 299; map, viii, 301.
Guelph, Canada, viii, 148.
Guerra, José, viii, 269.
Guerrero, Vicente, beats Iturbide, viii, 224.
Guerrero's treason, viii, 215, 228.
Guiana, iii; bibliog, viii, 363, 366; maps, viii, 363; Dutch in, viii, 363; English in, viii, 363; French in, viii, 363; *Collection de Mémoires*, viii, 366.
Guibord case, viii, 185.
Guild, R. A., iii; vi; viii, 440; *James Manning*, viii, 442; *Hezekiah Smith*, viii, 442.
Guillen, P. R., *Solano*, viii, 368.
Guillermin de Montpinay, G., *Saint Domingue*, viii, 288.
Guirion, Manuel de, viii. 314.
Guirior, Manuel, viii, 342.
Guise, Capt., the founder of the Peruvian Navy, viii, 334.
Guiseppi, Giovanni, *Istoria*, viii, 353.
Gunn, Donald, *Manitoba*, viii, 79, 184.
Gutierrez, J. M., *San Martin*, viii, 346.
Guyangos, *Spanish MSS.*, viii, 343.
Guzman, L. H. de, viii, 303.

HACKE, WM., *Voyages*, viii, 251; *South Sea Waggoner*, viii, 251.
Hackett, James, *Expedition in 1817*, viii, 334.
Haigh, Samuel, *Buenos Ayres*, etc., viii, 362.
Haight, Cunniff, *Canada*, viii, 180.
Hail, Columbia, song, viii, 484.
Haiti. *See* San Domingo.
Hakewell, J., *Jamaica*, vii, 279.
Hakluyt, R., i; ii; iii; publishes Galvano's *Discoveries*, viii, 377.
Haldimand, Gen. F., vi; in Canada, viii, 135; portrait, viii, 136; his papers, viii, 171, 440, 460, 461; acc. of, viii, 174; autog., viii, 461; correspondence with Clinton, viii, 463; corresp. with Gage, viii, 463.
Haldimand, Wm., viii, 461.
Hale, E. E., ii; iii; v; vi; vii; on the name Brazil, viii, 375; on Poore's *Desc. Catal.*, viii, 416; on the Franklin papers, viii, 424; on the Adams papers, viii, 428; *Franklin in France*, viii, 424; work on *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 481; on the characters of the British generals in the Rev. War, viii, 502.
Hale, Nathan, *Daily Advertiser*, viii, 497.
Hale, Salma, *Hist. U. S.*, viii, 481.
Hales, Stephen, viii, 344.
Haliburton, T. C., v; *Nova Scotia*, viii, 176, 179; known as "Sam Slick," viii, 179; *Clock Maker*, viii, 179; *Attaché*, viii, 179; *Letter bag of the Great Western*, viii, 179; *Old Judge*, viii, 179; *The Bubbles of Canada*, viii, 181.
Halifax, Earl of, letters, viii, 460.
Halifax (Nova Scotia), v; vi; vii; *Annals* of the North Brit. Soc. of, viii, 175; view, viii, 177; British military papers formerly gathered at, viii, 465.
Halkett, John, *Statement respecting Selkirk's Settlement*, viii, 78.
Hall, Basil, *Coasts of Chile*, viii, 367; *Travels*, viii, 179.
Hall, C. F., in the Arctic Seas, viii, 104; discovers relics of Frobisher, viii, 104; *Life with the Eskimaux*, viii, 104; *Arctic Researches*, viii, 104, 129; *Second Arctic Exped.*, viii, 129; death, viii, 129; papers, viii, 129; *North Polar Exped.*, viii, 129.
Hall, Capt., *Hist. of the Civil War*, viii, 500.
Hall, F., *San José*, viii, 261.
Hall, F., *Travels*, viii, 493.
Hall, J., *Life of Thos. Posey*, viii, 475.
Hallam, of Toronto, viii, 187.
Halleck, F. G., etc. *Croakers*, viii, 396.
Hallock, Gerard, life, viii, 497,
Hamersly, H. S., *Army Register*, viii, 416.
Hamilton, Alex., vi; vii; papers, viii, 421; letters, viii, 446; corresp. with Schuyler destroyed, viii, 448; slandered by Gordon, viii, 471; as orator, viii, 485.
Hamilton, Gov. (Detroit and Vincennes), correspondence, viii, 465.
Hamilton, Jas. C., *Prairie Province*, viii, 39.
Hamilton, John C., vii; *Repub. U. S.*, viii, 421; *Life of A. Hamilton*, viii, 421, 433; on Gen Schuyler, viii, 478; on Joseph Reed, viii, 479.
Hamilton, Patrick, *Arizona*, viii, 254.
Hamilton, Schuyler, *National Flag*, viii, 483.
Hammond, I. W., viii. 438.
Hampton House (Md.), viii, 489.
Hancock, John, vi; vii; his letters abstracted from Sam. Adams' papers, viii, 428; papers, viii, 431; a part scattered, viii, 431; an "awkward" letter found in the Hutchinson papers, viii, 432; letters, viii, 435, 436; correspondence, viii, 466; as orator, viii, 485.
Hand, Gen. Edw., letter-book, viii, 450; papers, viii, 451; portrait, viii, 450.
Hanford, Levi, *Life*, viii, 485.
Hanna, J. S., *Samuel Dewees*, viii, 485.
Hannay, James, *Acadia*, v; viii, 175.
Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, viii, 499.
Hanson, A. C., *Laws of Md.*, viii, 453.
Harbaugh, Rev. H., *Life of Schlatter*, viii, 285,
Harcourt, Robt., viii, 363.
Hardcastle, Capt., viii, 200.
Harding, B., *Tour*, viii, 493.
Hargrave, J. J., *Red River*, viii, 75, 183.
Hargrave MSS., viii, 461.
Harland, Marion, on Virginia Mansions, viii, 489.
Harleian MSS., viii, 461.
Harley, Sir Robert, in Surinam, viii, 363.
Haro, Cristoffel de, viii, 380.
Harper, Dr., on the Maritime Provinces of Canada, viii, 179.
Harris, C. F., viii, 496.
Harris, T. M., *Tour*, vii; viii, 492.
Harris, W. T., *Remarks on a Tour*, viii, 493.
Harris, *Voyages*, i; viii, 106.
Harrison, H. W., *Battle Fields*, viii, 489.
Harrisse, Henry, ii; iii; iv; coll. of maps, viii, 446.
Harrowby, Lord, viii, 460.
Harsha, D. A., *Orators*, viii, 485.
Hart, C. H., *National Medals*, viii, 484, 489.
Hart, R., viii, 88.
Hartley, David, vii; his papers, viii, 464.
Hartsinck, J. J., *Guiana*, viii, 365.
Hartstein, H. J., in the Arctic Seas, viii, 100.
Hartt, C. F., *Geol. of Brazil*, viii, 371.
Harvey, Col., on the Niagara Frontier, viii, 145; governor of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, viii, 1: becomes Sir John, gov. of New Brunswick, viii, 165; portrait, viii, 165.
Harvey, Moses, *Newfoundland*, viii, 177.
Harvey, M. *See* Hatton, Jos.
Harvey, Peter, viii, 437.
Harvey, W. W., *Hayti*, viii, 288.
Haslett, Col. John, viii, 452.
Hassal, Miss, *Horrors of St. Domingo*, viii, 287.
Hassard, J. R. G., *Hist. United States*, viii. 482.
Hastings, L. W., *Oregon and California*, viii, 260.
Hatton, Jos. (with M. Harvey), *Newfoundland*, viii, 190.
Hauslab collection, viii, 378.
Havana, ii; captured (1762), viii, 272; maps of siege, viii, 273, 274; *Journal of the Siege*, viii, 372; view (1720), viii, 273; map of vicinity,

viii, 275; Spanish trading fleets at, viii, 209.
Haven, E. O., *Amer. Progress*, viii, 482.
Hawkins, E., *Missions*, viii, 184.
Hawkins, John. iii; ravages Vera Cruz, viii, 195; portrait, viii. 196.
Hawkins, Rush C., sale of library, viii, 472.
Hawkins papers, viii, 458.
Hawkins, *Quebec*, viii, 183.
Hawks, Dr., and No. Carolina history, v; viii, 456.
Hawks, Dr. F. L., *Eccles. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 487.
Hawks and Perry, *Hist. of the Church*, viii, 486.
Hawley, Jos., vi; papers scattered, viii, 437.
Hawley, Zerah, *Journal*, viii, 494.
Haws, *Mil. Journal*, viii, 485.
Hawthorne, N., *Blithedale Romance*, viii, 488; *Note Books*, viii, 488.
Hay, John, *Insurrection in Grenada*, viii, 291.
Hayden, H. E., *Pollock Genealogy*, viii, 414.
Hayes, I. I., in the Arctic Seas. viii, 104; *Arctic Boat Journey*, viii, 125; map of his discoveries, viii, 125; his map of open Polar Sea, viii, 126; his plans for reaching the pole, viii, 129; open Polar Sea, viii, 129.
Hayes River, viii, 27, 70; map, viii 29.
Hayes' Sound, viii, 125.
Hayman, Robt., *Quodlibets*, viii, 190.
Hays, Col., viii, 484.
Hayti, Republic, established, viii, 287. *See* San Domingo.
Haytian papers, viii, 288.
Hayus, J., *De rebus Japonicis*, viii, 368.
Hayward, C., *Life of Seb. Cabot*, viii, 475.
Hazard, Eben, corresp. with Belknap, viii, 439.
Hazard, Samuel, *Penna. Reg.*, viii, 450.
Hazard, *San Domingo*, viii, 281.
Hazart, Cornelius, on the Church, viii, 249.
Hazen, Col., viii, 450.
Head, Geo., *Forest Scenes*, viii, 180.
Head, Sir F. B., viii, 159; portrait, viii, 159; *The Emigrant*, viii, 180; in Canada, viii, 181; his *Narrative*, viii, 181.
Headley, J. T., vi; on Sir Henry Morgan, viii, 252; *Washington*, viii, 481; *Clergy of the Rev.*, viii, 485; on the Colleges in the Amer. Rev., viii, 496.
Headquarters papers, viii, 462.
Hearne, Samuel, his discoveries, viii, 34, 70; *Journey*, viii, 70, 115.
Heath, Gen. Wm., vi; corresp. with Washington, viii, 420; papers, viii, 431; *Memoirs*, viii, 431; corresp. with Chas. Lee, viii, 431; commanding in Boston, viii, 431.
Heckewelder, travels of, v; viii, 492.
Hellwald, F. von, *Im Ewigen Eis*, viii, 108.
Helps, Sir Arthur, *Spanish Conquest*, ii; viii, 246.
Henderson, James, *Hist. Brazil*, viii, 350.
Hendrick, Hans, *Memoirs*, viii, 122.
Hennequin, *Biog. Maritime*, viii, 506.
Henning, W. W., *Statutes*, iii; v; viii, 454.
Henriquez, Camilo, viii, 326.
Henry, Patrick, vi; vii; letters, viii, 447, 466; life by A. H. Everett, viii, 475; papers, viii, 455; lives, viii, 455; as orator, viii, 485.
Henry, W. W., iii; vi; vii; on the Virginia Archives, viii, 454; has possession of the Patrick Henry papers, viii, 455.
Henshaw, Samuel, viii, 432.
Heremite, Jacob l', in the Pacific, viii, 299.
Heriot, George, *Travels*, viii, 174.
Herlein, J. D., *Zuriname*, viii, 364.
Herman, Jean, *Relation*, viii, 363.
Hernandez, Alonzo, *Hist. Eclesiástica*, viii, 249.
Hernandez y Dávelos, J. E., *Col. de Documentos*, viii, 265.
Herrera, Ant. de, Spanish historian, i; ii; iii; iv; viii, 246.
Herrera, Cyp. de, on Toribio, viii, 367.
Herrera, Gen., in power in Mexico, viii, 229.
Herrera, Hipólito, *El Album de Ayacucho*, viii, 345.
Herrera, P., *Lit. Eucatoriana*, viii, 366.
Hersey, Chas., *Col. T. Bigelow*, viii, 484.
Hesse, Archives, vii; viii, 468.
Hesse-Cassel Archives, vii; viii, 477.
Hesse-Wartegg, E. von, *Kanada*, viii, 190.
Heustis, Daniel, on Canada and Van Dieman's Land, viii, 182.
Hewes, F. W., *Statistical Atlas*, viii, 482.
Hey, Chief Justice of Canada, viii, 134.
Heylli, Georges d', viii, 505.
Heyn, Admiral Piete, on the Brazil coast, viii, 351; captures Silver fleet, viii, 198, 299.
Hibbard, Mrs. Harry, viii, 438.
Hibueras, viii, 261.
Hickman, Rev. Wm., autobiog., viii, 459.
Hidalgo, Miguel, leads the Revolution in Mexico, viii, 216; portrait, viii, 217; his marches, viii, 217; shot, viii, 220; acc. by Mier, viii, 269; his career, viii, 269.
Higginson, T. W., i; v; vi; vii; on the Maroons, viii, 279; *Travellers and Outlaws*, viii, 279; edits a journal of Wm. Ellery, viii, 441; *Larger. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482.
Highland Clearances, viii, 147.
Highland Fencibles in Canada, viii, 143.
Hildeburn, C. R., *Century of Printing*, v; viii, 450, 694.
Hildreth, Richard, *United States*, vii; viii, 479.
Hill, Clement, papers, viii, 453.
Hill, Wm., viii, 251.
Hillard, E. B., *Last Men of the Rev.*, viii, 483.
Hillard, G. S., life of John Smith, viii, 475.
Hilliard d'Auberteuil, M. R., *St. Domingue*, viii, 281; *Lord North*, viii, 504; *Essais*, viii, 505.
Hills, J., viii, 463.
Hillsborough, Earl of, letters, vi; viii, 460.
Hinckley, Gov. Thos., iii; papers, viii, 435.
Hincks, Sir Francis, vii; viii, 155; portrait, viii, 155; *Reminiscences*, viii, 186; *Religious Endowments*, viii, 186; *Polit. Hist. Canada*, viii, 186.
Hind, H. Y., *Report on the Canadian Red River*, viii, 40, 79; *Northwest Territory*, viii, 79; *Labrador*, viii, 190.
Hindoos. *See* Discoverers.
Hinman, R. H., *Connecticut during the Rev.*, vi; viii, 442.
Hinton, J. H., *United States*, viii, 504.
Hinton, R. J., *Arizona*, viii, 254.
Hispaniola. *See* San Domingo.
Historical MSS. Commission, v; viii. *See* England.
Historisch-genealogischer Calendar, viii, 499.
History of the Works of the Learned, viii, 257.
Hitchcock, Col. Daniel, orderly book, viii, 442.
Hitchcock, Chaplain Enos, diary, viii, 442.
Hittell, J. S., San Francisco, vii; viii, 261.
Hittell, T. H., *California*, viii, 260.
Hoar, Geo. F., vii; on historical material in Washington, viii, 413; on the Franklin papers, viii, 424; has some Roger Sherman papers, viii, 444.
Hoboken, viii, 445.
Hobson, Lieut., in the Arctic seas, viii, 102.
Hoces, Francis de, discovers Cape Horn, viii, 384.
Hodge, H. C., *Arizona*, viii, 254.
Hodge, Robert, viii, 500.
Hodgson, A., *Journey*, viii, 493.
Hoffman, C. F., *Life of Leisler*, viii, 475.
Holland, John, viii, 265.
Holland, Lady, viii, 460.
Holland, her American colony of New Netherland, iii; iv; her South American possessions, viii; relations with the United States, vii; archives, viii, 468.
Hollingsworth, S., *Nova Scotia*, viii, 177.
Hollis, Thomas, v; vi; papers, viii, 431, 477; corresp. with Jona. Mayhew, viii, 431; with Andrew Eliot, viii, 431.
Holmes, Abiel, *American Annals*, viii, 474; autog., viii, 474.
Holmes, Isaac, *Acc. U. S.*, viii, 494.
Holmes papers, viii, 437.
Holstein, D., *Bolivar*, viii, 346.
Homes, H. A., viii, 420; on the Robt. Morris papers, viii, 447.
Hondius, ii; iii; iv; furnishes maps to the Dutch ed. of Drake's voyages, viii, 407. *See* Maps.
Honduras, archæology, i; early hist., ii; bibliog., viii, 265; map, 262.
Hooper, W. H., *Journal*, viii, 121.
Hopkins, Com. Esek., vi; papers, viii, 442.
Hopkins, Stephen, v; vi; papers, viii, 441; autog., 442; life by Foster, viii, 442.
Hopkinson, Francis, poet, viii, 496; portrait, viii, 496; *Battle of the Kegs*, viii, 496.
Hoppner, Capt. H. P., viii, 85.
Horry, Gen. Peter, papers, viii, 458.
Horsmanden, Daniel, v; papers, viii, 446.
Hough, F. B., i; iii; iv; v; vi; *Proclamations for Thanksgiving*, viii, 416; proposed *Cent. Hist. Government of the U. S.*, viii, 426: *Attack on Hatfield*, viii, 496; *Northern Invasion*, viii, 496.
Houston, Gen. Samuel, vii; in Texas, viii, 229; portrait, 230.
Houstoun, Dr. James, *Memoirs*, viii, 266; *Works*, viii, 266.
Howard, John Eager, portrait, viii, 454.
Howard, O. P., viii, 444.
Howe, Henry, *Our Whole Country*, viii, 482.
Howe, Henry (New Haven), viii, 485.
Howe, Joseph, viii, 79, 186; in Nova Scotia, viii, 165; portrait, viii, 166; *Speeches*, viii, 186.
Howe, Richard, Lord, vi; vii; letters, viii, 461; Admiral, controversy over his conduct, viii, 502.
Howe, Gen. Wm., vi; letters, viii, 460, 461; in Boston, viii, 462; papers, viii, 462; journal of his army, viii, 462; Stedman's estimate, viii, 501; Parliamentary investigation of his conduct of the war, viii, 501; tracts concerning, viii, 501; his *Narrative*, viii, 501; attacked in the *Detail and Conduct of the Amer. War*, viii, 502.
Howett, E., *Letters*, viii, 493.
Howison, John, *Upper Canada*, viii, 179.
Howland, Edw., *Annals*, viii, 482.

Howland, John (R. I.), papers, viii, 442; life by Stone, viii, 442, 485.
Howley, M. F., *Eccles. Hist. Newfoundland*, viii, 184, 190.
Huancavelica, mines at, viii, 297, 319.
Huanuco, viii, 324.
Huaqui, battle, viii, 327; plan, viii, 328.
Hubbard, B. F., *Stanstead County*, viii, 183.
Hubbard, F. M., *Life of W. R. Davie*, viii, 475.
Hubbard, Mrs. O. H., viii, 444.
Hubley, Bernard, *Amer. Revolution*, viii, 474.
Hudson, Fred., *Hist. Journalism*, viii, 497.
Hudson, Henry, iv; second voyage (1613), viii, 257; life by H. R. Cleveland, viii, 475.
Hudson's Bay. Explorations and history, iii; iv; viii; maps (1610), viii, 2; (1662), viii, 3; other maps, viii, 6; Gillam at, viii, 7; maps (1772), viii, 26; others, viii, 78; route, viii, 79; discoveries in (1746), viii, 81; map by Sanson (1666), viii, 105; Delisle (1700, 1703), viii, 106, 107; *Geography of Hudson's Bay*, viii, 108; Buache (1752), viii, 110; Jefferys (1768), viii, 111; Cluny (1769), viii, 114; Vaugondy (1772), viii, 115; Phipps (1774), viii, 116.
Hudson Bay Company, i, v; vii; *Hist. of*, viii, 1; reasons for its charter, viii, 5; provisions, viii, 6; ground of invalidity, viii, 6; extent of bounds, viii, 6, 9, 15; no obligation to improve the Indians, viii, 7; its charter confirmed (1690), viii, 9, 25; character of its lands, viii, 10–12; value of its furs, viii, 12; its staff, viii, 15; Indians in its domain, viii, 15; its articles of traffic, viii, 17; life under, viii, 17, 20, 66, 75; use of intoxicating liquors, viii, 21; method of trading with the Indians, viii, 22; controversies of, viii, 24; unites with the Northwest Co., viii, 42; grant of the "Indian Territory," viii, 44; renewed, viii, 48; its struggles to protect its charter, viii, 46; finds the Americans encroach, viii, 50; Parliamentary inquiry, viii, 54; its relations to the natives, viii, 56, 57, 70, 72, 73; its profits, viii, 59, 62; increase of capital, viii, 60; division of, viii, 61; its kinds of fur, viii, 61; its lands surrendered (1867), viii, 64; its reserved lands, viii, 64; sources of its history, viii, 65; *British Documents*, viii, 65; its charter, viii, 65; map of its territory, viii, 65; its records, viii, 65, 80; attacked by its servants, viii, 67; French encroachments, viii, 68; its forts, viii, 72, 77; bibliography, viii, 77; claimed prior exploration of the Northwest, viii, 78; its monopoly extinguished, viii, 79; and Arctic discovery, viii, 108.
Hudson River, iii; iv; v; vi; movements on (1777), viii, 420.
Hughes, J. T., *California*, viii, 260.
Hull, Gen. Wm., vii; viii, 143.
Hulot, E., viii, 172.
Humboldt, Alex. von, i; ii; observations in Mexico, viii, 200; his map of Mexico, viii, 202; *New Spain*, viii, 202; in the New World, viii, 272; *Nouvelle Espagne*, viii, 259; portrait, viii, 272; *Cuba*, viii, 272; on the Portuguese discovery in So. America, viii, 375.
Humboldt Glacier, viii, 125.
Hume, David, viii, 423.
Hume, Jos., viii, 159.
Humphreys, David, poet, viii, 496.
Hunt, C. H., viii, 448.
Hunt, T. S., on the mineral resources of the U. S., viii, 482.
Hunt, *American Merchants*, viii, 494.
Hunter, Gen. Peter, governor of Canada, viii, 149.
Huntington, E. B., *Stamford County*, viii, 444.
Huntington, Jacob R., viii, 438.
Huntington, Gen. Jed., vi; letters during the siege of Boston, viii, 443.
Huntington, J. V., viii, 78.
Hurons, viii, 461. *See* Indians.
Hurst, J. F., on the religious development of the United States, viii, 482, 486.
Hutchings, Capt. Thomas, papers, viii, 451.
Hutchings, Wm., viii, 483.
Hutchinson, Abijah, viii, 485.
Hutchinson, Andrew, viii, 433.
Hutchinson, Anne, iii, 312, 352; life by Ellis, viii, 475.
Hutchinson, Elisha, viii, 433.
Hutchinson, Elisha (son of Gov. H.), viii, 469.
Hutchinson, Rev. John, viii, 469.
Hutchinson, K. M., *Abijah Hutchinson*, viii, 485.
Hutchinson, P. O., *Gov. Hutchinson*, viii, 433.
Hutchinson, Thomas, early career, v; loyalist, vi; vii; letters to England, viii, 429; papers and controversy over them, viii, 431, 432; his house sacked, viii, 431; MS. of his *History*, viii, 432; left America, viii, 432, 469; letter-books, viii, 432, 433; in the State Archives, viii, 432; letters to Israel Williams, viii, 432; to Oliver Partridge, viii, 432; *Diary*, viii, 432, 433; his papers seized, viii, 432; his earlier papers transferred to the Mass. Hist. Soc., viii, 432; surrendered, viii, 432; papers in England, viii, 433; *Origin of the American Rebellion*, viii, 433; annotations on his *History*, viii, 433; portraits, viii, 433; memoir by Drake, viii, 433; *Massachusetts Bay*, viii, 469; completed the book in England, viii, 469; posthumous publication of the last volume, viii, 469; opinions of him, viii, 469; property abandoned by him, viii, 469.
Hutchinson, Thomas (son of the Gov.), viii, 433.
Huyshe, Geo. L., *Red River Exped.*, viii, 79.

IBANEZ DE ECHAVARRI, B., *Paraguay sous les Jésuites*, viii, 358, 360.
Ibarra's expedition, viii, 198.
Icazbalceta, i; ii; edits Mendieta, viii, 248; *Nueva Coleccion*, viii, 249.
Ice trade, viii, 494.
Igloolik Island, viii, 85.
Iguala, Iturbide at, viii, 225.
Ile Royale, viii, 465.
Ile St. Jean, viii, 465.
Illinois, iv; v; vi; vii; English settlement in, viii, 493. *See* United States.
Imlay, G., *West. Territory*, viii, 492.
Indian Ocean. *See* Oceans.
Indians, generally considered, i; before Columbus, i; maps of their distribution, i, 321, 381; iv; viii, 65; bibliography, i, 316; earliest picture of, ii, 19; languages, i; iii.
  In the English colonies, i; iii; iv; v; during the American Revolution, vi; viii, 464; captivities, iii; v; vi: conferences and treaties, v; vii; bounds upon the English, vii; in the South, v, 365; treatment by the Hudson Bay Co., viii; later relations with the U. S., vii; in the war of 1812, viii, 144, 147; Jed. Morse's Report, viii, 413; geographical names, v, 564; wampum, iv, 55; Charity Schools, v, 246.
  In the French colonies, iv; v; in the Portuguese colonies (Brazil), viii, 349; in the Spanish colonies, i; ii; cruelly treated, ii; viii, 191, 195, 198; in Peru, viii, 314, 315; Padilla's Report, viii, 343.
  Tribes, groups, regions occupied, and persons:
  Abenaki, i; iii; iv; v. Acolhuas, i, 147. Adaes, v, 39, 40. Agniez, *see* Mohawk. Alaguilas, i, 428. Alaska, i, 328. Algonquins, i; iv. Amazons, iii, 118. Andastes, iv; v. Apaches, i, 327, 396. Apalaches, i; ii; v. Araucanians, i; ii; viii. Arikarees, i, 417. Arkansas, ii, 294; iv, 298; v, 82. Arrawok, i, 428. Asguaws, i, 111. Assiniboines, iv; viii. Atacames, ii, 508. Attikamegues, iv, 274. Avavares, ii, 244. Aymara, i. Aztecs, i; ii.
  Beaver, iv, 268. Beothuks, i. Black Hawk, vii. Boeotics, iv, 48. *See* Beothuks. Botocudos, viii, 371. Brant, Joseph, vi; viii.
  Cakchiquels, i; ii. California, i, 437; viii. Canada, i; v, 563; viii. Cannibals, ii. Cape Sable, v, 103, 434; vi. Caribs, i; viii. Catawbas, v; vi; vii. Caughnawagas, vi. Cayugas, v; vi; vii. Chancas, i. Changos, i, 275. Chaouanons, v, 564. Chatamuskokees, i, 326. Caouchas, v, 564. Chatkas, v, 66. Cherokees, i; ii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii, 491. Cheyennes, iv, 211. Chenusio, viii, 461. Chiapanecas, i, 425. Chibchas, i; ii. Chichimecs, i. Chicamaugas, vi, 678. Chickasaws, v; vii. Chimus, i. Chinantecs, i, 136. Chinchas, i. Chinooks, i, 99, 422. Chippewas, i, 326; iv, 175, 268, 286; vii. Chiquitas, i, 425. Choctaws, v; vi; vii; viii, 491. Chumeto, i, 426. Cimmarones, ii, 582; iii, 65; viii. Clallam, i, 425. Colhuas, i. Comanches, i. Conestogoes, vi. Cornplanter, vi; vii. Cornstalk, vi, 714. Creeks, v; vi; vii; viii, 491. Crees, iv, 268, 270. Crows, i, 327.
  Dacotahs, i; iv. Delawares, i; iv; v; vi; vii; viii, 147.
  Eastern, vi. Eries, iv; v. Eskimos, i; viii. Etechemins, iv, 152, 153, 312; v, 479. Euchees, vi, 679.
  Five Nations. *See* Iroquois. Flatheads, i, 425. Foxes, iv, 194, 268. v, 484, 560, 564; viii, 147.
  Goajra, i, 425. Guanches, i. Guajiqueros, i, 169. Guarinis, i, 136, 278. viii, 356.
  Half King, v. Hatteras, iii, 116. Hendrick, indian, v. Heve, i, 425. Hidatsa, i, 425. Honduras, i, 169. Housatonic, i, 323. Huancas, i, 227, 230. Huastecs, i, 136. Hudson Bay, viii. Hudson River, i, 325. Hurons, i; iv; viii, 461.
  Illinois, i; iv; v. Indiana, v, 564. Iroquois, i; iii; iv; v; vi. I-Santi, iv, 181. Issati, iv, 181.
  Kaskaskias, v, 52. Kennebecs, i, 322. Kickapoos, iv, 178; v, 564; vi; viii, 147. Koriaks, i, 77. Kussoes, v, 311.
  Lenni Lenape, i, 325, 437. Logan, vi; vii. Lummi, i, 425.
  Maine, i, 322; v, 424. Mandans, i, 111. Mangues, i, 169. Maquas, v, 107. Maricheets, i, 321; v, 452. Maroons, iii, 65; viii. Mascoutins, vi, 703, 741; vii, 542. Massachusetts, i, 323. Massasoit, iii, 274, 282, 290. Maumees, vii. *See* Miamis. Mayas, i; ii. Menwe, v. Miamis, iv; v; vi. Micmacs, i; iv; v; vi. Mingoes, v, 484; vi, 610, 671. Minomines, vi, 738. Minquas, iv, 447, 462, 492; v, 484. Missouri, v, 39. Miztecs, i, 136, 149. Mobilians, v. Mochica, i, 227, 275, 276. Modocs, i, 327. Mohawks, i; iii; iv; v;

vi; viii, 147. Mohegans, i; v; vi. Moncacht-Apé, iv, 211; v, 77; vii. Mongoulachas, v, 18, 19. Montagnais, iv; viii, 190. Moqui, i; ii, 484, 503. Moravian Converts, vi. Mowquas, i, 111. Muhkekeneew, i, 116. Muhheakunuks, vi, 613. Muiscas i. Munsees, vi, 606, 671. Muskogee, v; vii. Mutsun, i, 425.
Nahuas, i. Natchez, i, 134, 326; ii, 258, 294; v; vii. Narragansetts, i, 323; iii, 382; v, 342. Nasquapee, viii, 190. Natick, i, 423. Navajos, i. Neuters, iv, 276, 293, 298. Nevomé, i, 425. New England, i, 322; iii. New Grenada, i, 282. New York, i, 323; vi, 611. North Carolina, iii, 109. Nova Scotia, i, 321; v, 459; vi, 614. *See* Micmacs. Nyantics, i, 323.
Ogallala Sioux, i, 327. Ohio, v; vi. Ojibways, i, 327; iv, 175; v, 622; viii, 147. Oldtown, iv, 274. *See* Penobscots. Olmecs, i, 135, 137. Omaguas, ii, 581. Omahas, i, 327. Oneidas, iv; vi; vii. *See* Iroquois. Onondagas, i; iv; v; vi; vii. *See* Iroquois. Osages, v, 55. Osceola, vii. Ossossare, iv, 275. Otogamies, vii, 542. Otomis, i, 81, 136, 424. Ottawas, iv; v; vi; vii; viii, 147. Oumamis, iv, 271. Oumamiwek, iv, 267, 270. Outagamis, v. Outaouaks, iv, 310, 315.
Padoucas, i; v. Pamunkey, iii, 131. Papinachois, iv. Passamaquoddy, i; iv; v. Pawnees, i, 327. Pemicooks, i, 323. Pemigewassets, i, 322. Penicook, v, 420. Penobscots, i; v; vi. *See* Oldtown. Peorias, iv, 288. Pequakets, vi, 614, 655. Pequods, i; iii; v. Petun Hurons, iv. Pima, i, 425. Pirinda-Othome, i, 426. Piruas, i, 222. Pocahontas, iii. Pontiac, i; vi. Porcupine, iv, 267, 269. Pottawatomies, v, 564. Praying, i, 309; iii. Promauca, ii, 525. Puans, iv. Pueblo, i; ii. Puquina, i, 226, 274, 280.
Quichés, i; ii. Quichuas, i. Quinames, i, 133, 136. Quinipissas, v, 18.
Red Jacket, vi; vii. Roundhead (Wyandot), viii, 145.
Sacs, i, 327; viii, 147. Sacs and Foxes, vii, 406. St. Francis, v; vi. St. John's, v; vi. Schaghticokes, i, 324. Sedentary, ii, 473. Selish, i, 425. Seminoles, i; vii. Senecas, i; v; vi; vii. *See* Iroquois. Shanapins, v, 497. Shawanees or Shawnees, i; v; vi; vii; viii, 147. Shetimashas, i, 426; Shoshones, i, 381, 416. Sioux, i; vi. Six Nations, iv; v; vi; vii. *See* Iroquois. Skrælings, i. *See* Eskimos. Stockbridge, i; vi. Susquehanna, i; iii, 131, 490, 515, 562; iv, 298; v.
Taensas, v, 20, 66. Tapenecs, i. Tarascos, i, 136. Teananstayae, iv, 276, 277. Tecumseh, vii. Tepeacans, ii, 372. Timucua, i, 426. Timuquana, i, 425. Tlascalans, i. Toltecs, i. Tomaches, v, 70. Tonicas, v, 20, 66; vi, 702. Totonacs, i; ii, 359. Tuhis, i, 136, 428. Tuscaroras, i; v; vi; vii. Twightwees, v; vi. Tzendal, i, 427.
Uaupe, ii, 581. Uchees, v, 370, 371. Uçita, ii, 245. Uncas, iii. Utes, i, 327.
Virginia, v, 278.
Wabash, vi. Wampanoags, i, 102, 323; iii, 274. Winnebagoes, iv, 167, 175; v, 564; vi; viii, 147. Witchitas, i, 440. Wyandots, i; iv; v; vi; vii.
Xincas, i, 428.
Yahamas, i, 425. Yamacrows, v. Yazoos, iv; v. Yemassees, v. Yuma, i, 426. Yuncas, i, 227, 274, 280.
Zapotecs, i, 146, 149; Zuñi, i; ii.
⁂ The early maps contain many tribe names not here enumerated, — particularly the French maps in Vol. IV.
Writers on the Indians. Adair, James, i; v; vii. Bacqueville de la Potherie, iv. Catlin, Geo., i; vii. Colden, Cadwallader, iv; vi; vii. Dall, W. H., i. Doddridge, Jos., v. Eliot, John, i; iii. Field, T. W. (bibliographer), vi; vii, Gallatin, Albert, i; ii. Gookin Daniel, i, 322; iii. Hale, Horatio, i; iv. Harrison, W. H., v. Lafitau, i; iii; iv. Morgan, L. H , i; ii; iv; v; vi. Morse, Rev. Jed., vii. Schoolcraft, H. R., i; v; vi; vii.
Writers on their languages: They are grouped in i, *App.* Cf. among others, —
Adam, Lucien, i. Brinton, D. G., i. Charencey, H. de, i. Charlevoix, i, 424. Gatschet, A. S., i. Müller, Max, i. Powell, J. W., i. Rosny, Léon de, i. Trumbull, J. H., i.
Ingersoll, C. T., *Inchiquin*, viii, 492.
Inginae, *Memoirs*, viii, 288.
Inman, Geo., viii, 485.
Inquisition, viii, 311; in Mexico, viii, 196, 249; in Peru, viii, 300, 301, 309; procession of, viii, 310; abolished in Peru, viii, 324. *See* Religious Bodies.
Institutes, Institutions. *See* Societies.
Insurrections. *See* Military Events.
Intendencias. *See* Mexico.
Irala, Martines de, in the La Plata region, viii, 388.
Iredell, J., viii, 457.
Ireland, early discoverers, i; emigration to America, v; Scotch-Irish, v; MS. sources, viii, 459.
Irvine, Gen. Jas., papers, viii, 451.
Irvine, Gen. Wm., papers, viii, 451.
Irvine, Wm. A., viii 451.
Irving, Peter, *Morning Chronicle*, viii, 497.
Irving, W., i; ii; iv; v; vii; *Astoria*, viii, 78; assisted in translating Depon, viii, 346; on the estimates of America by English travellers, viii, 493.
Isbister, A. K., charges against the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 48, 75.
Isham, Chas., to edit the Silas Deane papers, viii, 444.
Isle. *See* Ile.
Italy, relations with American discovery, ii; emigrants to America, v; Genoa, ii; Tuscany, vii; Venice, ii; vii; archives, viii, 468.
Iturbide, Augustin, in the first Mexican revolution, viii, 217, 222; heads a new revolt, viii, 224; beaten by Guerrero, viii, 224; enters Mexico, viii, 225; portrait, viii, 225; his proclamation, viii, 225; emperor, viii, 226; abdicated, viii, 226; leaves Mexico, viii, 227; executed, viii, 227; lives, viii, 268; bibliog., viii, 269; *Memoirs*, viii, 269; life, by Bustamante, viii, 268.
Iturrigaray, José de, portrait, viii, 215; works on his deposition, viii, 269.
Itza, viii. 262.

JACKSON, ANDREW, vii; papers, viii, 459.
Jackson, Helen Hunt, on the Franciscan missions viii, 214.
Jackson, John Mills, viii, 150.
Jackson, Richard, viii, 431, 443; letters, viii, 477.
Jacobs, Peter, *Journal*, viii, 74.
Jacques, I. (Dessalines), viii, 286.
Jacques, C., on the Brazil coast, viii, 373.
Jalisco, Franciscans in, viii, 248.
Jamaica captured (1655), viii, 202, 307; trade, viii, 208, 273; bibliog., viii, 273, 279; *Interesting tracts*, viii, 275; attacked, viii, 281; negro problem in, viii, 279; *New History of Jamaica*, viii, 251. *See* West Indies.
James' Bay, iii; viii, 3; Capt. James at, viii, 7.
Jameson, Anna, *Winter Studies*, viii, 180.
Jameson, E. O., *Rev. Hist. of Medway*, viii, 427.
Jameson, J. A., *Const. Conventions*, vii; viii, 480.
Jannsen, W., viii, 410.
Jansen, C. W., *Stranger in America*, viii, 491.
Japan. *See* Asia.
Jaurequi, Augustin, viii, 314, 316.
Jaurequi, Dr. A., viii, 314, 316, 318, 342.
Jay, John, vi; vii; his secret journal, viii, 429; letters to Dana, viii, 429; letters to Weare, viii, 439; papers, viii, 446; *Life*, viii, 447.
Jay, Wm. *John Jay*, viii, 447.
Jefferson, Thomas, i; vi; vii; papers, viii, 421; used by his editors and biographers, viii, 421, 454; on Franklin's papers, viii, 421; *Classified list*, viii, 421; letters, viii, 436; domestic life, viii, 489; interviews with, viii, 492.
Jefferys, T., i; ii; iv; v; vi; vii; translates Müller's *Voyages*, viii, 110; his theory of the northern regions, viii, 111; works in the West Indies, viii, 277; *Spanish Islands*, viii, 294; *French Dominions in America*, viii, 364. *See* Maps.
Jeffries, Dr., viii, 423.
Jejuy, viii, 329.
Jenifer, Daniel of St. Thomas, papers, viii, 453.
Jenness, J. S., iii; viii, 438. *Transcripts*, viii, 438.
Jeremie, viii, 28.
Jesuits in the Hudson Bay region, viii, 68; increase in Mexico, viii, 201; in Lower California, viii, 205; expelled from Spanish America, viii, 210; in Sonora and California, viii, 210; literature of their missions, viii, 249; expelled, viii, 314; their wealth, viii, 314; in Brazil, viii, 350, 391; *Cartas*, viii, 350; in Maranham, viii 351; expelled from Brazil, viii, 356; in Paraguay, viii, 359, 360; documents, viii, 360; expelled, viii, 360; in Peru, viii, 368. *See* Religious Bodies.
Jewett, J. W., *Barnstead*, viii, 438.
Jews. *See* Discoverers.
Jimenes, executed, viii, 220.
John VI (Portugal) leaves Brazil, viii, 358.
Johnson, Charles, *Pyrates*, viii, 251.
Johnson, Col. Guy, vi; vii; letters, viii, 446, 464.
Johnson, Henry, on the Lima earthquake, viii, 344.
Johnson, Sir John, letters, viii, 464.
Johnson, John G. *Reed's aspersion of Rush*, viii, 479.
Johnson, Rev. Samuel (Conn.), papers, viii, 444.
Johnson, Gov. Thos., viii, 454.
Johnson, Sir Wm., v; vi; corresp., viii, 446, 447, 464; treaties with the Indians, viii, 461; letters to the Lords of Trade, viii, 462; letters from Gage, viii, 462; papers, viii, 463.
Johnson, Wm. Samuel, vi; vii: diary, viii, 443; portrait, viii, 443; letters from England, viii, 443, 477.
Johnston, Alex, vii: school *Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482; his work on Lalor's *Cyclopædia*, viii, 482; death, viii,

482; *Representative Amer. Orations*, viii, 485.
Johnston, Gov., speech on Howe's conduct, viii, 502.
Johnston, H. P., vi; preparing Jay papers, viii, 447; *Yale and her honor roll*, viii, 496; on Judge Jones' loyalist history, viii, 501.
Jomard, ii; iii; iv; *Fragments*, viii, 424.
Jomini, *Guerres de la Rèvolution*, viii, 288.
Jones, C. C., jr., i; ii; v; vi; vii; his MSS., viii, 426, 458.
Jones, Jos., letters, viii, 421.
Jones, J. C., *Protestantism in Mississippi*, viii, 486.
Jones, Paul, vi; papers, viii, 413; correspondence, viii, 466.
Jones, Thomas, loyalist, vii; viii, 500; *Hist. of New York*, viii, 501; portrait, viii, 501.
Jones, T. R., *Manual of Greenland*, viii, 104.
Jones, U. J., *Juniata Valley*, viii, 450.
Jones, W., viii, 413.
Jones, acc. of Dr. Kane, viii, 122.
Jordan, Wm. *Hayti*, viii, 289.
Joseph, E. L. *Trinidad*, viii, 291.
Joy, Arad, vi; viii, 434.
Joy, Prof. C. A., vii; viii, 257, 434.
Juan Fernandez, Selkirk at, viii, 205; view, viii, 207; discovered, viii, 407.
Judson, L. C., *Sages of the Amer. Rev.*, viii, 481.
Jujuy, viii, 329.
Jukes, J. B., *Newfoundland*, viii, 190.
Junin, battle of, viii, 336.
Junot, Marshal, invades Portugal, viii, 357.
Justel, Henri, *Afrique, etc.*, viii, 275; *Voyages*, viii, 290.

KALBFLEISCH, C. H., i; viii, 412.
Kames, Lord, viii, 423.
Kane, Dr. E. K., his Arctic experiences, viii, 95, 99; *U. S. Grinnell exped.*, viii; *Arctic explorations*, viii, 122; *Access to an open Polar Sea*, viii, 122; lives of, viii, 122; map of his discoveries, viii. 125; his farthest north, viii, 126.
Kapp, F., vi; vii; *Steuben*, viii, 448; helps Geo. Bancroft, viii, 477; his works on the Amer. Rev., viii, 507.
Kaye, J. W., *Lord Metcalfe*, viii, 185.
Keating, *Exped. to St. Peter's lake*, viii, 79.
Ke-che-ah-gaw-me-qua, viii, 174.
Kellett, Capt. Henry, vii, 91, 97, 121.
Kelly, W., *California*, viii, 259.
Kelsey, Henry, viii, 78.
Kendall, Amos, vii; *Autobiog.*, viii, 497.
Kendall, E. A., *Travels*, viii, 492.
Kendrick, Capt., on the northwest coast, ii; viii, 213.
Kennedy, Capt. Wm., in the Arctic seas, viii, 96.
Kennedy Channel, viii, 100, 125.
Kent, Benj., viii, 460.
Kent, John, viii, 491.
Kenton, Simon, papers, viii, 459.
Kentucky, vi; vii; MS. sources, viii, 459; Catholics in, viii, 486. *See* United States.
Keppel, Com., viii, 275.
Kergorlay, Comte Jean de, viii, 466.
Kerguélen, Y. J., *Relation*, viii, 506.
Kerr, i; *Voyages*, viii, 346, 492.
Kettell, *Amer. Poets*, viii, 474.
Key, F. S., *Star Spangled Banner*, viii, 484; portrait, viii, 484.
Kidder, Fred, i; iii; iv; v; vi; *First N. H. Reg. in the Rev.*, viii, 438, 482; *Mil. Oper. in Eastern Maine*, viii, 464.
King, C. R., viii, 433.
King, Col. J. A., *Argentine Repub.*, viii, 362.
King, Capt. James, viii, 112.
King, John, *The Other Side*, viii, 181.
King, John A., viii, 433.
King, Richard, *Journey to Arctic Ocean*, viii, 119.
King, Rufus, vii; letters from Gore, viii, 431; papers, viii, 433; used by J. C. Hamilton and others, viii, 433.
King, William, on Hans Sloane, viii, 277.
King William's Land, viii, 102, 109.
Kingsford, *Canadian Archæology*, viii, 171.
Kingsley, J. L., *Life of Stiles*, viii, 475.
Kingston, Jamaica, view, viii, 278.
Kino, father, ii; viii, 205; in California, viii, 254.
Kiprianoff, B., *Mappemonde*, viii, 257.
Kirk, letter to Howe, viii, 502.
Kirkland, Capt. (Del.), viii, 452.
Kirkland, C. M., viii, 488.
Kirkland, J. T., *Gen. Lincoln*, viii, 434.
Kirkland, Samuel, Life, by S. K. Lathrop, viii, 475.
Kitchin, Thos., ii; v; vi; vii; map of the siege of Havana, viii, 273. *See* Maps.
Klüpfel, Dr. Karl, edits Hans Stade, viii, 391.
Klutschak, H. W., *Als Eskimo unter der Eskimos*, viii, 128.
Knapp, S. L., revised Hinton's *United States*, viii, 504.
Knight, Chas., *Pop. Hist. England*, viii, 504.
Knight, E. H., on mechanical progress (U. S.), viii, 482.
Knight, H. C., *Letters*, viii, 493.
Knowles, Capt., in Boston, v; at Cartagena, viii, 293.
Knox, Gen. Henry, vi; vii; papers, viii, 433; *Life*, by Drake, viii, 433; portraits, viii, 433, 434; his mansion at Thomaston, Me., viii, 434; letters, viii, 436; report on the number of troops in the Continental army, viii, 482.
Knox, Lucy, viii, 334.
Knox, W., on the Quebec Act, viii, 171.
Koenig, map of Peru, viii, 303; his *Ephemerides*, viii, 303.
Koenig, F., *Du Guay-Tronin*, viii, 356.
Kohl, J. G., ii; iii; iv; v; *Magellan's Strasse*, viii, 375; his collection of maps, viii, 424; on the Pacific coast discoveries, viii, 424; and on those of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, viii, 424; in part printed as *Hist. of Discovery on the Coasts of the U. S.*, viii, 424; letter to Jomard, viii, 424; *The Kohl Collection*, viii, 425.
Koster, Henry, *Travels*, viii, 353.
Kotzebue, Otto von, *Süd See*, viii, 259; *New Voyage*, viii, 259.

La Aurora, viii, 326.
La Barre, Lefebre de, *France Equinoxiale*, viii, 363, his fleet defeated, viii, 363.
Labat, J. P., *Nouveau Voyage*, viii, 271, 272, 364; portrait, viii, 271.
Laboulaye, Ed., viii, 490; translates Franklin's autobiog. viii, 423; *États Unis* viii, 506.
Labrador, i; ii; iii; iv; maps of, viii, 27; Sanson (1666), viii, 105; Delisle, (1700–3), viii, 106, 107; works on, viii, 190.
Lacaita, Sir James, viii, 460.
Lacandon, viii, 261.
Lacey, Gen. John, vi; papers, viii, 447.
Lacoste, G. de, *Toussaint*, viii, 286.
Lacour, Louis, viii, 505.
La Cruz y Bahamonde, N. de, viii, 347.
Ladron de Guevara, Diego, viii, 307.
Laet, J. De, iii; iv; *West. Ind. Comp.*, viii, 353.
Lafayette, Gen., in the Rev., vi; vii; travels in the U. S., vii; helps Sparks, viii, 417, 420, 466; received back his letters to Washington, viii, 420; letters, viii, 446, 455; embarks for America, viii, 453; correspondence, viii, 466; papers, viii, 467; *Mémoires*, viii, 467; letters to Washington, viii, 467; some papers destroyed in the Reign of Terror, viii, 467; his talks with Sparks, viii, 468; *Life*, by B. Tuckerman, viii, 468; said to have assisted Scheffer in his *États Unis*, viii, 505; his opinion of Mazzei, viii, 506.
Lafayette, Geo. W., viii, 468.
Lafitau, J. F., *Conquêtes des Portuguais*, viii, 350, 372.
La France, Jos., viii, 69.
La Franche's explorations, viii, 78.
Laing, David, *Royal Letters*, iii; viii, 188, 190.
Lakes. Angoulême, iv. Ashley, v, 340, 341. Assenipoils, iv, 249, 252. Bonneville, i, 347. Borgue, v, 41. Buade, iv, 230, 249. Canandaigua, iv, 125. Champlain, iii; iv; v; vi; vii; the "Royal Savages" on, viii, 483. Conibas, iv, 97, 99, 101. Erie, iv; v; vii. Frontenac, iv, 208. George, iv; v; vi. Huron, iv. Illinois. *See* Michigan. Itasca, vii. Lahontan, 1, 347. Mistasin, v, 84. Nepignon, iv, 173, 189. Nipissing, iv. Oneida, iv, 125. Ontario, iv; v; vii. Parima, ii; viii, 408. Pepin, iv, 169, 195; v. Pontchartrain, v; vi, Seneca, vi. Superior, i, 417; iv. Tadenac, iii; iv, 80, 97, 377. Thongo, viii. Titicaca, i; ii, 519, 558; viii, 301, 399, 400, 408. Two Mountains, iv, 312. Tracy, iv, 206. Winnebago, iv, 224. Winnepeesaukee, v, 134. Winnipeg, ii; viii. Woods (of the), vii. Xarayes, viii, 394.
Lallement, G., *Colombie*, viii, 367.
Lalor, J. J., *Cyclopædia*, vii; viii, 482.
Lamar, General, viii, 336, 337; at Callao Castle, viii, 334; President of Peru, viii, 339.
Lamartine, poem on Toussaint, viii, 286.
Lamas, A., *Rivière de la Plata*, viii, 361.
Lamb, Gen. John, vi; papers, viii, 447; *Life*, viii, 447; portrait, viii, 447.
Lamb, M. J., iii; iv, v; vii; *Homes of America*, viii, 489.
Lambert, B., viii, 492.
Lambert, John, *Travels*, viii, 492.
Lambton, J. G. *See* Durham, Earl of.
Lamont, *Yachting in the Arctic Seas*, viii, 108.
Lancaster, James, on the Brazil coast, viii, 351.
Landa, Bishop, i; ii; viii, 197.
Langdon, John, corresp., viii, 420; papers, viii, 439; portrait, viii, 439.
Langeac, Chev. de, *Anecdotes*, viii, 506.
Langevin, Sir Hector, viii, 173.
Langlier, J. C., *Gaspesie*, viii, 183.
Langsdorff, G. H. von, *Voyages*, viii, 259.
Langworthy, E., *Charles Lee*, viii, 455.
Lanman, Chas., *Biog. Annals*, viii, 482.
Lanqui, viii, 317.
Lansdowne, Marquis of, viii, 460, 463; MSS., viii, 461.
Laon, Jean de, *Voyage*, viiii, 363.
La Palata, Duke of, viii, 306, 342.
La Paz, siege of, viii, 344.
La Perouse attacks the Hudson's Bay Co's forts, viii, 72; on the Pacific

coast, viii, 212; on the Chilean coast, viii, 323.
La Place, C. P. T., *Circumnavigation*, viii, 259.
La Plata region, documentary hist. of, viii, 344; bibliog. of, viii, 358; chronology, viii, 358; cartography, viii, 358.
La Plata River, ii; found by Solis, viii, 375; when named, viii, 375; visited by Cabot, viii, 384; Freire's map, viii, 393. *See* Rivers.
Lapham, W. B., viii, 485.
Lapi, M. A., *Torivio*, viii, 367.
Lara, Gen., viii, 336.
Larkin, T. O., vii; viii, 232; his papers, viii, 260.
Larned, Ellen D., *Windham County*, viii, 444.
Laroche-Héron, C. de, *Servantes de Dieu*, viii, 173; *Cath. Chh. U. S.*, viii, 486.
Larrabee, W. C., *Asbury*, viii, 487.
Larrainzar, M., *Sobre la historia*, viii, 268.
Larrazabal, F., *Bolivar*, viii, 346.
Lartigue, Monseigneur, viii, 157.
La Salle, his discoveries, iv; life by Sparks, viii, 475.
La Serna, last viceroy of Peru, viii, 337.
Las Casas, i; his career, ii; protects the Indians, viii, 191; his tracts, viii, 193; his *Historia*, viii, 193; in Central America, viii, 232; bibliog., viii, 246; possessed notes of Columbus, viii, 372; sees Magellan, viii, 376.
Las Cruces, battle of, viii, 217; plan, viii, 218.
Las Heras, viii, 330.
Lastarria, J. V., *Miscelanea*, viii, 347; *Hist. Const. del medio siglo*, viii, 347.
Lattre, P. A. de, *Campagnes à St. Domingue*, viii, 287.
Laujon, A. P. M., *Expéd. de St. Domingue*, viii, 287.
Laurens, Edw. R., viii, 458.
Laurens, Henry, vi; in the Tower, vii; papers, viii, 458; *Laurens Correspondence*, viii, 458, 466; papers captured, viii, 502.
Laurens, Col. John, letters, viii, 458.
Lauzun, Duc de, *Mémoires*, viii, 505.
Laverdiere, Abbé, iv; viii, 172.
Law, John, v.
Lawrence, Abbott, in London, viii, 423.
Lawrence, Amos A., viii, 431.
Lawrence, Eugene, on Colonial progress (U. S.), viii, 482; on the educational progress of the U. S., viii, 482.
Lawrence, J. W., *New Brunswick*, viii, 175.
Lawrence, John, *Stanstead*, viii, 183.
Lawrence-Archer, J. H., *Brit. Army*, viii, 502.
Laws, Capt., at Cartagena, viii, 293, 294.
Layca-cota destroyed, viii, 305.
Lazo, A. C., *Nouveau Voyage*, viii, 367.
Leake, I. Q., *John Lamb*, vi; viii, 447.
Leavitt, *Leeds and Grenville*, viii, 183.
Leboucher, O. J., *Hist. de la dernière guerre*, viii, 505.
Lecky, W. E. H., *England*, vi; vii; viii, 504.
Leclerc on St. Domingo, viii, 285.
Lecroix, Paul, on De Gonneville, viii, 374.
Ledyard, J., life by Sparks, viii, 475.
Ledyard, Wm., letters, viii, 443.
Lee, Arthur, vi; letters, viii, 429, 436, 477; papers divided, viii, 455; agent for Mass., viii, 455; life, viii, 455; relations with Silas Deane, viii, 455.
Lee, Chas., vi; corresp. with Heath, viii, 431; letters, viii, 435; papers, viii, 455; lives, viii, 455, 456; life by Sparks, viii, 475.
Lee, Hannah F., *Toussaint*, viii, 286.
Lee, Henry, vi; letters, viii, 455.
Lee, Jesse, *Methodism*, viii, 487.
Lee, R. H., vi; vii; letters, viii, 420, 436, 455; life, viii, 455; orator, viii, 485; Botta gives him a speech on Independence, viii, 507.
Lee, R. M., *Jesse Lee*, viii, 487.
Leeds, J. W., *Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482.
Lefebre de la Barre, Léon, viii, 363.
Leffingwell, E. H., his MSS., viii, 426.
Lefroy, Col. J. H., viii, 62.
Leggett, Maj. Abraham, *Narrative*, viii, 485.
Le Grand, Buccaneer, viii, 251.
Leisler, Gov., v; letter-books, viii, 447; life by C. F. Hoffman, viii, 475.
Leister, Christian, viii, 352.
Lemaire doubles Cape Horn, viii, 410; Journal, viii, 410; *Ephemerides*, viii, 411.
Lemarchant, Sir Denis, viii, 503.
Lemoine, J. M., iv; v; vii; *Nos quatre historiens*, viii, 172; *Maple Leaves*, viii, 173; *Monographies*, viii, 173; *Picturesque Quebec*, viii, 173.
Lemonier-Delafosse, *Compagnie de St. Domingue*, viii, 286.
Lemos, Count of, viii, 304.
Lemos, G. de, viii, 372.
Lendrum, John, *Amer. Revolution*, viii, 473; *Hist. America*, viii, 473.
Lenglet du Fresnoy, *Méthode, etc.*, viii, 382.
Lenox globe, viii, 412. *See* Maps.
Leon Pinelo, Ant. de, *Torribio*, viii, 367.
Leopold island, viii, 91.
Lepe, Diego de, viii, 371.
Le Pers, viii, 279.
Le Roy on Franklin, viii, 422.
Léry, Jean de, in Brazil, viii, 392; his view of a Brazilian scene, viii, 392; *Historia*, viii, 392; *Histoire*, viii, 392.
Lesdernier, *Fannie St. John*, viii, 490.
Leslie, Alex., *Voyages of Nordenskjöld*, viii, 129.
Leslie, John, *Polar Seas*, viii, 107, 108.
Leslie, R. C., *Life aboard a British Privateer*, viii, 252.
Lesperance, John, on Canadian history, viii, 173.
Lester, E. E., *Our first hundred years*, viii, 482; *Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482.
Lestock, Com., at Cartagena, viii, 293.
Lettre aux Espagnols Américains, viii, 346.
Le Vasseur, viii. 280.
Levaux, viii, 285.
Levermore, C. H., *New Haven*, viii, 444.
Levinge, R. G. A., *Echoes*, viii, 180.
Lévis, Maréchal de, v; papers, viii, 465.
Lexington, fight at, vi; narrative, viii, 427, 478.
Libraries. *See* Americana.
Lichefield, N., viii, 372.
Lieber, G. N., on the martial law of the Rev., viii, 484.
Ligon, R., *Barbadoes*, viii, 290.
Lima, i; ii; destroyed by earthquake, viii, 312, 313, 343; plan, viii, 313; rebuilt, viii, 314; Jesuit Church, viii, 314; Bolivar in, viii, 336; founded, viii, 343.
Linage, *Nortè de la Contratacion*, viii, 250.
Liñan, y Cisneros, Melchior de, viii, 306, 342.
Lincoln, Gen. Benj., in the Rev., vi; later life, vii; papers, viii, 434; some lost, viii, 434; lives, viii, 434; letters, viii, 436; letter to Horry, viii, 458; his papers used by Gordon, viii, 471; life by F. Bowen, viii, 475.
Lincoln, W., viii, 427.
Lindley, E. M., viii, 434.
Lindsay, W., *View of America*, viii, 493.
Lindsey, Chas., *Boundaries of Ontario*, viii, 76; *Mackenzie*, viii, 181; *Clergy Reserves*, viii, 185.
Lindström, maps, viii, 450. *See* Maps.
Liniers, Santiago, viii, 360.
Linschoten, iii; Wolfe's, Eng. transl. maps in, of South America, viii, 401, 404, 406.
Lippitt, Col. Christopher, autobiog., viii, 442.
Lipscomb, J. W., viii, 457.
Lisboa, João de, viii, 380.
Literature of the United States, viii, 494.
Littell, J. S., viii, 479.
Little, Professor, viii, 429.
Livermore, Capt. Daniel, orderly-book, viii, 438.
Livermore, Geo., iii; vi; *Historical Research*, viii, 484.
Livingston, Edw., vii; viii, 425.
Livingston, R. R., vi; vii; first sec. of foreign affairs, viii, 414; letters, 429.
Livingston, Gov. Wm., vi; papers, viii, 449; Liberty Hall, viii, 449; his MS. Hist. Amer. Rev., viii, 469.
Livius, Peter, tory, vii; writes to Gen. Sullivan, viii, 478.
Lizana, Archbp. and Viceroy, viii, 216; portrait, viii, 216.
Llano, viii, 222.
Lockwood, Lieut., viii, 129.
Lodge, H. C., i; iii; v; vi; vii; *Writings of A. Hamilton*, viii, 421; *Cabot*, viii, 429, 433, 434, 435; on Gouv. Morris, viii, 447.
Logan, James, *Journey*, viii, 180.
Logan (Penna.) papers, viii, 423, 451.
Logwood trade, viii, 263.
Lolonois, buccaneer, viii, 251.
Londerzell, A van, viii, 391.
London (Canada), viii, 142.
London, Dr. Williams' library in, viii, 460.
Londonio, C. D., *Colonie Inglesi in America*, viii, 507.
Long, Edward, *Jamaica*, viii, 277.
Longfellow, H. W., i; ii; iii; v; vi; in Cambridge, viii, 417.
Lopez, in Paraguay, viii, 360.
Lopez, Tomas, map of Mexico, vii, 200; map of Havana, viii, 275; *Atlas*, viii, 294. *See* Maps.
Lopez, V. F., *Repub. Argentina*, viii, 346.
Lorencillo and the pirates, viii, 203.
Lorenzana, ii; archbishop, viii, 210; edits Mexican Councils' records, viii, 248.
Lorente, Sebastian, *Perú*, viii, 343.
Loring, Geo. B., vi; defends the reputation of Gen. Parsons, viii, 463; on the medical profession in Mass., viii, 488.
Loring, James S., on Wm. Gordon, viii, 470.
Lorne, Marquis of, viii, 187.
Los Angeles founded, viii, 212, 261.
Lossing, B. J., iv; v; vi; vii; had the Schuyler papers, viii, 447; *Life of Schuyler*, viii, 447; *Pict. Field-book of the Rev.*, viii, 479, 480; *War of 1812*, viii, 480; revised Schroeder's *Washington*, viii, 481; *Wars with Great Britain*, viii, 481; *Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482; *American Centenary*, viii, 482; on the seal of the U. S., viii, 484; *Mary and Martha Washington*, viii, 489; edits *Diary of Washington*, viii, 496.
Lothrop, S. K., *Life of Kirkland*, viii, 475.
Loubat, J. F., *Medallic Hist. U. S.* vi; vii; viii, 484, 489.
Louis XVI, viii, 466; executed, viii, 285.
Louisiana, early history, ii; iv; v; in the Rev., vi; purchase of, vii; MS.

sources, viii, 459; exped. through, viii, 492. *See* United States.
Lovejoy, B. G., viii, 476.
Lovell, A. A., *Worcester in the Rev.*, viii, 427.
L'Overturè, Toussaint, portraits, viii, 282, 284; autog., viii, 285; a colonel, viii, 285; deserts the Spaniards, viii, 285; origin of his name, viii, 285; general, viii, 285.
L'Overture, Isaac, viii, 286.
Lowell, Dr. Chas., MSS., viii, 437.
Lowell, E. J., vi; on German sources of the Amer. Revolution, vii; viii, 468.
Lower Canada, character of its population, viii, 131, 143. *See* Canada.
Loyal and Patriotic Society (Canada), viii, 150.
Loyalists. *See* United States, Amer. Revolution.
Loyasa at Magellan's Straits, viii, 384.
Lozano, F. L., viii, 303.
Lozano, Pedro, on the Lima earthquake, viii, 344; *Descript. chorog.*, viii, 358; *Comp. de Jesus en Paraguay*, viii, 360.
Ludlow, J. M., *Amer. Independence*, viii, 501
Ludwell papers, viii, 455.
Ludwick, Christopher, viii, 483.
Ludwig, J. F., *Surinam*, viii, 366.
Luffman, John, *Antigua*, viii, 289.
Luna, Diego de, on the Indians, viii, 343.
Lundy's Lane fight, vii; viii, 147.
Lussan, Raveneau de, *Voyage*, viii, 250.
Luyt, *Introd. ad Geog.*, viii, 258.
Luzerne, vii; correspondence with, viii, 414, 466; papers, viii, 466.
Lymburner, Adam, viii, 138.
Lyon, Capt. Geo. F., viii, 85, 86; *Journal*, viii, 118; *Brief Narrative*, viii, 118.
Lyte, H. C., Maxwell, viii, 460.

M'Cabe, J. D., *Cent. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482.
M'Cormick, Robt., *Voyages*, viii, 126.
M'Donell, Alex., *Transactions in the Red River Country*, viii, 78.
M'Ilraith, *Sir John Richardson*, viii, 108.
M'Leod, D., *Upper Canada*, viii, 174.
McAfee, Robt., papers, viii, 459.
McCarthy, Justin, *Hist. of Our Own Times*, viii, 162.
McClellan, Jos., viii, 443.
McClintock, F. L., in the Arctic seas, viii, 97; in the "Fox," viii, 101; ascertained the fate of Franklin, viii, 102; *Voyage of the "Fox,"* viii, 127.
McClintock Channel, viii, 124.
McClure, Capt. R. L., his search for Franklin, viii, 92; connects his own with Parry's discoveries, viii, 93; his journal found, viii, 97; his track, viii, 109; Osborn's acc. of his voyage, viii, 121.
McDonald, Alex., letter book, viii, 447.
McDonald, Archibald, *Peace River*, viii, 75.
McDougall, Geo. F., *Voyage of the Resolute*, viii, 122.
McDougall, Wm., viii, 79.
McFie, M., *Vancouver Island*, viii, 184.
McGee, J. G., viii, 486.
McGee, Thos. D'Arcy, *Speeches*, viii, 172; *Cath. Hist. of No. America*, viii, 482.
McGillivray, Simon, viii, 44.
McGillivray, William, 844.
McGregor, James, D. D., viii, 175.
McGuire, F. B., viii, 421.
McHenry, Dr. James, papers, viii, 453.
McIntosh, Gen., viii, 451.
McKean, Thos., vi; viii, 480.
McKeevor, Thomas, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, viii, 73.
McKesson, John, papers, viii, 447.
McKinlay, Alex., viii, 80.
McKinly, President (Delaware), viii, 452.
McLane, Capt., viii, 432.
McLane, Col. Allen, papers, viii, 448.
McLean, John, *Twenty-five years' service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, viii, 74.
McLeod in the "Caroline" affair, vii; viii, 161; portrait, viii, 160.
McLord, D. J., *Statutes, S. C.*, viii, 457.
McLoughlin, John, vii, 79.
McMaster, J. B., *Franklin*, vii; viii, 424; *United States*, vii; viii, 481; his dependence upon newspapers, viii, 497.
McMullen, John, *Canada*, viii, 186.
McSherry, R. M., *Nat. Medals*, viii, 484.
McTaggart, *Canada*, viii, 179.
Macdonald, John A., viii, 168.
Macdonald, Sir John A., viii, 186; life, viii, 186.
Macdonell, A., bishop, viii, 181.
Macdonell, Capt. Miles, letter book, viii, 78.
Macdonell, Chaplain, viii, 142.
Macedo, F., *Toribius*, viii, 367.
Maceroni, *Affairs of South America*, viii, 334.
MacGahan, J. A., *Northern Lights*, viii, 108.
Macgregor, John, *Progress of America*, viii, 250, 494.
Machar, John, *Memorials of*, viii, 184.
Mackau, Baron, viii, 287.
Mackay, Chas., *Founders of North Amer. Repub.*, viii, 482.
Mackenna, B. V., i; *Valparaiso*, viii, 312; *Santiago*, viii, 321; *Inquisicion en America*, viii, 324; *Ostracismo de los Carreras*, viii, 326; *Bibl. Amer.* (Beéche), viii, 342; on the war for Peruvian independence, viii, 344, 345; *San Martin*, viii, 346, 347; *Diego Portales*, viii, 347; *La Guerra a muerte*, viii, 347; *O'Higgins*, viii, 347, 348.
Mackenzie, Alexander, explores Mackenzie River, viii, 34; portrait, viii, 34; *Voyages*, viii, 34, 72.
Mackenzie, Alex. *Life of Geo. Brown*, viii, 186.
Mackenzie, A. S., viii, 448; *Stephen Decatur*, vii; viii, 475.
Mackenzie, Chas., *Hayti*, viii, 288.
Mackenzie, E., *United States*, viii, 493.
Mackenzie, W. L., viii, 151, 158; portrait, viii, 158; life of, viii, 181.
Mackie, J. M., *Life of Samuel Gorton*, iii; viii, 475.
Mackintosh, Sir James, viii, 463.
Macknight, *Burke*, vi; vii; viii, 503.
Maclean, Capt., viii, 266.
Maclear, *Anglo-American Magazine*, viii, 179.
MacNab, Col. Allan, viii, 161.
Macoun, John, *Manitoba*, viii, 79.
Macpherson, David, *Annals of Commerce*, viii, 250.
Madagascar, viii, 374.
Madeira. *See* Oceans.
Madison, James, vi; vii; papers, viii, 420, 421.
Madiou, Thomas, *Haiti*, viii, 279.
Madoc, i; his voyage the basis of English rights, viii, 209.
Maeso, Justo, viii, 361.
Magalhaēz. *See* Gandavo.
Magellan, his voyage, ii; track of, viii, 412; his voyage, viii, 376; his object, viii, 382.
Magellan's Straits, history of, viii, 375; Pigafetta's map, viii, 383. *See* Maps.
Magnetic pole discovered, viii, 88, 120.
Magoon, E. L., *Orations of the Rev.*, viii, 485.
Magruder, P., viii, 413.
Mahu and Cordes pass Magellan's Straits, viii, 407.
Mahon (Stanhope), Lord, vi; vii; controversy with Sparks, viii, 418; portrait, viii, 418; prints letters of Geo. III, viii, 463; *Hist. of Eng.*, viii, 418, 405; Lecky's opinion of it, viii, 504; death, viii, 504; revisions of his *History*, viii, 504.
Maine, iii; iv; v; in the Amer. Rev., vi; viii, 465; Baptists in, viii, 487.
Maitland, Sir Peregrine, viii, 151, 153.
Maldonado's route, ii; viii, 110.
Malespina, A., viii, 319.
Malo, Chas., viii, 422; *St. Domingue*, viii, 289.
Malo, J. R., *Iturbide*, viii, 269.
Malouet, Baron V. P., *Colonies*, viii, 279; *Guiane*, viii, 366.
Mamaconas, viii, 296.
Manahan, A, viii, 181.
Mancera, Marquis of, viii, 302.
Manches, viii, 261.
Manchester, Duke of, papers, viii, 461, 463.
Mandrillon, T., *Le Spectateur Américain*, viii, 505.
Manitoba, archæolog., i; early explorations, iv; hist. of, viii, 184.
Manitoba Historical Society, viii, 187.
Mann, Herman, *Female Review*, viii, 488.
Mann, Mrs. Horace, viii, 362.
Manning, James, letters and diaries, viii, 442; life, by R. A. Guild, viii, 442.
Manoquin in Central America, viii, 232.
Mansfelt, in command of the buccaneer fleet, 236.
Manso, José Ant., viii, 311.
Mante, *Late war*, v; viii, 290.
Maps and Mapmakers:
  Including charts and globes, geographers, and writers on maps, atlases, etc. The maps, etc., are sometimes designated by the names commonly applied to them, as "Admiral's map," "Figurative map," "Laon globe," "Tross gores," etc.; sometimes by the name of the writer in whose book they appeared, when not the maker, as "Ptolemy," "Ramusio," etc.
  Value of maps in historical study, v; history of geography, ii.
  Aa, Van der, iii; iv. Acadia, iii; iv; v. Acapulco, port of, viii, 208, 209. Acosta, iii, 196. Admiral's map, ii, 112; iv, 34, 35. Agathodaemon, ii, 28. Agnese, Baptista, i, 3; ii; iii; iv. Ahmed, iv, 78. Alabama, ii; vii; viii. Alaska, ii, 464. Alexander, Sir W., iii, 306, 341; v, 85. Allard, iv, 375, 376. Allefonsce, ii, 227; iv, 74. Amazon, ii, 581; viii, 390, 397, 398; 399. America, i; ii; iii; iv; v, 234; viii, 397. American Military pocket atlas, v, 527. Anahuac, i; ii. Anger, v, 485. Anian, Straits of, ii. Annapolis Basin (Nova Scotia), iv; v. Antarctic Continent, ii; viii, 384, 387, 388, 397, 398, 407. Antilles, ii. *See* West Indies. Apian, i, p. xxi; ii; iii, 199; iv, 81. Arabic, i; ii. Arctic Regions, iii; iv; viii. Arizona, i, 397; vii. Arrowsmith, ii, 589; vii; viii. Asia, ii. Atlantic ocean and islands, i, 52, 53; ii. Atlantis, i, 18–20, 52. Atlas Ameriquain, iv, 155; v, 83; vi, 341; vii, 183. Atlas contractus, iv, 375. Atlas geographico de la America, viii, 238. Atlas Maritimus, v, 239. Atlas methodique, vii, 180. Atlas Moderne, vii, 182. Atlases, general,

iv, 369. Ayllon, ii, 285. Azores, i, 49; ii. Aztec, i, 138; ii. Aztlan, i, 394.

Baccalaos, iii; iv. Bahamas, ii, 55; v. Baltic Sea, i. Barbadoes, v; viii, 280. Barlow (S. L. M.), collection, iv. 201. Beaurain, vi; vii, 184. Beauvilliers, De, v, 81. Beccario, i, 49. Behaim, Martin, i; ii; iii. Behring's Straits, i, 77. Bell, Peter, vii. 182. Bellin, Nicolas, ii, 468; iv, 64; v; viii, 276. Benincasa, i, 56; ii, 38. Bermuda, ii; iv. Berry, Wm., iv, 390. Bertian, G. i, 58. Bew, vii, 175. Bianco, Andrea, i; ii. Blackmoe, v, 429. Blanchard, Jos., v, 485. Blaeu, ii, 467, 587; iii; iv. Blaskowitz, vi; Bolivia, i, 209. Bollero, ii; iii; iv; viii. Bolton, v, 235. Bonne, vii, 184. Bonnecamps, v, 570. Bonneville, vii, 558. Bordone, B., i; iii, 194; iv, 45, 77, 414. Bory de St. Vincent, i, 19. Botero, iv, 378. Bouquet, Col., v, 608. Bourje, T. P., iii, 418. Bowen, Emanuel, ii, 468; v; vii, 182. Bowles, Carrington, vii, 174. Brassier, v, 485. Brazil (island), i, 53, 54. Brazil (country), ii; viii, 349, 350, 373, 401, 408. Briggs, Master, ii, 462, 466; iv, 378, 383. Bry, De, iii; iv, 79, 99. Buache, Philippe, i; ii; iv, 375; v, 67, 82; viii, 110.

Cabot, John, iii. Cabot, Seb., ii; iii; iv; viii, 385. California, ii; viii, 254, 255, 256, 257. California, gulf of, ii; iv. Camers, John, ii. Camponius, iv. Canada, iv; v; viii, 132. Canary Islands, i. Canepa, i. Cantino, i, 53, 120; ii; iii; viii, 412. Cape Breton (island), iii; iv; v. Cape Cod, i, 100, 393; iii; iv; v, 134. Cape Fear River, vi, 542. Carignano, i, 53. Carleton, Osgood, vii. Carolinas, v; vi, 675. Carolus, J., i, 131. Carta Marina, iv, 40, 43. Cartagena, viii, 291, 292, 293, 294. Cartier, Jaques, iv. Castillo, ii, 444. Castilla del Oro, ii. Catalan, i; ii, 38, 94. Cayenne (city), viii, 365; (island), viii, 364. Central America, i, 151; ii; viii. Chagres River, viii, 237. Chaleur Bay, v, 614. Champlain, iv. Champlain, Lake, iv; v; vi. Charleston, S. C., v; vi. Charlevoix, v; viii. Chaves, H., ii, 281; iii, 40; iv. Cherokee country, v. Chesapeake Bay, iii; v, 273, 472; vi. Chiapo, i, 188; viii, 262. Chile, ii; viii, 343, 347, 405, 406. Chillicothe, i, 406. Cibola, i, 394; ii. Claudius Clavus, i. Colom, Arnold, iv, 376. Columbus, C., ii; iv, 34. Columbus, F., ii; iv, 37; viii, 385. Comberford, N., v, 285. Conanicut island, vi. Connecticut, iii, v. Connecticut River, iii; v. Consag, ii, 468; viii, 255. Coppo, P., ii, 127, 128; iv, 45. Coronado, ii. Coronelli, iii, 384. Coronelli and Tilleman, iv, 229, 232; v, 79, 473. Cortereális, iv. Cortereal, iv. Cortés, ii; viii, 257. Cosa, Juan de la, ii; iii; iv, 35. Costa Rica, viii, 264. Covens and Mortier, iv. Creuxius, iii, 382; iv. Cuba, ii; viii.

D'Ailly, Pierre, ii, 95. D'Anville, v; vii; viii, 279, 281. Danckerts, ii, 466; iii, 417. Dapper, O., v, 472. Darien, viii, 240–242. Dauphin (Henri II), iv, 83. D'Avezac, ii. De Bure, globe, iii, 214. Dee, Dr. John, ii, 453; iii, 196; iv, 96, 98. De Fer, viii, 254. De Fonte, ii, 469; viii. Delaware Bay and River, iv, 481; vi, 437; vii; viii, 450. Delisles, ii; viii. 106. Guillaume, v. Claude, v. Denys, Jean, iv, 36. DesBarres, v; vi; vii. Desceliers, P., iv. Des Liens, viii, 397. Detroit River, vii, 429. De Witt, F., iv, 375, 376. De Witt, Simeon, viii, 183. Diron, v, 80. Disturnell, vii, 553. Dobbs, Arthur, ii, 467. Doetechum, J. à, viii, 390. Dollier and Galinée, iv, 203. Doncker, H., i, 131; iii, 382; iv, 376, 438. Donis, i, 114, 122. Douglass, Dr. Wm., v, 474, 475. Dumont de Montigny, v. Dussieux, v. Dourado, Vaz, iv, 414, 433. Dudley, Robt., ii; iii; iv. Duran, Diego, ii. Duval, P., ii, 466; iv, 375, 388, 390. Duxbury, Mass., iii, 372.

Ebeling collection, iv, 204. Ecuador, i, 200. Edrisi, i, 72. Egede, Hans, i, 131. Egede, Paul, i, 131. English colonies in N. America, iii; v, 235. Eratosthenes, i; ii. Erie, Lake, iv. Erskine, Robert, vi; vii. Estotiland, i; iv. Ethnological, i, 82. Evans, Lewis, iv, 447; v.

Faden, Wm., ii; vi; vii; viii, 263. Favolius, ii, 450. Fer, Nic. de, iv, 390; v, 80. Ferrer, Jaume, ii, 45. Ferrar, Virginia, ii, 466; iii, 168; iv, 437. Fifteenth century, i, 53, 57. Figurative map (Dutch), iii, 381; iv, 433. Finæus, O. i, xxiv; ii, 184, 431; iii, 10, 11; viii, 387. Finlay, vii, 558. Fiorin, Nic., i, 58. Fitch, John, i, 398; vii, 529. Five nations, country, iv; v. Florida, ii; iv; v. Fontaine, P., v. Forlani. *See* Furlano. Forster, J. R., viii, 118. Fourteenth century, i, 55. Francisca (Canada), iv. Franciscus, Monk, ii; iv, 45. Frankfort globe, ii, 118, 122; iii, 214, 215, 217; iv, 36. Franquelin, iv. Freire, Juan, ii, 447; iv; viii, 393. Frisius, Gemma, ii, 156, 176, 421. Frisius, Laurentius (Fiess, Phrysius), i, 114; ii; iv, 36. Fritz, Samuel, ii. Frobisher, Martin, iii. Fundy, Bay of, iv; v, 472. Furlano, ii; iii, 68; iv; viii, 398, 400.

Galinée, iv, 205. Gallæus, Ph., i, 129; iv. Garcia de Toreno. *See* Toreno. Gastaldi, iii, 25; iv. Genessee country, 7, 533. George, Lake, v. Georgia, v; vi. Gilbert, Sir H., ii, 452; iii; iv, 96. Girava, iv, 90. Giroldi, i 53. Glareanus, ii. Globes, early, iii, 212, 215. Gomez, iv. Goos (or Gooz), Abraham, ii, 462. Goos, Pieter, iii, 418; iv. Gottfriedt, iv, 390. Graham, J. D., vii. Great Lakes. iv. Greenland, i; ii; iii; iv; viii. Grynæus, i, 114; ii, 62. Guatemala, ii; viii, 245, 262. Guayaquil, viii, 301. Gudmund, Jonas, i, 130. Guiana, viii, 364. Gutierrez, iv, 81, 90; viii, 397, 399.

Hack's, v. Hakluyt, Richard, iii. Halifax (N. S.), v. Hall, Ralph, iv, 374. Hariot, Thomas, iii. Harris, John, iii, 491, 516. Harrisse, Henry, iv; viii. Harvard College Collection, iv, 201. Hauslab (globes), ii, 171. Havana, siege of, viii, 274. Hawkins, v. Hayes, I. I., viii. Helps, Sir A., ii. Hennepin, iv; v. Henri II (Dauphin), iii, 195, 217; iv. Herrera, ii. Heylin, iv. Hispaniola, ii. *See* San Domingo. Hochelaga, iv. *See* Canada. Holland, Samuel, v; vi; vii. Holme, Thos., iii. Homann, J. B., ii; iv; v. Homem, Diego, ii; iv, 40, 78, 90, 92; viii, 397. Hondius, H., iv. 371, 437. Hondius, Jodocus, ii; iii; iv; viii, 407. Hondius-Mercator Atlas, iv, 374. Honduras, ii; viii, 262; bay of, viii, 265. Honter, ii; iv, 36. Hood, Thomas, iii; iv, 38, 414. Housatonic Valley, v, 184. Hubbard, Wm., iii. Hudson Bay, iii; iv; viii. Hudson River, iv; vi, 456, 462. Hulsius, ii; viii, 407, 408. Huron Country, iv, 296, 305. Huron, Lake, iv. Huske, John, v; vi. Hutchins, Thos., v; vi; vii; viii, 451. Hygden, i, 55, 117.

Iceland, i. Idaho, vii, 561. Illinois Country, iv; vi; vii. Inca roads, i, 254. Ireland, i, 118. Iroquois country, i, 323, 423; iv.

Jacobz, iv, 378, 384, 434. Jaillot, Hubert, iv; v. Jamaica, ii; v, 472; viii. James, Capt. Thos., iii, 96. Jannson, ii; iii; iv. Japan, ii; iv, 93, 96. Jefferys, Thomas, ii; iv, 155; v; vi; vii; viii, 112. Jeuits, iv, 205. Joliet, iv; v, 79. Joward, i; ii; iii; iv, 89. Jourdanet, ii. Judæis, C., iii, 196; iv. Julianehaab, i, 87, 89.

Kane, E. K., viii. Kaerius, P., iv, 374, 384. Kentucky, vii, 542. Kern, R. H., ii, 502. Keulen, J. van, iv, 376. King's maps, Brit. Museum, viii, 462. Kino, ii, 467; viii, 254. Kitchin, Thos., ii, 587; v; vi; vii. Kling, Mans., iv, 437. Kohl, J. G., i; ii; iii; iv; v; viii 424. Kunstmann, iii, iv, 15, 45.

Labrador, ii; iv. La Cruz, ii, 587. Ladrones, ii. Laet, De, ii, 587, 588; iii, 135, 167, 381; iv; v, 336. Lafreri, iii, 10; iv, 93. Lahontan, iv. Langenes, iv, 102. Langren, globe, iii, 216. Laon globe, i, 56, 119; ii, 28; iii, 212. La Peyrère, i, 132. La Plata region, viii, 358, 359, 361, 384. La Salle, iv. Lazaro, Luis, iv, 37. Leardo, G., i, 53, 56, 115. L'Ecuy globe, iii, 214. Lelewel, Joachim, i; ii; iii, 8, 217; iv, 375. Lenox globe, ii, 123, 170, 222, 223; iii, 14, 212; iv, 36; viii, 377, 412. Lepe, Diego de, ii, 205; Lescarbot, iii, 197; iv. Lewis, Samuel, vii. Liens, Nic. des, iv, 78, 79. Lindstroem, P., iv, 437, 481, 496; viii, 450. Linschoten, ii, 457; iii, 101; viii. Lok, Michael, ii, 454; iii, 39, 40, 205; iv, 17, 43, 44, 415. Lopez, ii, 375; viii, 200, 275. Lorenziano-Gaddiano, portolano, i, 55. Louisbourg, v. Louisiana, ii; v; vii. Lucayan islands, ii, 61. Lugtenberg, ii, 464.

Macrobius, i, 10, 11, 12; ii, 28. Maffeius, ii; iii, 196; iv, 95. Magellan's Straits, ii; iv; viii, 383, 405, 406, 407, 411. Maine, iii. Maiollo, ii; iv. Malte-Brun, i; iii; iv. Mangi, ii. Manoa, ii. Marannon, Rio, viii, 397. Margarita, ii. Marine maps, earliest, iii, 207. Marquette, iv. Martellus, i, 122. Martines, ii; iv, 95, 97; viii. Martinière, i, 132. Martinique, viii, 290. *See* West Indies. Martyr, Peter, ii, 109, 110; iii, 42. Maryland, iii; v. Massachusetts, v. Massachusetts Bay, i, 100; iii. Mather, Cotton, iii, 345, 384. Mauro, Fra, i; ii, 41, 94. Mecia de Viladestes, ii, 36. Medina, Pedro de, ii, 113, 226; iv; viii, 395. Mela, Pomponius, ii. Melish, John, vii, 548. Mercator, Gerard, i; ii; iii; iv; viii, 398. Mercator, Michael, ii, 461; iv, 377; viii, 407. Mercator, Rumoldus, ii, 457; iv, 369, 371. Metellus, iv, 369. Mexico (City), i, 143, 145, 174; ii; viii. Mexico, Valley, ii, 373; vii, 442; viii, 199, 201, 202, 203. Mexico, Gulf of, ii; iv, 34; viii. Meyer, J., i, 131. Michigan, Lake, iv. Michilimackinac, v, 559; vii, 429. Michoacan, ii, 400. Middle Colonies, vi, 341; Mil. and topog. Atlas of the U. S., vii, 460. Minet, iv, 237. Mississippi River and Valley, ii; iv; v; vii, 553. Mitchell, 7. Mohawk River and Valley, v, 238, 595; vi. Molineaux, ii, 452, 458; iii; iv. Moll, Hermann, ii; iii; iv; v; viii, 209, 276. Moluccas, ii. Montanus, iii; iv. Montreal, iv; vi; viii. Montresor, Capt. John, vi. Morden, R., iii, 384; v. Moreno, ii, 55. Münster, Seb., i, p. xxv; ii; iii; iv. Myritius, J., ii, 457; iii, 10; iv, 96.

Nancy globe, ii, 432, 433; iii, 214; iv, 76, 81. Napoli, Juan de, ii, 38. Narragansett Bay, 6. Narvaez, P. de, ii, 226. Neal, Daniel, iii, 345. Neptune Americo-Sept., vii, 183. Newark, Ohio, i, 407. New England, iii; iv; v. Newfoundland, ii; iv; v; viii, 188, 190. New France, iv. *See* Canada. New Grenada, i, 209; viii, 346. New Hampshire, iii; v. New Harbor, vi, 326. New Jersey, iii; vi, 409. New Mexico, i, 397; vii. New Netherland, iv. New Orleans, v. New Spain, ii; viii. *See* Mexico. New Sweden, iv. New York City, v; vi. New York Province, iii, 417; iv; v, 349. Niagara River, v; vii. Nicaragua, ii; viii, 264. Nordenskiöld gores, viii, 379. North America, ii; iv, 35, 81, 331; vii. North American Pilot, vii. North Carolina, iii, 124; v. Norumbega, ii; iii; iv. Norway, i. Nova Belgica, v, 234. Nova Scotia, iii; iv; v; vii; viii, 176.

Ogilby, John, ii, 466; iii, 381, 417. Ohio, vii. Ohio Country, vii. Ohio River, iv; vii. Ohio Valley, v. Olaus Magnus, i, 123, 125. Old World, ii, 41. Oliva Johannes, ii, 461; iv. 379; viii, 407. Ongania series of maps, i, 47; ii, 107. Ontario, Lake, iv; v, 614. Orbis maritimus, iv, 374. Oregon, vii. Orinoco River, ii. Orleans (island), v. Ortelius, Abraham, i; ii; iii, 34, 205; iv; viii, 398. Ottawa River, iv. Ottens, iii, 417; v.

Pacific Ocean, ii. Paint Creek, i, 406. Palairet, vii. Panama, Isthmus of, viii, 239. Paraguay, viii, 358. Pareto, ii, 38. Paria, ii. Parima, Lake, ii. Parkman (Francis), Collection, iv, 201. Passamaquoddy Bay, vii, 184. Pastoret, iv, 82. Patagonia, ii; viii, 405, 406. Pecciolen, ii, 461. Pemaquid, iii, 177; iv, 160. Penobscot Bay and River, iv; vi. Pennsylvania, iii; v. Pentagöet, iv, 146, 161. Petit Atlas Maritime, ii, 375. Peru, i, 210, 211; ii, 228, 472, 505, 509, 513, 519, 558; viii, 320, 343, 404. Philadelphia and vicinity, iii; vi. Philip II, ii, 222. Philippeaux, vi, 416; vii, 171. Pigafetta, ii, 611, 614. Pizignani, i; ii, 38, 94. Plancius, P., ii, 457; iii, 217; iv, 97, 414, 433. Plymouth (Mass.) harbor, iii, 272. Pontchartrain, Lake, vi. Popellinière, ii, 454; iii, 37; iv, 95, 374. Popple, Henry, iv; v; viii, 276. Porcacchi, ii; iv, 75, 95, 96. Porro, H., ii, 457, Portolanos, iv, 376. Porto Rico, viii, 288. Port Royal, iv. Port Royal (Annapolis), v. Port Royal, S. C., vi, 519. Porto Bello, viii, 238. Portsmouth, Va., vi, 553. Portuguese, iii, 56; iv. Potomac River, v. Prémontré globe, iii, 214; iv, 45. Prince Edward Island, viii, 179. Ptolemy, i; editions of, ii. Pueblo region, i, 394, 397. Purchas, iii; iv, 378, 383.

Quadus, ii, 460; iv. Quebec, province, vi, 226; basin, viii, 182; town, viii, 183. Quir, F., ii, 461. Quito, i, 211. Quivira, ii.

Race, Cape, iv. Raccolta di Mappamondi, 3, 218. Raffeix, iv; v, 79. Ragueneau, iv. Raleigh, Sir W., ii, 587. Ramusio, ii. Rapidan River, v. Rappahannock River, v. Ratzer, Bernard, v; vi. Raudin, iv, 232, 235; v, 79. Ravenstein, viii, 109. Recife, viii, 353. Red River Settlement (Manitoba), viii, 40. Reinel, P., iv, 16, 36, 73. Reisch, Gregor, i, 122; ii. Rensselaerswyck, iv, 435. Reynel, iii, 12. Rhode Island, v; vi. Ribero, ii; iii, 16, 24; iv; viii, 386. Riccardi palace (Florence), ii, 438. Richelieu River, iv. Ridge, vii. Roggeveen, A., iii; iv, 376, 482. Romans, Bernard, vi. Roselli, iii, 217. Rotz, John, i, 126; ii, 226; iii, 195; iv. Rouen globe, ii, 34. Rouge, Sieur le, v, 83; vii, 183. Rouse's Point, vii, 187. Ruge, S., ii. Ruscelli, ii; iii, 25; iv; viii, 398. Russell, J., vii. Ruysch, i, 120, 122; ii; 156; iii, 9, 217; iv, 73.

Saguenay River, v, 614. St. Augustine, v; vi, 538. St. Kitt's, viii, 234. St. Lawrence Gulf, iv; v; vi, 215. St. Lawrence River, iv; v; vi, 215. Saltonstall, W., ii, 462. San Francisco, Bay of, iii; viii, 211. Sanson, Guillaume, i. Sanson, Nic., v, 79. Sansons, iii, 382, 456; ii; viii, 105. Santa Cruz, ii; viii. Santarem, i; ii; iii, 9, 217. Sanuto, Marino, i; ii; Sanuto, Livio, iii, 41. Saunders, T., i, 211. Sauthier, C. J., vi. Sayer and Bennett, vii. Schenk and Valch, iii, 417. Schmeller, ii. Schöner, ii; iii; viii, 358, 377, 378, 412. Scotland, i, 118. Scull, N., cartographer, v. Seller, John, iii, 384. Senex, John, cartographer, v. Siguenza, ii, 375. Sloane MSS., ii, 432. Smith, Capt. John, iii, 132, 156, 167, 180, 197, 198, 212, 341, 381. Soligo, C., i, 58; ii, 38. Solinus, i; ii. Soto, De, ii. Southac, Cyprian, chart maker, v. South America, ii; viii, 370, 376, 385, 389, 393, 395, 401, 404, 406, 412. South Carolina, v; vi. South Sea. *See* Pacific Ocean. Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, ii, 93, 174. Spanish, ii; viii. Speed, John, ii, 462, 464, 466; iii, 384; iv. Squier, E. G., ii. Staten Island, v; vi. Strabo, i. Stobnicza, ii, 116, 121; iii, 10, 13; iv, 36; viii, 376. Superior, Lake, iv. Sweden, i. Sylvanus, ii, 122, 123; iv, 36.

Tabasco, viii, 262–3. Testu, Le, ii, 230; iv, 77. Texeira, ii, 466. Thevenot, ii, 463; iv, 220. Thevet, A., ii; iv. Thomas, Gabriel, iii, 501. Thorlacius, i, 130. Thorne, Robert, i, 125; iii, 17, 18; iv. Thornton, John, iii, 384. Thoulet, iv, 200. Ticonderoga, v; vi. Tierra del Fuego, ii: viii, 407, 410, 411, 412. Titicaca, Lake, i, 246. Toreno, Nuño Garcia de, ii, 43, 220, 221; iv, 37, 91; viii, 383. Tortugas, ii. Toscanelli, i; ii, 38, 101. Trinidad, ii, 586; iii, 124. *See* West Indies. Tross gores, ii, 120, 173; iii, 214; viii, 382.

Ulpius (globe), i, 126; iii, 214; iv. United States, vii. Uricouechea, ii, 93; iv, 375. Uzielli, ii, 93, 155.

Vadianus, ii; iii, 217. Valck, iv, 385. Valentine and Collins, vii. Vallard, Nic., ii, 226; iv, 76, 86; viii, 394. Valsequa, G. de, i, 56; ii, 38, 174. Van der Aa, maps. *See* Aa. Van der Donck, iv, 500. Van Keulen, iii, 419. Van Loon, ii, 463, 466; iii, 382; iv, 376, 482. Vaugondy, i, 16; ii, 468; iv; v; vii; viii, 115, 254. Vaulx, iv. Venegas, viii, 254, 256. Vera Cruz, viii, 203–5. Vera Paz, viii, 262. Vermilion Sea, iv. *See* California, Gulf of. Verrazano, iii, 194; iv; viii, 384. Vespucius, ii. Viegas, Gasper, iv. Villefranche, vi. Vinci, Da, ii; iv, 36; viii, 377. Virginia, iii; iv; v. Viscaino, ii, 461; iii, 75. Visconti, i. Visscher, ii, 466; iii, 382, 417, 418; iv. Vopellio, G., ii, 438, 439, 448; iv, 90, 99.

Waldseemüller, M., ii; iii, 14. Wallis, John, vii. Wangenheim, vi. Warren, G. K., vii. Washington Territory, vii. Watt, Joachim. *See* Vadianus. Weimar globe, ii, 118. Welly, Edw., iv, 393; v, 79. Western Reserve, vii, 547. West Indies, viii, 209, 276, 308; viii, 404. West Jersey, iii, 501. White, John, iii, 124, 183; iv, 45. Wilmington, N. C., vi. Winnipeg, viii, 46. Wolfenbüttel, ii, 222. Wolfgang, S., iv, 376. Wood, Wm., iii, 381. Wood Creek (N. Y.), v. Woods, Lake of the, vii. Wytfliet, ii; iii, 184; iv.

Yorktown Campaign, vi. Yucatan, i, 188; ii; viii, 261-2.

Zaltieri, ii, 499, 451; iii, 67; iv, 93. Zee-Atlases, iv, 376. Ziegler, ii, 434; iii, 101. Zeni, i; ii, 28, 437, 472; iii, 100. Zurla, iv, 82, 414.

Maranham, French at, viii, 351; secured to the Portuguese, viii, 351; revolt in, viii, 354.

Marbois, Marquis de, viii, 466.

Marburg, Germany, Archives, viii, 468.

Marchand, E., *Voyage*, viii, 259.

Marchant, Henry, papers, viii, 442.

Mardelle, De la, viii, 422.

Margry, Pierre, iv; *Origines transatlantiques*, viii, 252; on the French in the West Indies, viii, 281; on De Gonneville's Landfall, viii, 374; edits papers from the French Archives, viii, 465.

Marianus, *Glorious Franciscus*, viii, 249.

Mariatambal, viii, 382.

Marion, Gen. Francis, vi; lives, viii, 458.

Markham, Archbp., sermon, viii, 485.

Markham, A. H., *Northward Ho!* viii, 129; *Great Frozen* Sea, viii, 129: his greatest northing, viii, 129.

Markham, C. R., i; ii; *Threshold of the Unknown Regions*, viii, 108; *Sea-Fathers*, viii, 252; on South American history, viii, 295; *Valley of the Amazons*, viii, 349.

Markham, Mrs. C. R., viii, 192.

Marlborough and Barbadoes, viii, 290.

Marmette, Jos., on the French Archives, viii, 465.

Maroons in Jamaica, viii, 277, 279. *See* Jamaica, Surinam.

Maroto, Brigadier, viii, 331.

Marquette, iv; life by Sparks, viii, 475.

Marsh, E. G., *Supplement to Priestley's Lectures*, viii, 481.

Marshall, Christopher, diary, vi; viii, 451.

Marshall, John, vii; assists Sparks, viii, 417.

Marshall, O. H., iv; *Hist. Writing*, viii, 459.

Martin, F. X., viii, 457.

Martin, Gov. (N. C.), viii, 457.

Martin, Louis, viii, 200.

Martin, M. Du Bois, papers, viii, 453.

Martin, R. M., *Hudson Bay Territories*, viii, 73; *Nova Scotia*, viii, 177; *West Indies*, viii, 272.

Martin, *New Brunswick*, viii, 177.
Martineau, Harriet, *The Hour and the Man*, viii, 286; *Society in America*, viii, 489.
Martinet, Juan Nicholas de, viii, 309.
Martinez de Oz, José, on Tupac Amaru, viii, 344.
Martinez, M., *Rev. de Chile*, viii, 347.
Martinique (Martinico), viii, 270; occupied by the French, viii, 252; bibliog., viii, 290; map, viii, 290; taken and restored, viii, 290; taken by the British, viii, 290; Bonapartist revolt, viii, 290. *See* West Indies.
Maryland, archæology, i; early history, iii; colonial history, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; archives, viii, 452; papers from London, viii, 452, 453; Revolutionary papers, viii, 452; conventions, viii, 452; council of safety, viii, 452, 453; assembly, viii, 452; council, viii, 452; Cincinnati Soc., viii, 453; Gilmor papers, viii, 453; *Archives*, viii, 453; corresp. royal governors, viii, 453; troops in the Rev., viii, 453; Peabody index, viii, 453; laws, viii, 453; parish records, viii, 453; family papers, viii, 453. *See* United States.
Masères, Baron Francis, vi; viii, 170; in Canada, viii, 134.
Mason, Geo., vi; letters, viii, 455; papers, viii, 455.
Mason, Capt. John, iii; *Newfoundland*, viii, 190; acc. by Tuttle, viii, 190.
Mason and Dixon's line. *See* United States.
Massachusetts, archæology, i; early history, iii; provincial history, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; archives, viii, 426; *Report on*, viii, 426; *Journals of the House*, viii, 426; Revolutionary papers, viii, 426; papers from the French archives, viii, 426, 465. *Acts and Laws*, viii, 426; Provincial congress, viii, 426; Goodell's *Province Laws*, viii, 426; Committee of Safety records, viii, 427; *Paper relating to Public Events*, viii, 427; Correspondence of the Provincial governors, viii, 427; with the Board of Trade, viii, 427; *Report on town and parish records*, viii, 427; files of the Old Courts, viii, 427; field officers in the Rev., viii, 427. Eighth Regiment, viii, 431; bounds with R. I., viii, 445; medical profession in, viii, 488; her troops in the West Indies, viii, 292. *See* New England, United States.
Massacres. *See* Military Events.
Masse, E. M., *Cuba*, viii, 272.
Massey, Wm., *England*, viii, 504.
Massie papers, viii, 455.
Mather, Cotton, iii; v; papers, viii, 437; life by W. B. O. Peabody, viii, 475.
Mather, Increase, iii, v.
Mather, Samuel, v; viii, 431.
Mather papers, vi; viii, 435.
Matthews, John, viii, 439.
Mathieson, Rev. Alex., viii, 184.
Matta Linares, B. de la, viii, 316, 317.
Mauduit, Israel, vi; *Short View*, viii, 416; papers, viii, 477.
Mauduit, Jasper, his papers, viii, 477.
Maurelle, F. A., *Voyage*, viii, 258.
Mauran, James Eddy, viii, 441.
Mauritius, Johannes. *See* Nassau, Count of.
Mauvillon, *Voyage historique*, viii, 311.
Maverick, A., *H. J. Raymond*, viii, 497.
May, Erskine, on the Amer. Revolution, viii, 500.
Mayas, country of the, i; viii, 261. *See* Indians.
Mayer, Brantz, *Mexico*, i; ii; viii, 270.
Mayer, Ernst, *Seekarten*, viii, 385.
Mayer, F., *Mémoires*, viii, 367.
Mayer, Lewis, *Calendar of MSS.*, viii, 452.
Mayhew, Mrs. Elizabeth, viii, 431.
Mayhew, Jona., vi; corresp. with Hollis, viii, 431; death, viii, 431; papers, viii, 477.
Mayne, R. C., *Brit. Columbia*, viii, 184.
Maypu, battle, plan of, viii, 331.
Mazade, Ch. de, *Examen critico*, viii, 362.
Mazzei, F., *Recherches historiques*, viii, 506; Lafayette's opinion, viii, 506.
Mead, D. M., *Greenwich*, viii, 443.
Meare's *Voyages*, viii, 115.
Mease, Dr., papers, viii, 451.
Mecom, Jane, viii, 423.
Medicis, Catharine de, viii, 349.
Medina, Balt. de, *San Diego de Mexico*, viii, 248.
Medina, *Arte de Navegar*, ii; viii, 394; his map reproduced, viii, 395. *See* Maps.
Meigs, R. J., vii; viii, 443.
Melendez, Juan, *Tesoros*, viii, 368.
Melgar, poet, viii, 328.
Melish, John, *Travels*, viii, 492.
Melville island, viii, 84, 109, 122, 124.
Melville peninsula, viii, 120.
Melvin, *Kennebec Exped.*, vi; viii, 496.
Mendibara, *Perú*, viii, 343.
Mendieta, A. de, viii, 368.
Mendieta, G. de, *Hist. Ecles. ind.*, viii, 248.
Mendoza, Ant. de, viii, 191.
Mendoza, Pedro de, in the La Plata region, viii, 387.
Mendoza, Rodriguez, viii, 324.
Mendoza y Luna, Juan de, viii, 296.
Mendoza, family of, viii, 310.
Mendoza (in the Andes), viii, 330.
Menendez, B., *Chile*, viii, 347.
Menendez, B., *Chile*, viii, 347.
Menenez, L. de, *Portugal restaurado*, viii, 354.
Mer de l'Ouest, ii; viii, 110.
Mercurio Peruano, viii, 319.
Meredith, C. K., viii, 447.
Meredith, Sir Wm., on the Quebec Bill, viii, 171.
Merida, viii, 262.
Merriam, Geo. S., *Samuel Bowles*, viii, 497.
Merritt, William, viii, 186.
Metcalfe, Lord, Gov. of Canada, viii, 164, 185.
Methodism in the U. S., viii, 487; in the Amer. Rev., viii, 486. *See* Religious Bodies.
Métral, Ant., *Exped. à St. Domingue*, viii, 282, 286, 289; *St. Domingue*, viii, 279, 289.
Mexico and Central America. Archæology and ancient history, i; discovery and conquest, ii; War of Mexico with the United States, vii; later history, viii; made an archbishopric, viii, 193; convicts excluded, viii, 193; inquisition, viii, 196; treatment of Indians, viii, 191, 198; maps of, viii, 200; first revolution (1810, etc.), viii, 215, 216; intendencias, viii, 215; commercial monopolies, viii, 215; independence proclaimed (1813), viii, 222; Iturbide's government, viii, 225; he abdicates, viii, 226; provisional government, viii, 227; federation formed, viii, 227; financial troubles, viii, 227; revolutions, viii, 227; federal system overturned, viii, 228; Bustamante, the first centralist president, viii, 229; French financial claims, viii, 229; invaded by the French, viii, 229; Santa Anna president, viii, 229; Gen. Herrera in power, viii, 229; money indebtedness to England, viii, 231; bibliog. of, viii, 246; laws, viii, 247; Bancroft's volumes on, viii, 248; religious history and missions, viii, 248; lives of the Viceroys, viii, 248; *Liceo Mexicano*, viii, 248; missions and church history, viii, 249; *Diario oficial*, viii, 258; *Archivo general*, viii, 258; later history, viii, 270; Emperor Maximilian, viii, 270.
Places (a selection only): Acapulco, ii; iv; viii. Anáhuac, i; ii. California, ii; viii; gulf, iv; viii. Central America, aboriginal history, i; discovery and conquest, ii; later history, viii. Cibola, i; ii. Costa Rica, vii, 504; viii. Cozumel, i; ii; viii. Darien, ii; v; viii. Guatemala, i; ii; vii; viii. Honduras, i; ii; vii; viii. Mexico (city), prehistoric, i; at the Conquest, ii; later history, viii; inundated, viii, 193, 198, 200; university founded, viii, 194; maps of the valley, viii, 199, 201, 202, 203; engineering efforts to prevent flooding, viii, 200; maps and views, viii, 200; canals of, viii, 202; Bordone's view, viii, 382. New Gallicia, ii; viii. New Spain, ii; iv; viii. *See* Mexico. Nicaragua, i; ii; vii; viii. Nombre de Dios, ii. Panama, ii; viii. Pánuco, ii. Pearl coast, ii. Porto Bello, ii, 22, 506; viii. Quivira, ii; iii; iv. Seven cities, ii; iii. Tehuantepec, ii. Vera Cruz, ii; viii. Yucatan, i; ii; iii; iv; viii.
Historical Characters (a selection only): Aguilar, Martin, ii. Almagro, Diego, ii. Alvarado, Alonso de, ii. Alvarado, Pedro de, ii. Andagoya, ii. Bravo, Nic., viii. Calleja, viii. Cortes, Hernando, i; ii; iv. Cortes, Martin, viii. Gali, Fr. de, ii; viii. Grijalva, Juan de, i; ii; viii. Hidalgo, viii. Houston, S., viii. Iturbide, viii. Iturrigaray, viii. Landa, Bishop, i; viii. Lizana, viii. Lorenzana, viii. Marcos, Fray, ii. Mendoza, ii; viii. Menendez, de Aviles Pedro, ii. Mina, viii. Montezuma, i; ii. Morelos, viii. Narvaez, P. de, ii. Ojeda, A. de, ii. Olid, C. de, ii. Peñalosa, ii; iv; viii. Ponce de Leon, ii. Quesada, G. X., ii. Quetzalcoatl, i. Sandoval, ii. Santa Anna, vii; viii. Serra, Junipero, viii. Vaca, Cabeza de, ii. Vaca de Castro, ii. Valdivia, P., ii. Vasquez, Fr., ii. Velasco, Luis de, ii; viii. Velasquez de Cuellar, Diego, ii. Victoria, Guadalupe, viii. Zumárraga, viii.
Historical writers (a selection only): Acosta, José de, i; ii. Alaman, Lucas, ii; viii. Anghiera. *See* Martyr. Bancroft, H. H., i; ii; viii. Barcia, G. de, i; ii; iii; iv. Benzoni, i; ii. Bustamante, C. M., i; ii; viii. Cieza de Leon, P., i; ii. Clavigero, i; ii; viii. Diaz, Bernal, i; ii. Davila, G. G., ii. Davilla, P., ii. Galvano, i; ii; iv. Gayangos, P. de, ii. Girava, Gomara, ii; iii; iv. Helps, Sir Arthur, i; ii. Herrera, i; ii; iii; iv. Humboldt, Alex. von, i; ii; iii; iv; viii. Icazbalceta, J. G., i; ii; viii. Irving, Washington, ii; v; vi; vii. Ixtlilxochitl, i; ii. Las Casas, i; ii; iii; viii. Llorente, J. A., ii. Lorenzana, ii; viii. Martyr, Peter, i; ii; iii; iv. Mendieta, G., ii; viii. Montesinos, F., ii. Motolínia, i; ii; viii. Muñoz, J. B., i; ii. Navarrete, M. F., ii; iv. Orozco y Berra, i; ii. Oviedo y Valdés, G. F. de, ii; iii; iv. Pacheco, ii; viii. Palou, viii. Pedrarias, Davilla, ii. Phi-

loponus, ii. Piedrahita, ii. Pizarro y Orellana, ii. Prescott, W. H., i; ii; v. Quintana, ii. Ramirez, J. F., ii. Sahagún, i; ii. Sòlis, A. de, historian, ii. Solorzano, ii; viii. Tezozomoc, ii. Tobar, Juan de, i. Toledo, F. de, ii. Torquemada, i; ii; viii. Tylor, E. B., i; ii. Varthema, ii. Vega, Garcilasso de la, i. Venegas, ii; iii; viii. Veytia, Mariano, i; ii. Villagra, F. de, ii; viii. Wilson, R. A., i; ii.

Institutions: Encomiendas, ii. Inquisition, ii; vii; viii. Intendencias, viii, 215, 319. Laws, ii; viii. Repartimientos, i; ii.

Michaux, A., *Journal*, viii, 491.

Michaux, F. A., *Voyage*, viii, 492.

Michilimackinac captured, vii; viii, 144.

Michoacan, missions in, viii, 249.

Middleton, Capt., Christ. Journal, viii, 68; his controversial pamphlets, viii, 68; and the N. W. Passage, viii, 108.

Miel y Teran, Manuel, viii, 223.

Mier, Col., viii, 219.

Mier y Guerra, S. T., *Revolucion*, viii, 269.

Miers, John, *Chile and La Plata*, viii, 367.

Miers, *Travels*, viii, 312.

Mifflin, Gen., Thomas, vi; letters, viii, 435.

Military Events, including attacks, battles, campaigns, captures, burnings of towns, insurrections, massacres, rebellions, sieges, wars, etc.

Acapulco taken by Morelos, viii, 221. Alamance, vi, 81. Algerine War, vii. American Revolution, vi; viii. *See* United States. Araucanian War, viii, 297. Aroostook War, vii. Augusta, Ga., vi. Ayacucho, viii, 337, 338.

Bad Axe, vii, 406. Ballston (N. Y.), vi, 645. Baltimore, vii, 435. Barren Hill, vi. Bedford, Pa., vi, 691. Bemis Heights, vi; viii, 502. Bennington, Vt., vi; viii, 502. Billingsport, N. J. (attack), vi. 387. Blackstocks, vi, 480, 536. Bladensburg, vii. Bloody Pond, (near Lake George), v, 504. Blue Licks, vi, 730. Border warfare of the United States, v; vi. Boston Massacre, vi; siege, vi. Bowyer, Fort, vii. Boyaca, viii, 334. Braddock, Gen., his march, i, 294, 296; his defeat, v; viii. Brandywine, vi; viii, 502. Brazil, wars of, viii, 350. Bridgewater (Canada), vii; viii. Brooklyn, vi; viii. Brownstown, vii, 429. Buccaneers in the West Indies, viii, 202. Buena Vista, vii. Buenos Ayres, viii, 361. Bull's Ferry, vi. Bunker's Hill, vi; viii, 502. Bushy Run, vi.

Calderon, viii, 219, 220. Callao, viii, 299. Camden, vi; viii, 502. Canada campaigns (old French war), v; viii, 131; (1775–76) vi, 162; rebellion, viii, 157, 181. Canajoharie Castle, vi, 644. Carabobo, viii, 335. Carlisle, Pa., vi, 691. Cartagena, v, 69; viii, 291, 292, 293, 294. Castine, Me., vi. Castleton, Vt., vi. Cedars (Canada), vi. Cerro Gordo, vii. Chad's ford, vi. Chamblée, vi. Champlain, Lake, vi; vii, 433. Chapultepec, vii, 412. Charleston, S. C., vi; viii, 502. Chateauguay, v, 23; vii; viii. Chatterton's Hill, vi, 286. Chemung, vi. Cherokees, war with, v; viii, 458. Cherry Valley, vi. Cherubusco, vii, 411. Chestnut Hill, vi. Chihuahua, vii. Chillicothe (destroyed), vi, 731. Chippewa, vii. Chrystler's Farm, vii; viii. Chupas, ii, 567. Chuquinga, ii, 545. Clinton and Montgomery, forts, vi, 306; viii, 502. Cobleskill, vi. Cohokia, vi. Concord, Mass., vi. Cowpens, vi; viii, 502. Craney island, vii, 458. Creek war, vii, 436. Cresap war, v, 272; vi. Crosswicks, vi, 408, 410. Crown Point, v. Cruces, viii, 217, 218. Cuautla, viii, 221. Culpepper's rebellion, v, 311. Currietown, N. Y. (destroyed), vi, 645.

Danbury, Conn., vi, 340, 348. Dauphin island, v, 37. Deerfield, Mass. (attack), iii, 384; v. Derne, vii, 375. Detroit, v; vi; vii. Diamond island, vi. Dieskau's defeat, i, 296. Dorchester Heights, vi; vii, 328. Dorr Rebellion (Rhode Island), vii, 355. Dummer's war, v, 430. Dunmore war, vi; viii, 458.

England, war with Spain (1739), viii, 292. Erie, Fort, vii. Erie, Lake, vii. Esopus (burned), vi, 307. Eutaw Springs, vi; viii, 502.

Fairfield, Conn. (burned), vi, 557. Fallen Timbers, vii. Falmouth, Me. (Portland), burned, vi, 237. Fighting Island, viii, 161. Five Years War, v. Frederica, Georgia, v. Freeman's Farm, vi, 305, 336; viii, 502. Frenchtown, vii. Fryeburg (Me.), v, 431.

George, Fort (Niagara), vii. German flats, v. Germantown, vi; viii, 502. Gloucester, N. J., vi. Gnadenhütten (massacre), v, 582. Golden Hill (N. Y. City), vi, 172. Goshen, Pa., vi, 416. Great Meadows, v, 493. Groton, Conn., vi, 562. Groveland (Ambuscade), vi. Guanajuato, viii, 216. Guayaquil, viii, 299. Guildford, vi; viii, 502.

Hanging Rock, vi, 475. Harlem Heights, vi. Harrison, Fort, vii. Hatfield, attack, iii, 384. Havre de Grace, vii. Hinsdale (N. H.), massacre, v, 184. Hobkirk's Hill, vi; viii, 502. Horseshoe Bend, vii. Huaqui, viii, 327. Hubbardton, Vt., vi; viii, 502. Hudson Bay Company's forts, viii. Hudson River Campaign, vi.

Ingle's rebellion, iii, 555. Illinois Country Campaigns, vi.

Jamaica, viii, 202. Junin, viii, 336.

Kaskaskia, vi. Kenawha, vii, 456. Kennebec exped. under Arnold, vi; viii. King George's War, v, 434; viii. King William's War, viii. King's Bridge, vi. King's Mountain, vi; viii, 458. Kingstown, N. Y. (burned), vi, 364. Kip's Bay, vi.

La Colle, vii, 385, 458. Lancaster, Pa. (massacre), vi. La Paz, viii, 344. Lexington, Mass., vi. Logan, Fort, vi, 716. Long Island, vi; viii, 502. Lovewell's War, v, 430. Lundy's Lane, vii; viii.

McHenry, Fort, vii. Machias ("Margaretta"), vi, 564. Mariguanu, ii, 549. Maumee River, vii. Mavilla, ii, 249. Maypu, viii, 331. Mazatlan, vii, 410. Meigs, Fort, vii. Mexican War, vii. Mexico, City, vii. Michilimackinac, vii; viii, 144. Mifflin, Fort, vi, 388. Minas, Basin of, v, 448. Minisink massacre, vi. Mobile, vi, 739. Mohawk River, vi. Mohegan War, iv, 313. Monmouth, vi; viii, 462, 502. Monongahela, v. Monterey, Cal., vii. Monterey, Mexico, vii. Montevideo, viii, 561. Montgomery, Fort, vi, 363. Montreal (1775), vi. Moore's Creek Bridge, vi, 168. Morocco, vii. Motte, Fort, vi, 490. Moultrie, Fort, vi, 526.

Natchez (war), v; vi, 738, 740. New England (wars), iii; v. New Haven, vi, 557. New London, Conn., vi, 562; viii, 502. New Mexico, revolts, viii, 253. New Orleans, vii. Newport, R. I., vi. New Providence (attack), vi, 570. Newtown (Elmira, N. Y.), vi. NewYork City, campaigns around, vi. Niagara River (1812–14), vii. Ninety-Six, vi. Noddles Island (Boston harbor), vi, 131. Norfolk, Va., vi, 168. Norwalk, Conn., vi, 557.

Oconee War, vii. Ogdensburgh, vii, 458. Ogeechee, vi, 653. Okechobee, vii, 407. Old French War, v. Oquaga, vi, 636. Oriskany, vi. Orizaba, viii, 221. Oster River (attack), iv, 160. Oswego, vii. Otumba, i, 175; ii, 370, 374. Ouatanon, Fort, vi, 691.

Palo Alto, vii. Panama, viii, 236, 238. Paulus Hook, vi. Paxton (massacre), vi. Payta, viii, 311. Peninsula (Western Reserve), vii, 430. Penobscot River, vi. Pensacola, vi, 739; vii. Philip's War, i, 289, 297; iii. Pichincha, viii, 335. Pigeon Roost (massacre), vii, 456. Pigwacket, v, 127, 431. Pisco, viii, 299. Pitt, Fort, vi, 691. Plattsburg, vii. Point Pleasant, Va., vi. Pontiac's War, i; vi. Port Royal (Annapolis), v. Porto Bello, viii, 238. Poundridge, vi, 557. Presqu' isle, Fort, vi, 691. Princeton, vi; viii, 566.

Quaker Hill, R. I., vi. Quebec, attacks, iv; v; (1775–76) vi. Queen Anne's War, v, 420. Queenstown, vii; viii. Quintin's Bridge, vi, 442.

Raisin River (massacre, vii. Ramsour's Mill, vi. Rancayua, viii, 326. Red Bank, vi. Regulators, war of, vi. Resaca de la Palma, vii. Riel's revolt, viii. Rutland (attack), v, 430.

Sabana Real, viii, 281. Sackett's Harbor, vii. Sacs and Foxes, vii. Sag Harbor, vi, 591. St. André (massacre), v, 68. St. Augustine, v; viii. St. Foye, v. St. Joseph, Fort, vi, 691. St. Louis (Mo.), vi. St. Regis, vii. Salem, Mass., vi, 119, 172. San Domingo, viii, 205. Sandusky, vi, 691. San Jacinto, vii, 551; viii, 229. San Juan d'Ulloa, vii, 411; viii. San Pasqual, vii. Saratoga, vi; viii, 502. Savannah, vi. Schenectady, v. Schoharie Valley, vi. Semple's Massacre, viii, 41. Seven Years War, vi. Shirley's War, v, 434. Sillery, v. Skenesborough, vi, 297. Sorel River (St. John), vi. Spain and France, war (1633), viii, 148. Spain and England, war (1739), viii, 208. *See* England. Spanish succession, war of the, v, 420; viii, 307. Spencer's Ordinary, v, 497. Springfield, N. J., vi, 559. Springfield, N. Y., vi, 633. Stanwix, Fort, vi, 299, 628. Staten Island, vi. Stephenson, Fort, vii. Stillwater, vi. Stonington, Conn., vi, 145. Stono River, vi, 520. Stony Point, vi. Sullivan's Island, vi.

Tapicura, viii, 354. Talcahuano, viii, 332. Thames River, vii. Three Rivers (Canada), vi. Ticonderoga, v; vi. Tioga, vi. Tippecanoe, vii. Tohopeka, vii. Toronto (York), vii. Trenton, vi; viii, 502. Trudruffrin. *See* Paoli. Turkey Hill, vi. Turtle Bay, vi.

Unadilla, vi. Ushant Island, vii.

Valcour Island, vi. Vera Cruz, vii; viii, 195, 229. Vincennes, vi.

War of 1812, vii; viii, 179, 460, 465. Washington, Fort, vi, 287, 338; viii, 502. Watauga, vi. Wawar-

sing, vi, 646. Waxhaw Creek, vi. Wayne, Fort, vii. Wells, Me., attack, iv, 160. Westminister, Vt. (massacre), vi, 172. White Plains, vi; viii, 501. Wyoming Valley, vi.
  Xaquixaguana (war), ii, 574.
  Yerbas Buenas, viii, 332. York, Me., captured, iv, 160. York (Toronto), vii. Yorktown, vi; vii; viii, 502.
  Zamora, viii, 219. Zepita, viii, 336.
Mijst, G. de la, *Guiana*, viii, 363.
Miller, John, *General Miller*, viii, 348.
Miller, Gen. Nathan, viii, 442.
Miller, S., *Jonathan Edwards*, viii, 475.
Miller, General William, commands Peruvian Cavalry, viii, 336; portrait, viii, 336; at Junin, viii, 337; at Ayacucho, viii, 337; collects material on the Tupac Amaru revolt, viii, 344; *Memoirs*, viii, 348.
Miller, *Bench of Georgia*, viii, 458.
Miller, *Exile of Van Dieman's Land*, viii, 182.
Millet, J., *Baptists in Maine*, viii, 487.
Milliroux, J. F., *Confédération Américaine*, viii, 506.
Millmore, Martin, viii, 431.
Mills, David, *Boundaries of Ontario*, viii, 76.
Milton, Viscount, *North-West Passage by Land*, viii, 75.
Mina, F. J., portrait, viii, 223; his exped., viii, 224, 269; executed, viii, 224.
Miner, A. A., on Universalism, viii, 487.
Mines and Mining, ii; iv; viii; coal, v; copper, i; iii; iv; v; gold, ii; iii; iv; v; iron, iii; iv; v; tin, iv; in Peru, viii, 297; in New Spain, viii, 216; pictures of early Spanish, viii, 192, 193; references, viii, 193.
Miralles, Juan de, letters from Charleston, S. C., and Philad. Pa., viii, 468.
Miramichi fire, viii, 148.
Miranda, Gen. F., in Venezuela, viii, 324, 346; portrait, viii, 325; life by Briggs, viii, 346.
Missions in Guatemala, viii, 264; Jesuits in New Grenada, viii, 315; in Mexico, viii, 248, 249; in New Spain, viii, 210; in California, viii, 214; in Peru and Chile, viii, 367; in the West Indies, viii, 363. *See* Religious Bodies, *and* Names of Orders.
Mississippi bubble, v, 75.
Mississippi River, discovery of, ii; iv; v; alleged occupation by Dr. Coxe's people, viii, 132.
Mita. *See* Mitta.
Mitré, B., *Belgrano*, viii, 327, 345, 346; *Estudios Históricos*, viii, 346.
Mitta (forced service of natives), viii, 296, 318, 343.
Mocquet, Jean, *Voyages*, viii, 363.
Molina, Juan Ignacio, viii, 345; *Chili*, viii, 346; *Lo Stesso libro*, viii, 346.
Moll, Hermann, *West Indies*, viii, 200, 209. *See* Maps.
Mollien, G. T., *Voyage*, viii, 367.
Moluccas, ii; viii, 377; confirmed to Portugal, viii, 383; the question of their longitude, viii, 383. *See* Oceans, Pacific.
Monckton, Gen., in Acadia, v; in the West Indies, viii, 290; letters to, viii, 446, 462.
Monclova, Count of, viii, 306, 307; dies, viii, 342.
Moncure, Powhatan, viii, 455.
Monmouth, battle of, viii, 462. *See* Military Events.
Monroe, James, President, U. S., vii; message on So. Amer. Affairs, viii, 362; *View of the Conduct of the Executive*, viii, 420; Washington's comments on, viii, 420; his papers, viii, 421.
Monsey, M. de, *Conféd. Argentine*, viii, 358.
Moutalban, Castle, viii, 340.
Montalvo, F. A. de, *El Sol del Nuevo Mondo*, viii, 367; *Toribio*, viii, 367.
Montaubon, Sieur de, freebooter, viii, 251.
Monte y Tejada, Ant. del, *Santo Domingo*, viii, 279.
Montejo on the Yucatan coast, viii, 261.
Montemaior de Cuenca, *Discurso*, viii, 250.
Monterey, Conde de, viii, 296.
Monterey, vii; in the Solis Revolt, viii, 230; seized by Com. Jones, viii, 231; taken by Sloat, viii, 232; *Extracto de Noticias*, viii, 258.
Montes Claros, Marquis, viii, 296, 342.
Monteverde, Gen., viii, 325.
Montevideo founded, viii, 315, 341; captured, viii, 361; plan, viii, 358, 361.
Montgomery, Gen. Richard, in Canada, vi; papers, viii, 447; life by J. Armstrong, viii, 475.
Montgomery and Barbadoes, viii, 290.
Montmorin, Count de, correspondence, viii, 466.
Montreal founded, iv; French history, v; in the Amer. Rev., vi; Fraser Institute, viii, 187; Soc. for hist. studies, viii, 187; map of the isles, viii, 133; riot in, viii, 166.
Montressor, testifies in Parliament, viii, 502.
Montúfar, Archbishop, viii, 196.
Montzelun, Baron de, *Voyage*, viii, 493.
Moodie, Mrs. S., *Roughing it*, viii, 180.
Moody, Lieut. James, *Narrative*, viii, 485.
Moor, Capt. Wm., viii, 81.
Moore, Com., viii, 290.
Moore, Frank, iv; vi; viii, 439; *Laurens Correspondence*, viii, 458; *Materials for History*, viii, 458; *Diary of the Amer. Rev.*, viii, 480; *Patriot Preachers*, viii, 485; *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, viii, 496; *Ballad Hist. of the Rev.*, viii, 496.
Moore, Geo. H., i; iii; v; vi; vii; viii, 439; *Hist. Notes on Employment of Negroes*, viii, 484.
Moore, Gov. H. (N. Y.), autog. and seal, viii, 445; correspondence, viii, 446.
Moore, Jacob B., iii; iv; vii; viii, 439.
Moore, M. M., viii, 451.
Moore, T. E. L., viii, 91.
Moorsom, Capt. W., *Letters*, viii, 177.
Moose Factory (Hudson Bay), viii, 13.
Mopanes, viii, 261.
Mora, J. M. L., *Méjico*, viii, 268; *Obras Sueltas*, viii, 268.
Moraes, A. J. de Mello, *Chorog. Hist.*, viii, 350; *Brazil Hist.*, viii, 350; *Hist. do Brazil*, viii, 350; *Cronica*, viii, 350.
Moraviantown, Gen. Harrison at, viii, 146.
Moreau, J. B., viii, 496; edits *Croakers*, viii, 496; memorial of, viii, 496.
Moreau, Pierre, *Relation*, viii, 353, 354.
Moreau de St. Méry, M. L. E., *Colonies Françaises*, viii, 281; *Saint Domingue*, viii, 282.
Morelli, *Fasti Novi Orbis*, viii, 249.
Morelos, General José Maria, his marches, viii, 217, 221; in command, viii, 220; at Cuautla, viii, 221; at Tehuacan, viii, 221; portrait, viii, 221, 222; deposed, viii, 222; executed, viii, 223.
Moreno, Gabriel, viii, 319.
Moreno, M., *Rev. in Buenos Ayres*, viii, 362.
Moret de Pontgibond, Comte de, *Mémoires*, viii, 505.
Morey, Gen., viii, 439.
Morgan, Gen. Daniel, vi: papers, viii, 455.
Morgan, Sir Henry, buccaneer, viii, 236; portrait, viii, 236; takes Panama, viii, 236; accounts of, viii, 251; bibliog., viii, 252; gov. of Jamaica, viii, 277.
Morgan, H. J., iv; *Celebrated Canadians*, viii, 185.
Morgan, Dr. John, viii, 488; portrait, viii, 488; *Vindication*, viii, 488.
Morgan, Maurice, viii, 462.
Morillo, Gen., viii, 325; victorious, viii, 334.
Morisot, C. B., *Madagascar, etc.*, viii, 353.
Morley, John, vi; vii; *Burke*, viii, 503.
Morocco. *See* Barbary Powers.
Morrell, B. W., *Voyages*, viii, 259.
Morris, A. C., on Gouv. Morris in Paris, viii, 447; *Diary and letters of Gouv. Morris*, viii, 447.
Morris, Gouverneur, vi; vii; papers, viii, 447; Sparks' portrait, viii, 447; autograph, viii, 447; references, viii, 447; lives by Sparks, viii, 447; Roosevelt, viii, 447; diary, viii, 447; references, viii, 475.
Morris, H. M., viii, 447.
Morris, J., *Narrative*, viii, 252.
Morris, Gen. Lewis, letters, viii, 447.
Morris, Margaret, diary, vi; viii, 451.
Morris, Robert, vi; vii; letters, viii, 446, 447; papers, viii, 447.
Morris, R. H., papers, viii, 449.
Morris, Wm., viii, 153.
Morris mansion, viii, 489.
Morrison, *Windham, N. H.*, viii, 438.
Morse, Jedediah, i; vii; his collections respecting the Indians, viii, 413; *Annals of the Amer. Rev.*, viii, 475.
Morse, J. T., Jr., vi; vii; edits *American Statesmen series*, viii, 482.
Mosquera, T. C. de, *Bolivar*, viii, 346.
Mosquitos, viii, 262.
Moss, Lemuel, *Baptists*, viii, 486.
Mota Padilla, Matias de la, i; ii; *Nueva Galicia*, viii, 249.
Motolinía, i; ii; *Indios*, viii, 248.
Moultrie, Wm., vi; *Amer. Rev.*, viii, 458.
Mount Desert, iii; iv; papers on, viii, 429.
Mountain, Bishop, viii, 186.
Mowat, Premier, viii, 175.
Mowry, Silvester, *Arizona, etc.*, viii, 254.
Muhlenpfordt, *Mexico*, viii, 260.
Mulhall, M. G., *English in South America*, viii, 366.
Müller, G. F., *Voyages*, viii, 110.
Mulvaney, *Toronto*, viii, 183.
Munsell, Joel, i; iii; iv; v; *Historical series*, viii, 496; *Amer. local hist.*, viii, 496.
Muratori, L. A., *Compag. de Gesu del Paraguai*, viii, 360; *Missions of Paraguay*, viii, 358.
Murdock, B., v; *Nova Scotia*, viii, 175.
Murphy, H. C., ii; iii; iv; *Anthology New Netherland*, viii, 496.
Murray, Gen., vi; in command in Canada, viii, 131; letters, viii, 461.
Murray, Hugh, *Brit. America*, viii, 186.
Murray, James, *Impartial Hist. of the Present War*, vi; viii, 500.
Murray, John, Universalist, viii, 487.
Murray, Gen. Sir John, viii, 171.
Murray, J. O'K., *Pop. Hist. Cath. Chh. in the U. S.*, viii, 486.
Murray, Wm. Vans, vii; papers, viii 425.
Museums. *See* Societies.
Muzquiz, viii, 228.
Muzzey, A. B., *Reminiscences*, viii, 485.
Myers, T. B., viii, 426.

Myritius, J., *Opusculum geog.*, viii, 399. *See* Maps.

Nantucket, iii; iv; in the Am. Rev., viii, 427.

Napoleon I. *See* Bonaparte.

Narborough, Sir John, in the Patagonia waters, viii, 412.

Nares, Sir G. S., *Arctic Exped.*, viii, 129.

Nash, Gov. (N. C.), viii, 457.

Nash, Solomon, *Journal*, vi; viii, 485.

Nason, Elias, iii; v; *National Song*, viii, 484.

Nassau, Count of, career, viii, 353; portrait, viii, 352; builds Mauritiopolis, viii, 353; map of it, viii, 353; returned to Holland, viii, 354; sources, viii, 354.

Nassy, D. de la, *Surinam*, viii, 366.

Navarro, T., *Triumphus Charitatis*, viii, 368.

Navarro y Rodriguez, C., *Iturbide*, viii, 269.

Navigation, by canoe, i; theories of, ii; longitude, ii; iii; latitude, iii; ship's logs, ii; iii; cross staff, ii; iii; sea-manuals, iii; Blunderville, iii; Regiomontanus, ii; gulf stream, i; iii; iv.

Nayarit, conquered, viii, 210.

Neal, John, on the American Revolution, iii, 474.

Necochea, Gen., viii, 336.

Negrete, E. del Costillo, *Mexico*, viii, 267.

Negroes, i; ii; v; in Jamaica, viii, 279; sent from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, viii, 140; in the Revolutionary Army, viii, 484.

Neill, E. D., i; iii; iv; v; on Dr. Potts, viii, 488.

Nell, W. C., *Colored patriots*, viii, 484.

Nelson, Wm., viii, 449; papers, viii, 450.

Nelson, Dr. Wolfred, viii, 156, 162.

Nelson River, viii, 27; map, 29.

Neri, Felipe, viii, 314.

Netherlands. *See* Holland.

Netscher, P. M., *Kolonien*, viii, 366; *Les Hollandais au Brésil*, viii, 352, 354.

Neumann, K. F., *Der Vereinigten Staaten*, viii, 507.

New Brunswick, created, viii, 136; military population of, viii, 143; Miramichi fire, viii, 148; loyalists in, viii, 149, 175; great immigration to, viii, 163, 180; histories, viii, 177.

New Denmark, viii, 105.

New England, archæology of, i; early history, iii; relations with New France, iv; v; Provincial period, v; in the Amer. Revolution, vi; later history, vii; archives of the several states, viii; her people fond of documentary garners, viii, 427; records of the conventions (1776, 1778, 1780), viii, 438; claims of New York, viii, 445; MS. sources of the stamp act period, viii, 462; Catholic Church in, viii, 486; Methodism in, viii, 487; transcendentalism in, viii, 487; Dwight's *Travels*, viii, 492; the press of, viii, 497. *See* United States.

New Galicia, mines of, viii, 193; Indians, viii, 210.

New Granada, i; ii; audiencia, viii, 295; a viceroyalty, viii, 314; Jesuits in, viii, 314; literature, viii, 366; map, viii, 346; the revolution fails, viii, 325; becomes the United States of Colombia, viii, 339.

New Hampshire, archæology, i; early history, iii; Colonial period, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; documents, viii, 413; archives, viii, 438; *Provincial papers*, viii. 438; *State papers*, viii, 438; *Town papers*, viii, 438; *Provincial and State papers*, viii, 438; controversy over the grants, viii, 438, 445; *Indian and French wars*, viii, 438; *Rolls of the Rev. War*, viii, 438; pension lists, viii, 438; in the Rev. War, viii, 438; local history, viii, 438; officers in the Rev. War, viii, 438; First N. H. Reg. in the Rev., viii, 438. *See* United States.

New Haven, iii; plantation of, records, viii, 442. *See* Connecticut.

New Jersey, archæology, i; early history, iii; Colonial period, v; Revolutionary period, vi; later history, vii; archives, viii, 448, 460; *Bicentennial of the Legislature*, viii, 448; *N. Jersey Archives*, viii, 449; *Colonial Hist. of N. J.*, viii, 449; *Grants and Concessions*, viii, 449; *Acts*, viii, 449; Leaming and Spicer, viii, 449; proprietors of East Jersey, viii, 449; of West Jersey, viii, 449; deeds and wills, viii, 449; corresp. of royal governors, viii, 449; Gov. Belcher, viii, 449; *Acts of the Rev. period*, viii, 449; *Officers in the Rev.*, viii, 449; *Journal of the Gov. and Council*, viii, 449; *of the Representatives*, viii, 449; Council of Safety, viii, 449; Provincial Congress, viii, 449; Convention (1776), viii, 449; *Index to Laws*, viii, 449; corresp. of the Rev., viii, 449; papers in State library, viii, 450. *See* United States.

New Laws, ii; in Central America, viii, 232. *See* New Spain.

New Mexico, early history, ii; bibliog. of, viii, 253; settled, viii, 254; Spanish architectural remains, viii, 254; inscription in, viii, 254. *See* United States.

New Spain, early history, ii; condition of natives, viii, 191; the New Laws, viii, 191; repealed in part, viii, 192; commerce of, 250. *See* Mexico.

New Sweden, history, iv; viii, 450.

New York, State, archæology, i; early history, iii; iv; provincial period, v; Revolutionary period, vi; later history, vii; archives, viii, 465; Unitarianism in, viii, 487. *See* United States.

New York, city, iii; iv; v; vi; vii.

Newcastle district in Canada, settled, viii, 148.

Newell, C. *Rev. in Texas*, viii, 229.

Newfoundland, iii; iv; accounts of, viii, 177; bibliog., viii, 188; Mason's map, viii, 188, 189, 190; *Short Discourse*, viii, 190; early maps, viii, 190.

Newsman's Interpreter, viii, 238.

Newspapers in the U. S., vii; viii, 497.

Niagara frontier in the French period, iv; in the French wars, v; in the War of 1812, vii; viii, 147.

Nicaragua archæology, i; Spanish period, ii; Cartreras revolt, viii, 232; map, viii, 264; bibliog., viii, 265.

Nichols, *Hourglasse of Indian News*, viii, 363.

Nicolay, Comte Raimond de, viii, 465.

Nicoselli, A., *Toribio*, viii, 367.

Nieuhoff, *Ze en Lant Reise*, viii, 353, 354.

Nightingale, Mrs. P. M., viii, 441.

Niles, Hezekiah, vii; *Weekly Register*, viii, 259, 498; *Principles and Acts*, viii, 416.

Niles, J. M., *South Amer. and Mexico*, viii, 227.

Noble, John, viii, 427.

Nobrega (Nobreja), in Brazil, viii, 350, 391.

Nodal, *Relacion*, viii, 412.

Noël, translates Anburey, viii, 490.

Nolte, F., *Etats Unis*, viii, 506.

Noort, Olivier Van, viii, 343; view of his fleet, viii, 401; *Voyage*, viii, 401; portrait, viii, 402; passed Magellan's Straits, viii, 407.

Nootka, convention at, vii; viii, 213.

Nordenskjöld, A. E., i; ii; *Om en Märklig Globkarta*, viii, 379.

Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies*, viii, 488.

Norman, J., Boston engraver, vi; vii; viii, 500.

Norman, *Corsairs*, viii, 364.

Normans, i; iv; early voyages to Brazil, viii, 384.

Norris, Geo. W., *Medicine in Philad.*, viii, 488.

Norris, W. F., viii, 488.

Nort, Oliverius A. *See* Noort.

North, Lord, vi; vii; speeches in Parliament, viii, 499; portrait, viii, 503; *Hist. of Great Britain* during his administration, viii, 504; *Corresp. with Geo. III*, viii, 504.

North, S. D., *Newspaper Press*, viii, 497.

North, Col. Wm., viii, 448.

North America, prehistoric and aboriginal period, i; Spanish explorations, ii; English colonies, iii; French explorations and colonies, iv; struggle between the French and English, v; American Revolution, vi; United States, vii; joined to Asia in the early maps, viii, 441.

North American and W. Indian Gazetteer, viii, 499.

North Carolina, archæology, i; early history, iii, colonial history, v; revolutionary period, vi; later history, vii; archives, viii, 456; Assembly records, viii, 456; papers from England, viii, 456; *Colonial Records*, viii, 456; Provincial Congress, viii, 456; conventions, viii, 456; Council of Safety, viii, 456, 457; Provincial Council, viii, 457; Board of War, viii, 457; Federal Conventions, viii, 457; corresp. of royal governors, viii, 457; local committees of safety, viii, 457; *Public Acts*, viii, 457; *Laws*, viii, 457. *See* United States.

North Georgia Gazette, viii, 84, 117.

North pole, modern efforts to reach, viii, 128.

North west coast of N. Amer., exploration of, ii; opening of trade, viii, 494.

North west company and Arctic exploration, viii, 34, 72; its warehouses, viii, 37; life under, viii, 37; unites with the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 42; its history, viii, 78; buys Astoria, viii, 78; map of its stations, viii, 78; its official statement; *Nar. of Occurrences*, viii, 78.

North western passage, iii; history of the search for, viii, 33; reward for finding, 33; Dobbs on, viii, 68; Ellis's voyage, viii, 69; search for, viii, 81; discovered by McClure, viii, 93; parliamentary reward paid, viii, 94; bibliog. of, viii, 106; *Concise Acc. of Voyages*, viii, 115; Phipp's idea (1774), viii, 116. *See* Oceans.

North West Provinces of Canada, sources of their history, viii, 78.

Northmen. *See* Discoverers.

Northumberland MSS., viii, 460.

Norway House, viii, 15.

Nourse, J. E., *Amer. Explorations in the Ice Zones*, viii, 104; edits *Hall's Second Arctic Exped.*, viii, 104, 129.

Nouvion, V. de, *Guyane*, viii, 363.

Noticias das Nacãos ultra Marinhas, viii, 349.

Nova Scotia, prehistoric period, i; English explorations, iii; French occupation, iv; early cartography, iv; in the French and Indian wars, v; during the American revolution, vi; loyalists in, vii; modern history, viii; Wentworth, governor, viii,

139; new settlers, viii, 139; the military element of its population, viii, 143; Scottish immigration, viii, 147; family compact in, viii, 165; loyalists, viii, 174, 464; archives, viii, 175, 464; Historical Society, viii, 175, 187; map of, viii, 176; histories, viii, 175, 177; in the Brit. Museum, viii, 464; connection with the Amer. Revolution, viii, 464. *See* Acadia.
Novo y Colson, viii, 257.
Noyes, *Amer. Socialisms*, viii, 488.
Nueva Granada. *See* New Granada.
Nuuez, Ignacio, *Rio de la Plata*, viii, 358; *Noticias*, viii, 358.

O'CALLAGHAN, DR. E. B., iii; iv; his work on the N. Y. Archives, viii, 444.
Oceans. *Arctic*, ii, 451; iii; viii. North west passage, ii; iii, 203; iv; 35; viii. *See* North western passage.
  Atlantic, its islands, and the myth of Atlantis, i; references, ii. Azores and their relations to early American discoveries, i; ii. Bermuda, ii; iii; iv; v; vii. Brazil Island, ii; iii; iv. Canaries, i; ii; iii. Madeira, ii. Sable Island, iv. St. Brandon Island, i; iii, 101.
  Indian, ii.
  Pacific, i; iii; iv; called the South Sea, iv; a part the Sea of Mangi, iv; discoveries in, ii; viii. Cook's discoveries, ii: vii; viii. Behring's Straits, i; iii. Straits of Anian, ii; iii; iv; viii. Boenechea's explorations, viii, 314. California, Gulf of, ii; viii. Moluccas, ii; iii; iv. Philippine Islands, ii. Polynesians, i. Solomon Islands, ii, 552.
O'Higgins, Ambrosio, portrait, viii, 322; his career, viii, 322; made Marquis Osorno, viii, 323.
O'Higgins, Bernardo, portrait, viii, 330; director of Chile, viii, 331, 340; abdicates, viii, 340; dies, viii, 340; accounts of, viii, 348.
O'Higgins, Demetrio, viii, 326.
O'Reilly, Bernard, *Greenland*, viii, 115.
Ocean Highways, viii, 105.
Ocopo, convent of, viii, 343.
Odell, M. M., on Phillis Wheatley, viii, 496.
Odriozola, Manuel de, *Coleccion de Doc. lit. del Perú*, viii, 343.
Oelmans, Jablo, viii, 200.
Oexmelin. *See* Exquemelin.
Ogè, James, viii, 282.
Ogeron, viii, 280.
Oglethorpe, Gen. James, in Georgia, v; life by Peabody, viii, 475.
Oglin, an Augsburg printer, viii, 381.
Ojeda, ii; on the South American Coast, viii, 369.
Oldmixon, *Brit. Empire in America*, viii, 271.
Olivares, Abbé, MSS. on Chile, viii, 346.
Olivares, M. de, *Com. de Jesus*, viii, 368.
Oliver, Andrew, vi; letter-book, viii, 433.
Oliver, Lt. Gov. (Mass.), vi; viii, 498.
Oliver, Peter, vi; viii; diary, viii, 433; letters, viii, 433.
Oliver, Dr. Peter, diary, viii, 433.
Oliviera e Castro, L. J. de, viii, 349.
Olney, Stephen, vi; papers, viii, 442, 485.
Olinda, viii, 351; captured by the Dutch, viii, 351; burnt, viii, 352; rebuilt, viii, 353; occupied by the Portuguese, viii, 354.
Ollendorf, Count von, viii, 450.
Ollier, Edmund, *Cassell's United States*, viii, 504.
Olmsted, L. G., viii, 495.
Omagua, viii, 408.
Ommanney, Capt., in the Arctic Seas, viii, 94.
Oñate, ii; his conquest of New Mexico, viii, 198, 253.
Ontario, boundaries of, viii, 76; province of, settled by loyalists, vii; viii, 137.
Oratory in the United States, viii, 485.
Orcutt, Samuel, *Torrington*, viii, 444; *Stratford*, viii, 444; *Bridgeport*, viii, 444; *Derby*, viii, 444; *New Milford*, viii, 444.
Orders. *See* Religious Bodies.
Oregon, boundary controversy, vii; viii, 52.
Oregon trail, viii, 232.
Orizaba captured, viii, 221.
Oropesa, viii, 315.
Orosco y Berra, *Conjuracion del Marquès del Valle*, viii, 195.
Ortega, José F., viii, 258.
Osborn, J. H., viii, 448.
Osborn, Capt. Sherard, in the Arctic Seas, viii, 97; *Stray Leaves*, viii, 121; *Polar Regions*, viii, 121; *Disc. of a N. W. Passage*, viii, 121; *Career of Franklin*, viii, 127, 129; on North Polar routes, viii, 129.
Osorio, Gen., viii, 326, 331.
Osorius, H., ii; *De Rebus Emmanuelis*, viii, 372; translations, viii, 372.
Osorno, Marquis of, viii, 323, 342; surrenders, viii, 223.
Oswald, vii; papers about the treaty of 1782, viii, 463; his journal, viii, 464.
Otis, G. A., translates Botta, viii, 507.
Otis, H. G., vii; on Gen. Knox, viii, 433; letters, viii, 436.
Otis, Col. James, viii, 434.
Otis, James (the patriot), vi; papers lost, viii, 434; Tudor's *Life*, viii, 434; a letter from college, viii, 436; life by F. Bowen, viii, 475; as orator, viii, 485.
Otis, Brig. Gen. Joseph, papers, viii, 434.
Ottawa district of Canada, settled, viii, 147; town of, Archives at, viii, 171, 465.
Ottens, *Grand théâtre de la Guerre*, viii, 197. *See* Maps.
Ouarville. *See* Brissot de Warville.
Outgheraz, viii, 407.
Ovalle, *Chili*, viii, 346.
Owen, R. D., *Threading My Way*, viii, 488.
Oxenham in the Pacific, viii, 233.
Oxford, Bishop of. *See* Wilberforce, Samuel.

PACA, WM., vi; papers, viii, 454.
Pacheco, J. R., on Iturbide, viii, 269.
Pacific Ocean. *See* Oceans.
Padilla, Juan de, on the Indians' wrongs, viii, 303, 343.
Paesi novamente retrovati, i; viii, 378.
Paez, J. A., First President of Venezuela, viii, 339.
Paige, L. R., *Hardwick*, viii, 427.
Paine, Nath'l., viii, 437.
Paine, R. T., "Adams and Liberty," viii, 484.
Paine, Thomas, vi; viii, 466; intended a hist. of the Amer. Revolution, viii, 469; *American Crisis*, viii, 498; *Letter to Raynal*, viii, 505.
Painter, Thomas, viii, 485.
Palfrey, J. G., iii; v; reviews Mahon, viii, 418, 504; on the Hutchinson papers, viii, 432; his service to Sparks, viii, 460; *Wm. Palfrey*, viii, 475.
Palfrey, Wm., viii, 460; life by J. G. Palfrey, viii, 475.
Palmer, John, *Travels*, viii, 493.
Palou, Francisco, *California*, viii, 258.
Patton, J. H., *Hist. United States*, viii, 482; *Hist. Amer. People*, viii, 482.
Patton, J. M., viii, 454.
Pamphile, de la Croix, *Mémoires*, viii, 289.
Panama, early history, ii; bibliog., viii, 265; settlement, retrograde, viii, 233; taken by Morgan, viii, 236, 307; site of, changed, viii, 236, 241; attacked by Sharp, viii, 238; map of vicinity, viii, 239, 241, 242; Scots at, viii, 239; Vernon's expedition, viii, 244.
Papineau rebellion in the Red River region, viii, 51.
Paquin, Curé de St. Eustache, viii, 181.
Pará, viii, 351.
Paraguay, Antequera in, viii, 309; independent, viii, 341, 360; bibliog., viii, 358; maps, viii, 358, 359; missions, viii, 358; histories, viii, 359; Jesuits in, viii, 359; Dr. Francia's rule, viii, 360; Lopez, viii, 360; Irala in, viii, 388.
Paraiba, viii, 351.
Pardo, Manuel, on the revolt of Pumacagua, viii, 344.
Paredes, viii, 253; his revolt, viii, 229; overthrows Herrera, viii, 229.
Pareja, Brigadier, viii, 326.
Paria, ii; viii, 382.
Paris, F. J., viii, 449.
Paris, American papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Archives Nat., viii, 465; Amer. legation, in (1776–1785) letter books, viii, 466; treaty of (1782), vii; (1814), viii, 287.
Paris family (N. Jersey), papers, viii, 449.
Parish, Sir Woodbine, *Buenos Ayres*, viii, 361, 384.
Park, *Repertory*, viii, 497.
Parker, Edgar, viii, 429.
Parker, Theo., vi; viii, 487.
Parker, Capt. Wm., attacks Porto Bello, viii, 233.
Parkinson, Leonard, viii, 277.
Parkinson, R., *Tour*, viii, 492.
Parkman, Francis, his studies in the aboriginal history of No. America, i; in Spanish American history, ii; in Canadian history, iv; in the French and Indian wars, v; on the conspiracy of Pontiac, vi; his manuscripts and maps, iv; vi; viii, 434, 460, 461, 466.
Parmentier, Jean, *Discorso*, ii; iv; viii, 374.
Parry, Edw., *W. E. Parry*, viii, 118.
Parry, W. E., and the Arctic seas, viii, 84–86; his track, viii, 109; *Journal* (1818), viii, 117; (1819, 1820), viii, 117; *Second Voyage*, viii, 118; *Third Voyage*, viii, 118; *Three Voyages*, viii, 118; life of, viii, 118; farthest north, viii, 126.
Parry Islands, viii, 122.
Parsons, Gen. S. H., vi; vii; viii, 443; his loyalty questioned and defended, viii, 463.
Parton, Jas., vi; vii; *Franklin*; viii; 423; *Caricature*, viii, 489; *Famous Americans*, viii, 497.
Partridge, Oliver, viii, 432.
Pascual, A. D. de, *Uruguay*, viii, 362.
Patagonia, ii; Camargo on the West coast, viii, 394; giants, viii, 399, 406, (*see* Maps); East coast, viii, 412.
Paterson, Wm., settles Scots at Darien, viii, 240, 265, 266.
Patterson, Dr. Geo., his writings, viii, v; viii, 175; *Pictou*, viii, 175.
Pattie, J. O., *Personal Narr.*, viii, 259.
Pattison, Gen. James, in New York, his letters, viii, 463.
Paulding, J. K., *Inchiquin*, viii, 493.
Payta, sacked, viii, 311.
Paz, Gen. J. M., *Memorias*, viii, 361.

Pazos, V., *Letter to H. Clay*, viii, 362.
Peabody, A. P., on Unitarianism in Boston, viii, 487.
Peabody, Nath., letters, viii, 439, 440.
Peabody, S. H., *Amer. Patriotism*, viii, 485.
Peabody, W. B. O., *Life of A. Wilson*, viii, 475; *C. Mather*, viii, 475; *Israel Putnam*, viii, 475; *D. Brainerd*, viii, 475; *Oglethorpe*, viii, 475; *John Sullivàn*, viii, 475.
Pearson, Jos., viii, 413.
Peck, J. M., *Life of Daniel Boone*, viii, 475.
Peck, J. T., *Great Republic*, viii, 482.
Pedley, Chas., *Newfoundland*, viii, 177, 190.
Pedraza, Gomez, President of Mexico, viii, 227; flies before Santa Anna, viii, 227.
Pedro I (Brazil), 341; abdicated, viii, 358.
Pedro II (Brazil), viii, 341, 358.
Peel Sound, viii, 96.
Pelleprat, Father Pierre, in the West Indies, viii, 363; *Relation*, viii, 363.
Pelly, J. H., Gov. of Hudson Bay Co., viii, 35, 44, 47, 60, 63.
Pemberton, J. D., *Vancouver Island*, viii, 184.
Pemberton, Thos., *Amer. War*, viii, 473.
Pemmican, viii, 18.
Peñalosa, expedition, ii; viii, 198, 253.
Pendleton, Edmund, viii, 454; letters, viii, 421.
Penguis, viii, 43.
Penn, Grenville, *Admiral Penn*, viii, 275.
Penn, John (1788), viii, 491.
Penn, Admiral, Sir Wm., in the West Indies, viii, 273; *Memorials*, viii, 275.
Penn, Wm., founds Pennsylvania, iii; papers, viii, 451; life by Geo. E. Ellis, viii, 475.
Pennsylvania, aboriginal history, i; colonial period, iii; frontier wars, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; named after Admiral Penn, viii, 275; archives, viii, 450; *Colonial Records*, viii, 450; Council of Safety, viii, 450; *Penna. Archives*, viii, 450; Board of War, viii, 450; Constitution (1776), viii, 450; troops in the Rev., viii, 450; German regiments, viii, 450; corresp. of Royal governors, viii, 450; *Penna. Register*, viii, 450; loyalists, viii, 450; New Sweden Colony, viii, 450; locals, viii, 450; *Persons who took the oath of allegiance*, viii, 450; First Penna. Artillery, viii, 450; in the Rev., viii, 450; publications in the Rev., viii, 450; bibliog. of printing in, viii, 494. *See* United States.
Penny, Capt. Wm., his Arctic voyage, viii, 94, 121.
Pepperrell, Sir Wm., his career, v; papers, viii, 437.
Peralta y Barnuevo, Pedro de, viii, 343; *Lima Fundada*, viii, 343.
Peralta, Suarez de, *Noticias*, viii, 246.
Pereira, N. M., *Compendio*, viii, 356.
Pereira da Silva, J. M., *Imperio brazileiro*, viii, 358.
Perin, René, *L'Incendie du Cap*, viii, 286.
Periodicals. (Repeated references are not included.) Affaires de l'Angleterre, et de l'Amérique, viii, 498. Affiches Américaines, viii, 498. All the year round, v, 394. Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden, ii. Almon's Remembrancer, vi, 653; viii, 498. American Annual, viii, 498. American Antiquarian, i, 439; iv, 201. American Anthropologist, i, 438. American Architect, v, 169. American Catholic Quarterly, iv, 223; viii, 356. American Church Review, iv, 18. American Ciitzen, viii, 497. American Daily Advertiser (Claypole's), vii, 334; viii, 497. American Gazette (London), viii, 498. American Journal of Archæology, i, 438. American Journal of Numismatics, ii. American Journal of Science and Arts, i, 438. American Mag., v, 158. American Monitor, viii, 267. American Museum, i, 110; viii, 417. American Naturalist, i, 438. American Register, vii, 338; viii, 498. American Review, ii. American Traveller, vii, 175. American Weekly Mercury, v, 248. American Whig Review, vii, 296. Ames' Almanac, v, 455. Analectic Magazine, ii; vi. Anales de Aragon, ii, 68, 421. Annales Archéologiques, i, 441. Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne, iv, 57. Annales des Voyages, iv, 64. Annals of Science, i, 418. Annuæ litteræ Societatis, Jesu, iv, 300. Annuaire de l'Institut Canadien, iv, 361. Annual Register, v, 606; vi, 515; viii, 500. Anthropologia, i, 418. Anthropological Review, i, 442. Antiquary, iii, 160. Archiv für Ethnographie, i, 444. Archives curieuses, iv, 150. Archivio per l' Antropologia, i, 444. Archivio Storico Italiano, iv, 17, 18. Archivo dos Açores, i, p. xix; ii, 48. Archivo Mexicano, ii, 398. Archæological and Historical Quarterly, vii, 536. Archæological Review, i, 443. Atkin's America's Messenger, v, 248. Atlantic Souvenir, v, 431. Aurora, La., viii, 326.
Banker's Mag., vii, 70. Bay State Monthly, v, 432; viii, 502. Bentley's Magazine, v, 603. Bibliophile Belge, ii, 50. Bookworm, ii, 48. Boston Daily Advertiser, viii, 497. Boston Gazette, v, 121; vi, 110, viii, 497. Boston News-letter, v, 106; vi, 110, 204. Bulletin Archéologique Français, i, 441.
Calendario de Lima, viii, 343. Canadian Antiquarian, i, 438; iv, 149; v, 279. Canadian Freeholder, viii, 170. Canadian Inspector, vii, 427. Canadian Journal, i, 438; iv, 72, 168, 201. Canadian Monthly, i, 438; ii, 97; v, 438. Canadian Naturalist, i, 438. Canadiana, viii, 173, 187. Canadien, viii, 465. Casket, viii, 452. Catholic Historical Researches, viii, 356. Catholic Telegraph, iv, 222. Catholic World, iv, 222. Censor, viii, 498. Centinel of the N. W. Territory, viii, 497. Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, i, p. xvii. Century Magazine, iv, 44. Charleston Mercury, vii, 322. Chinese Recorder, i, 80. Cincinnati Pioneer, vii, 535. Civiltà Catholica, ii, 69. Coin Collector's Journal, ii, 470. Coin Journal, vii, 81. Colburn's United Service, vii, 424. Collector, viii, 415. Colonial Advocate, viii, 151. Columbian Centinel, viii, 497. Columbian Mag., vi, 510; vii, 327; viii, 421, 500. Columbus, vii, 434. Commercial Advertiser, viii, 497. Congregational Quarterly, viii, 487. Connecticut Courant, vii, 320. Constitution (Canada), viii, 160. Continental Monthly, v. Correspondant, Le, iv, 357. Courier de l'Europe, viii, 505. Courier politique, viii, 498, 505. Crisis, viii, 498. Crisis (London), viii, 498. Curio, vii.
De Bow's Review, iv, 199, 241. Democratic Review, vii, 296. Dennie's Portfolio, v, 594; vi, 222; vii, 303. Deutsch-Amerikanische Magazin, vi, 360. Deutsch-Americanische Monatshefte, vii, 75. Deutsche Pionier, iv, 248. Diario da Lima, viii, 314.
Eastern Chronicle (Nova Scotia), v, 423. Eclectic Magazine, ii, 426; v, 603. Edinburgh Review, ii, 50. English Historical Review, v, 578. Englishman's Evening Post, viii, 292. Enquirer (Richmond), viii, 497. Essex Gazette, vi, 110. Ethnological Journal, i, 442. Ethnographisches Archiv., i, 443. Evangelical and literary mag., iii, 168.
Father Abraham's Almanac, v. Federalist, vii. Fenno's Gazette, vii. Fireland's Pioneer, vii. Fleet's Evening Post, vi, 110.
Gacetas de Literatura, i, 180. Gaceta de México, viii, 269. Gazetta letteraria Universale, ii, 222. Gazette (Canada), viii, 149. Gazette de Leyde, vii, 68; viii, 498. Gazette des Beaux-Arts, ii, 44. Gazette of the United States, viii, 497. General Advertiser, viii, 497. General American Register, viii, 498. Gentleman's Mag., v, 616; viii, 499. Geographical Magazine, iv, 18. Geografisk Tidsskrift, i, 113. Georgia Gazette, v, 402. Giornale Ligustico, ii, 102; iv, 38. Granite Monthly, iii, 368; v, 166. Guardian (Canada), viii, 149.
Haarlemsche Courant, vii, 68. Hesperian, iv, 199; vii, 536. Historical Magazine, iii; viii, 479. Hollandsche Mercurius, iii; iv, 491. Home-maker, viii, 489. Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, iv, 201; viii, 498.
Imperial Magazine, v, 607. Independent Chronicle, viii, 497. Independent Gazetteer, viii, 478. Imperial Magazine, v, 607. International Mag., iv, 295: viii, 418. International Review, v, 272. Iowa Historical Record, v, 622.
Jahrbücher für Anthropologie, i, 443. Journal of Amer. Folk Lore, i, 438. Journal of Anthropology, i, 442. Journal général de l' instruction publique, iv, 196. Journal de Quebec, v, 619. Journal des Jésuites, iv, 196. Journal des Savans, iv, 237. Journal Œconomique, v, 67.
Kansas City Review, i, 439. Kentucky Gazette, viii, 497. Knickerbocker Mag., iv, 222. Kosmos, i, 438.
Ladies Repository, vii, 430. Legal Gazette, viii, 478. Liberator, vii, 287, 326. Lippincott's Magazine, ii. London Gazette, vi, 516. London Magazine, viii, 499. London New Monthly Mag., vii, 430.
Magasin pittoresque, ii, 72, 296. Magazin für die Naturgeschichte des Menschen, i, 443. Magazin von Reisebeschreibungen, viii, 491. Magazine of Amer. history, iv, 31. Magazine of Western History, v. Magnolia, vi, 519. Manhattan Magazine, v. Maryland Gazette, v, 261. Massachusetts Centinel, viii, 497. Massachusetts Gazette, vi, 110. Massachusetts Mercury, viii, 497. Massachusetts Quarterly Review, i, 96; viii, 498. Massachusetts Spy, vi, 110, 122. Mercure de France, ii, 560; iv, 307. Mercure François, iv. Mercure Gallant, iv, 226. Mercurio Peruano, i, 276; viii, 319. Methodist Quarterly, v, 403. Minerva (N. Y.), viii, 497. Mirror of Literature, i, 110. Month, The, iv, 199–297. Monthly Military Repository, vi, 510; vii, 566; viii, 473. Monthly Miscellany, ii, 462.

Monthly Review, viii, 499. Moravian Quarterly, i, 109. Morning Chronicle, viii, 497. Morning Post, viii, 497.

Nature, i, 443. Nation, ii, 71. National Gazette, vii, 316; viii, 497. National Intelligencer, vii, 341; viii, 497. National Register, vii, 342. Nautical Magazine, ii, 82, 100. Nederlandsche Mercurius, vi, 570. Neue Berlinische Monatsschrift, i, 371. Neue Militär-Zeitung, vii, 77. New American Magazine, v, 597. New Dominion Monthly, iv, 67; vi, 216. New England Courant, v, 121. New England Journal, v, 131. New England Journal of Education, vii, 557. New England Palladium, viii, 497. New England Weekly Journal, v, 135. New Englander, viii, 487. Newport Historical Magazine, iii, 381. New Quarterly Review, ii, 54. New York Courier and Enquirer, vii, 350. New York Evening Post, vii, 341; viii, 418. New York Freeman's Journal, iv, 245. New York Gazette, v, 248. New York Journal, viii, 497. New York Magazine, vi, 510. New York Mercury, v, 85, 601. New York Thursday Journal, viii, 498. New York Weekly Herald, iv. Newsman's Interpreter, viii, 238, 294. Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerbochen, vii, 68. Niles' Register, vii; viii, 498. North Carolina Gazette, v, 303, 350; viii, 456. North Carolina University Mag., vi. North West Review, v. Norton's Literary Gazette, iii, 205. Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, iv, 19.

Ocean Highways, i, 442. Ohio Archæological and historical quarterly, i, 407. Once a Week, ii, 66. Orion, vi, 519. Overland Monthly, ii, 288.

Panzer's Annalen, ii, 159. Parliamentary Register or Debates, vi, 516, 653; vii, 83; viii, 499. Patriot, viii, 497. Pennsylvania Evening Post, vi, 436. Pennsylvania Gazette, v. Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist., v. Philadelphia American, v, 462. Philadelphia Packet, vii, 23. Pocket Magazine, vii, 576. Political Magazine, viii, 499. Popular Mag. of Anthropology, i, 442. Popular Science Monthly, i, 439. Popular Science Review, i, 443. Portfolio, i, 398; ii, 410. *See* Dennie. Potter's American Monthly, iii, 166. Providence Gazette, iii, 376. Psychologisches Magazin, i, 443. Public Occurrences, iv, 363; v, 90.

Registro Yucateco, i, 444. Repertorio Americano, viii, 267. Repertory, viii, 497. Reveille, vii, 77. Revista de Lima, ii, 569. Revista de Hist. Geog. (Brazil), viii, 349. Revista Mexicana, i, 444. Revista Peruana, i, 276; ii, 567. Revue Américaine, i, 441. Revue Archéologique, ii, 70. Revue Canadienne, iv, 292; v, 549. Revue Contemporaine, ii, 70, 411; iv, 241; v, 79. Revue Critique, iv, 18. Revue d'Anthropologie, i, 442; v, 77; Revue d'Architecture, i, 217. Revue de Géographie, ii. Revue de Rouen, iv, 240. Revue des deux Mondes, vii, 337. Revue des questions historiques, ii, 66, 178; iv, 134. Revue des Soc. Savantes, i, 38. Revue ethnographique, i, 441. Revue Française, viii, 467. Revue géographique, ii, 617. Revue maritime, iv, 245. Revue militaire française, viii, 505. Revue Orientale et Américaine, ii, 50. Revue politique, ii, 34. Revue rétrospective, ii, 298. Rheinisches Archiv., ii, 51. Rhode Island Gazette, v, 141. Rhode Island Hist. Tracts, iii, 377. Rhode Island Republican, iii, 376. Richmond Dispatch, iii, 162. Rivington's Gazette or Gazetteer, vi, 98, 110. Royal American Magazine, vi. Russell's Magazine, v, 344.

Saint James Magazine, viii, 175. Savannah Georgian, vii, 256. Science, i, 439. Scots Magazine, vi, 510. South Atlantic Magazine, viii, 454. Southern Bivouac, vii, 320. Southern Cross, ii, 41, 169. Southern Lit. Messenger, ii, 292; iii, 164, 168. Southern Lutheran, v, 348. Southern Quart. Review, v, 355. Spectateur Militaire, vii, 442. Sporting Review, i, 213. Springfield Republican, viii, 497.

Tait's Magazine, v, 603. Temple Bar, v, 394. Toronto Globe, viii, 168. Tour du Monde, ii, 298. Town and Country Mag., vi, 209; viii, 499. Trübner's Lit. Record, iv, 439.

United States Catholic Magazine, iv, 306. Universal Asylum, vi, 207; vii, 336. Universal Magazine, vi, 463; vii, 565; viii, 499.

Vermont Quart. Mag., vi, 356. Virginia Argus, viii, 492. Virginia Evangelical and Lit. Mag., iii, 164. Virginia Gazette, v, 268. Virginia Hist. Reporter, iii, 160, 162, 168. Virginia Register, v, 284. Von Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift, iv, 502.

Warwickshire Hist. Collections, ii, 466. Weekly Rehearsal, v, 137. Westminster Magazine, viii; iv, 99. Western Monthly Review, vi, 92. Western Reserve Historical Society, i, 407. Western Review, v, 580. Wisconsin, Academy of Science, i, 438. Worcester Magazine, v, 432; vii, 231. Wyoming Hist. and Geol. Soc., i, 438.

Zeitschrift, für allg. Erdkunde, ii, 404, 579; iv, 35. Zeitschrift für die Anthropologie, i, 443. Zeitschrift für physische Aerzte, i, 443. Zeitschrift für Wiss. Geog., ii, 55.

Perkins, Samuel, *United States*, viii, 475.

Pernambuco, viii, 351; plans, viii, 353; view, viii, 354; revolt at, viii, 357.

Pernetty, A. J., *Isles Malouines*, viii, 358.

Perok, viii, 225.

Perouse, J. D. F. de la, *Voyage*, viii, 259; attacks Hudson Bay posts, viii, 29.

Perry, A. L., v; vi; viii, 437.

Perry, David, viii, 485.

Perry, O. H., on Lake Erie, vi; viii, 146.

Perry, W. S., iii; v; vi; *Amer. Episc. Church*, viii, 485, 487; *Seabury and Provoost*, viii, 487; *First Bishop of Conn.*, viii, 487; *Mass. Conventions*, viii, 487.

Peru, archæology, i; Pizarro's conquest, ii; later history, viii; Viceroys of, viii, 311, 395; mines, viii, 297; bishoprics, viii, 297; inquisition, viii, 300; the vice-royal reign of Castelfuerte, viii, 309; Creole population, viii, 311; titles of nobility, 311; under an inspector of finance, viii, 314; Indians in, viii, 314, 315; map (1792), viii, 320; decrease of population, viii, 321; the Revolution begins, viii, 324; fails, viii, 328; declared independent, viii, 334; order of the Sun, viii, 334, 338; navy, viii, 334; conflict with Colombia, viii, 339; official reviews of the Viceroys, viii, 342; bibliography, viii, 343, 367; cartography, viii, 343; beginnings of the movement for independence, viii, 344; poem on the conquest, viii, 343; revolt of Tupac Amaru, viii, 316, 344; that of Catari, viii, 344; *Documentos*, viii, 344; ecclesias. hist., viii, 367.

Peruvian bark discovered, viii, 302.

Pesado, J., *El: Libertador*, viii, 269.

Peschel, Oscar, i; ii; *Gesch. des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, viii, 376; *Gesch. der Erdkunde*, viii, 376.

Peters, Richard, vi; vii; papers, viii, 451.

Pétion in St. Domingo, viii, 287; defeated, viii, 287; at Port au Prince, viii, 287; died, viii, 287.

Petitot, Emile, "Athabasca District," viii, 78.

Petit-Thouars, A. de, *Voyage*, viii, 259.

Pettit, Chas., papers, viii, 449.

Peyster, Gen. J. W. de, iv; v; vi; vii; on the New Brunswick loyalists, viii, 175; *Miscellanies of an Officer*, viii, 179.

Pezuela, General, viii, 323; made Viceroy of Peru, viii, 328, 329; his marches, viii, 344.

Pezuela, J. de la, *Cuba*, viii, 272.

Pfefferkorn, Ignas, *Sonora*, viii, 254.

Phelps, R. H., *New Gate of Conn.*, viii, 443.

Philadelphia, iii; v; vi; vii; medicine in, viii, 488.

Philip V (Spain), viii, 307.

Philip of Pokanoket, i; iii; viii, 499.

Philippines, ii; trade with, viii, 250. *See* Oceans.

Phillips, Wendell, vii; *Toussaint*, viii, 286; *Speeches*, viii, 286.

Phillips, Gen., viii, 431.

Philoponus, *Nova typis, etc.*, ii; viii, 249.

Phipps, Capt. C. J., *Voyage towards the North Pole*, viii, 117, 128.

Phips, Sir Wm., v; life by F. Bowen, viii.

Picaroons, vii.

Pico, viii, 232.

Pickering, Henry, viii, 434.

Pickering, Octavius, viii, 434; *Life of T. Pickering*, viii, 434.

Pickering, Col. Timothy, vi; vii; his autog., viii, 434; his papers, viii; 434; used by H. C. Lodge and Henry Adams, viii, 434; much scattered, viii, 434; some on agricultural topics, viii, 434; letter book, viii, 434; papers as quartermaster general, viii, 434; *Rules of the Massachusetts Army*, viii, 434; portraits, viii, 435; Bancroft's views of him controverted, viii, 478; life by O. Pickering, viii, 478.

Pickersgill, Lieut. Richard, viii, 83.

Pickincha, Battle, viii, 335.

Pierson, H. W., *Jefferson at Monticello*, vii; viii, 489.

Pighius, A., *De Inventione*, viii, 375.

Pike, Gen. Z. M., vii; life by H. Whiting, viii, 475.

Pilling, J. C., i; *Bibliog. Eskimo Language*, viii, 104.

Pim, Lieutenant, in the Arctic Seas, viii, 93.

Pinckney, C. C., vii; viii, 441; papers, viii, 458.

Pinckney, Gen. Thos., vii; viii, 458.

Pine tree flag, vi; viii, 483.

Pineda, Col., *Biblioteca*, viii, 366.

Pinelo, Diego de Leon, viii, 304.

Pinet, Ant. du, *Villes et Forteresses*, viii, 200.

Pinheiro, Dr. F., viii, 349.

Pinheiro, Dr. J. C. F., edits Vasconcellos' *Chronica*, viii, 391.

Pinheiro, J. P. X., on Brazil, viii, 350.

Pinkney, W., vii; life by H. Wheaton, viii, 475; as orator, viii, 485.

Pinzon, V. Y., ii; on the South Ameri-

can Coast, viii, 369; on the Brazil Coast, viii, 375.
Piracy, v; vii; viii.
Piraguas, viii, 238, 240.
Pirates. *See* Buccaneers.
Pisco, viii, 334.
Pistorius, T., *Zuriname*, viii, 365.
Pitkin, Timothy, vii; letters, viii, 443; *Hist. U. S.*, viii, 475: portrait, viii, 475; *Commerce of the U. S.*, viii, 494.
Pitts, James, viii, 485; his sons, viii, 485.
Pizarro, Francisco, his conquest of Peru, ii; viii, 343; his standard, viii, 329.
Placide, J., *Hayti*, viii, 289.
Plante, *Rerum ab Maritio Descriptio*, viii, 352.
Playter, G. F., *Methodism in Canada*, viii, 184.
Plaza, J. A. de, *Nueva Grenada*, viii, 367; *Compendio*, viii, 367.
Plumer, Wm., vii; papers and autobiog., viii, 440.
Pococke, Sir George, viii, 272, 275.
Pocomtuck Valley Memorial Association, viii, 427.
Poillon, L., viii, 347.
Poincy, Gen. De, his chateau at St. Kitts, view, 235, 236.
Poinsett, Joel R., vii; in Mexico, viii, 227.
Pointis, J. B. L., Desjean de, *Expéd. de Carthagene*, viii, 291.
Poirson, J. B., viii, 279.
Pollock, Oliver, vi; vii; corresp., viii, 414.
Polo, Marco. *See* Asia.
Polynesians. *See* Oceans.
Pombal, Marquis of, viii, 360.
Ponce de Leon, F., *Chile*, viii, 367.
Ponce de Leon, ii; his route to Florida, viii, 276.
Poncet, Charles, viii, 363.
Pontes, Belchior de, viii, 356.
Ponzoni, viii, 204.
Poole, Dr., *Peterboro', Canada*, viii, 182.
Poole, W. F., i; iii; vi; vii; owns plates of Sparks' *Franklin*, viii, 422.
Poore, B. P., iii; vii; *Polit. Register*, viii, 415; *Desc. Catal.*, viii, 415, 483; his transcripts from the French Archives, viii, 426, 465; *Collection de Manuscrits*, viii, 426; his MSS., viii, 465.
Popayan, viii, 335.
Pope, Col. John, *Tour*, viii, 491.
Popellinière, ii; *Trois Mondes*, viii, 374, 399.
Port au Prince taken by the French, viii, 285; by the English, viii, 285.
Port Royal (Cent. America), viii, 263.
Portales, Diego, life by Mackenna, viii, 347.
Porto Bello, trade of, viii, 206, 209; fairs at, viii, 207; attacked by Parker, viii, 233; map, viii, 238; map of vicinity, viii, 239, 241; captured by Vernon, viii, 292.
Porto Calvo, viii, 353.
Porto Desire, viii, 405.
Porto Rico, bibliog., viii, 289; map, viii, 288. *See* West Indies.
Porto Seguro, Visconde de. *See* Varnhagen.
Portolano, Italian, in the Carter-Brown library, viii, 441.
Portraits and Statues, engraved or described, including national and other groups of pictures:
Acland, Lady, vi, 358. Adams, Hannah, v, 160. Adams, John, vi, 36; vii, 90. Adams, J. Q., vii, 350. Adams, Samuel, vi, 40, 41. Agassiz, Louis, i, 373. Alaman, Lúcas, viii, 267. Albertus Magnus, ii, 29. Alexander VI, Pope, bust, ii, 44. Alexander, Sir Wm., iv, 156. Allen, Ethan, vi, 214. Almagro, Diego, ii, 518. Alvarado, Alonso de, ii, 544. Alvarado, Pedro, ii, 366, 398. Ames, Fisher, vii, 331. Amherst, Jeffery, v, 531. André, Maj. John, vii, 452, 453, 454, 461. Anson, George, viii, 210. Apian, ii, 179, 185. Arana, D. B., viii, 348. Arnold, Gen. Benedict, vi, 223. Asgill, Capt. Chas., vi, 745. Atahualpa, i, 228; ii, 515, 516. Auchmuty, Sir Samuel, viii, 362.
Bainbridge, Com. Wm., vii, 380. Balbóa, ii, 195. Baltimore, Frederick, sixth lord, v, 262. Bancroft, Geo., viii, 476. Barlow, Joel, vii, 531. Barney, Com. Joshua, vii, 401. Barré, Isaac, vi, 74; vii, 98. Barton, Benj. Smith, i, 371. Beaujeu, v, 498. Beaumarchais, vii, 29. Behaim, M., ii, 104. Belgrano, Gen., viii, 327. Bellomont, Earl of, v, 97. Benson, Egbert, vii, 173. Benzoni, ii, 347. Berkeley, Geo., v, 140. Bibaud, v, 619. Biddle, Capt. James, vii, 405. Biddle, Com. Nic., vi, 570. Bienville, v, 26. Blanca, Florida, vii, 53. Bolivar, Simon, viii, 335, 339. Bolzius, v, 396. Boone, Daniel, vi, 707. Boscawen, Adm., v, 464. Boturini, B., i, 160, 161. Bouchette, Jos., vii, 176. Bouquet, Col. Henry, vi, 692. Bowdoin, James, vii, 229; viii, 430. Brant, Jos., vi, 623, 625; viii. Brant, Seb., ii, 59. Brasseur de Bourbourg, i, 170. Bravo, Nicolas, viii, 226. Brébeuf, iv, 307. Brevoort, J. C., i, p. x. Brinton, D. G., i, 165. Brissot de Warville, viii, 49. Brooks, Col. John, vi, 202. Burgoyne, Gen. John, vi, 292, 293. Burke, Edmund, vii, 97. Burr, Aaron, vii, 297. Byles, Mather, v, 128.
Cabot, John (bust), i, 56. Cabot, Seb., iii, 5, 31, 47, 58. Calhoun, J. C., vii, 297. Calleja, viii, 218. Calvert, Cecilius, iii, 546, 558. Calvert, George, first Lord Baltimore, iii, 518, 558. Camden, Lord, vii, 97. Canadian, viii, 174. Carleton, Gen. Guy, vi, 164. Carlisle, Earl of, vii, 49. Carrera, J. M., viii, 326. Carrera, Luis, viii, 326. Carroll, Chas., vi, 227. Cartier, Sir George Étienne, viii, 168, 169. Cartier, Jacques, iv, 48, 63. Casgrain, v, 619. Cass, Lewis, vii, 297. Castellanos, ii, 583. Castilla del Oro, ii. Catlin, Geo. i, 320. Cavendish, Thos., ii; iii, 83. Champlain, iv, 119, 134. Challeux, Nic. de, ii. Charles V, ii, 371, 373, 409. Charnay, D., i, 187. Chatham (Wm. Pitt), vi, 109, 110. Chimalpain, ii. Christina, Queen, Sweden, iv, 500, 501. Clark, Geo. Rogers, vi, 734. Clark, Dr. John, iii, 315. Clavigero, i, 159; ii, 425. Clay, Henry, vii, 297, 343. Clement VII, ii, 407. Clinton, De Witt, vii, 297. Clinton, Sir Henry, vi, 306, 307. Clinton, Gen. James, vi, 670, 681. Cochran, Dr. John, viii, 488. Cochrane, Lord, viii, 333. Coddington, Wm., iii, 378. Colden, Cadwallader, iv, 299. Columbus, Bart., ii, 86. Columbus, Christ., ii, 72, etc. Conway, H. S., vi, 74; vii, 95. Cook, Capt. James, viii, 82. Cooke, Elisha, v, 89, 117. Cornwallis, vi, 474, 475. Cortes, ii, 72, etc. Cortlandt, Col. Philip, vi, 681. Cotton, John, iii, 351. Crawford, W. H., vii, 297, 348. Croghan, Maj. Geo., vii, 432. Coxe, Daniel, v, 611. Culpepper, Lord, v, 263. Cushing, Thomas, viii, 429. Cutler, Manasseh, vii, 537.
Dale, Richard, vii, 369. Davenport, John, iii, 332. Dawson, H. B., viii, 479. Dawson, J. W., i, 380. Deane, Charles, i, p. xi. Deane, Silas, vii, 26. Dearborn, Henry, vii, 385. De Berdt, Dennis, vi, 88. De Bry, T., i, p. xxx. Decatur, Stephen, vii, 372. Delaware, Lord, iii, 142. De Monts, iv, 136. Dessalines, viii, 286. Dexter, Samuel, vi, 73. Dickinson, John, vi, 82, 268. Dinwiddie, Gov., v, 269. Dobbs, Arthur, v, 304. Drake, Sir Francis, iii, 81, 84, 168, 465. Drayton, W. H., viii, 458. Dudley, Jos., iii, 320. Dummer, Jeremy, v, 115. Dummer, Wm., v, 114. Du Noort, Olivier, viii, 402.
Ebeling, Professor, i, p. iii. Eden, Wm., vii, 52. Eliot, John, iii, 356. Ellsworth, Oliver, vii, 261. Endicott, John, iii, 317. Estaing, Comte d', vi, 594, 595. Everett, Edw., vii, 495.
Faneuil, P., v, 145. Ferdinand of Spain, ii, 685. Ferdinand VII (Spain), viii, 224. Ferland, Abbé, v, 619. Ferrand, Gen., viii, 288. Force, Peter, viii, 425. Fox, C. J., vii, 97. Fox, George, iii, 470. Franklin, Benj., vii, 37–39. Franklin, Sir John, viii, 90. Frederick the Great, vii, 7. Freneau, Philip, viii, 496. Frobisher, M., iii, 87. Frothingham, Richard, vi, 186.
Gage, Gen. Thos., vi, 114. Gama, Vasco da, ii, 42. Gansevoort, Col., vi, 629, 681. Garneau, F. X., v, 619. Gasca, Pedro de, ii, 539. Gaspé, P. A. de, v, 619. Gates, Gen. Horatio, vi, 302, 303, 310, 476. George II, v, 130, 145; vii, 565. George III, vi, 20, 76. Gérard, vii, 46. Germain, Lord Geo., vi, 295. Gerry, Elbridge, vii, 474. Gist, Gen. Mordecai, viii, 453. Glover, Gen. John, viii, 431. Gordon, Wm., viii, 470. Grahame, James, v, 620. Grasse, Comte de, vi, 502, 503. Greene, Gen. Nath., vi, 508–513. Grey, Gen., vi, 383. Grinnell, Henry, viii, 99. Grynaeus, S., i, p. xxiv.
Haldimand, Gen. F., viii, 136. Hamilton, Alex., vi, 384; vii, 232. Hamilton, Andrew, v, 242. Hammond, Col. Samuel, vi, 535. Hancock, John, vi, 270, 271; vii, 14. Hand, Gen. Edw., viii, 450. Harrison, W. H., vii, 322. Hartley, David, vii, 145. Harvey, Sir John, viii, 165. Haven, S. F., i, 374. Hawkins, John, iii, 61; viii, 196. Haynes, John, iii, 33. Head, Sir F. B., viii, 159. Heath, Gen., vi, 127, 128. Henry, Patrick, vi, 107, 259; vii, 226, 580. Herkimer, Gen., vi, 351. Hertel de Rouville, v, 106. Hidalgo, Miguel, viii, 217. Hincks, Sir Francis, viii, 155. Hopkins, Esek, vi, 569. Hopkinson, Francis, vii, 258; viii, 496. Houston, Samuel, viii, 230. Howard, John Eager, viii, 454. Howe, Lord, v, 522. Howe, Jos., viii, 166. Howe, Richard, Lord, vi, 277, 380; vii, 12. Howe, Gen. Sir Wm., vi, 197, 278, 383, 417, 418. Hull, Com. Isaac, vii, 378. Humboldt, Alex. von, viii, 272. Hutchinson, Thomas, viii, 433.
Iberville, d', v, 15. Icazbalceta, J. G., i, 163. Incas, ii, 515. Isabella of Spain, ii, 6. Iturbide, viii, 225. Iturrigaray, viii, 215. Izard, Gen., vii, 428.
Jackson, General Andrew, vii, 437. Jay, John, vii, 91, 312. Jefferson, Thomas, vi, 258; vii, 304, 305. Jogues, iv, 306. Johnson, Sir William, v, 503. Johnson, William Samuel, viii, 443. Jones,

Paul, vi, 592. Jones, Thomas, viii. 501.

Keith, George, v, 243. Keith, Sir Wm., v, 243. Key, F. S., viii, 484. King, Rufus, vii, 230, 297. Knox, Gen. Henry, vii, 568; viii, 433, 434. Kosciusko, vi, 492.

Labat, J. F., viii, 271. Lafayette, vii, 59, 566, 568. Lamb, Gen. John, viii, 447. Langdon, John, viii, 439. La Salle, iv, 242, 244. Las Casas, ii, 332. Laval, Bp., iv, 309. Law, John, v, 75, 76. Lawrence, Capt. Jas., vii, 386. Laurens, Henry, vii, 66. Laurens, Henry, Jr., vii, 67. Lee, Gen. Chas., vi, 369, 406. Le Jeune, iv, 272. Lewis, Andrew, vii, 580. Lewis, Meriwether, vii, 5, 6. Lincoln, Gen. Benj., vi, 473; vii, 568 Linschoten, iii, 206. Livingston, R. R., vii, 68. Livingston, Gov. Wm., vi, 84. Lizana, viii, 216. Loche, John, v, 327. Louis XVI, vii, 3. Louis XVIII, vii, 525. L'Ouverture, Toussaint, viii, 282, 284. Luzerne, vii, 57. Lynde, Benj., vi, 86.

Macdonough, Com. Thos., vii, 397. McDowell, Jos., vi, 535. Mackenzie, Alexander, viii, 34. Mackenzie, W. L., viii, 158. McLeod, v, 160. Madison, James, vii, 216, 341. Madison, Mrs., vii, 342. Magellan, ii, 72, 75, 76, 593, 594, 595. Mahon, Lord, viii, 418. Major, R. H., i, 112. Manco Ccapac, i, 228. Marion, Francis, vi, 512. Marshall, John, vii, 262, 300, 313, 580. Mason, Geo., vii, 580. Markham, C. R., i, 272. Mather, Cotton, iii, 345; v. Mather, Increase, v, 125. Mayhew, Jonathan, vi, 71. Meigs, R. J., vii, 537. Mendoza, G. H. de, ii, 550. Menendez de Aviles, ii, 261. Mercator, G., iv, 371. Mercer, Gen. Hugh, vi, 412. Mexican Kings, i, 148. Miller, Gen. (South America), viii, 336. Mina, F. J., viii, 223. Minot, Geo. R., v, 162. Miranda, viii, 325. Molina, J. I., viii, 345. Monardes, i, p. xxix. Monckton, Robert, v, 454. Monroe, James, vii, 344. Montcalm, v, 458. Montezuma, ii, 76, 361, 362, 363, 424. Montgomery, Gen. Richard, vi, 220, 221. Montresor, Col. John, v, 594. Morelos, J. M., viii, 221, 222. Morgan, Gen. Daniel, vi, 511. Morgan, Sir Henry, viii, 236. Morgan, Dr. John, viii, 488. Morris, Gouverneur, vii, 71; viii, 447. Morris, Robert, vii, 70. Moultrie, Gen. Wm., vi, 171. Münster, Seb., i, p. xxvi.

Nassau, Count of, viii, 352. North, Lord, vi, 21; vii, 96, 98; viii, 503.

Oglethorpe, Gen. James, v, 362. O'Higgins, Ambrosio, viii, 321. O'Higgins, Bernardo, viii, 330. Oliver, Andrew, vi, 73. Oliver, Peter, vi, 95. Ortelius, iv, 372. Otis, James, vi, 60, 70.

Paine, Thomas, vi, 269. Palfrey, J. G., v, 161. Palos, Juan, ii, 287. Papineau, L. J., v, 619; viii, 156. Parker, Capt. Hyde, vi, 519. Parkinson, Leonard, viii, 277. Parkman, F., iv, 157. Pastene, J. B., ii, 531. Paulding, John, vi, 46. Pearson, Capt. Richard, vi, 593. Peltrie, Mme. de, iv, 314. Penn, William. iii, 474, 475. Pepperell, Sir Wm., v, 435. Percy, Geo., iii, 134, 154. Percy, Earl, vi, 182, 183. Perry, O. H., vii, 391. Peschel, O., i, 391. Phips, Sir Wm., iv. Pickering, Timothy, viii, 435. Pike, Gen. Z. M., vii, 554. Pirckeymerus, B., ii, 102. Pitcairn, Maj., vi, 197. Pitkin, Timothy, viii, 475. Pizarro, F., ii, 75, 76, 532, 533. Pollard, Benj., v, 137. Polo, Marco, ii, 30. Ponce de Leon, ii, 235. Porter, Com. David, vii, 381. Powell, J. W., i, 411. Pownall, Thomas, vi, 91. Preble, Edw., vii, 410. Prescott, W. H., ii, 426. Price, Dr. Richard, vi, 111. Prince, Thomas, v, 122. Pulaski, vi, 524; vii, 36. Putnam, Israel, vi, 192, 193, 197. Putnam, Gen. Rufus, vii, 528, 536

Quesada, G. X., ii, 580. Quincy, Josiah (d. 1775), vi, 96, 126; viii, 435.

Rafn, C. C., i, 90. Ramsay, David, viii, 472. Randolph, John of Roanoke, vii, 317. Rawdon, Lord, vi, 489. Rayon, I. L., viii, 219. Read, Geo., viii, 452. Red Jacket, vii, 447. Reed, Jos., vi, 405. Revere, Paul, vi, 175. Richmond, Duchess of, iii, 211. Rink, H., i, 106. Robertson, Wm., i, 269. Robinson, Sir John Beverly, viii, 150. Rochambeau, vi, 498; vii, 568. Rockingham, Lord, vi, 31. Rogers, Robert, v, 558. Rojas, ii, 523. Rosny, Léon de, i, 202. Ross, Sir John, viii, 88. Rumford, Count, vii, 197. Rupert, Prince, viii, 4. Rutledge, John, vii, 241.

St. Clair, Arthur, vi, 297. St. Clair, Sir John, v, 578. St. Leger, Barry, vi, 351. Sahagún, i, 156; ii, 415. Salaberry, Colonel, (statue), viii, 146. Saltonstall, Gurdon, v, 112. Sandoval, ii, 588. Sandwich, Earl of, vii, 62, 98. San Martin, Gen., viii, 329. Santa Anna, viii, 227, 228. Scammell, Alex., viii, 439. Schöner, ii, 117 Schuyler, Gen. Philip, vi, 298. Scott, Gen. Winfield, vii, 297, 389. Selkirk, Earl of, viii, 42. Serra, Father Junipero, viii, 214. Sevier, Col. John, vi, 535. Sewall, Samuel, v, 100. Sewell, Jonathan, viii, 174. Sharpe, Horatio, v, 262. Shelburne, Lord, vii, 99. Shelby, Col. Isaac, vi, 535. Sherman, Roger, vi. Shipley, Bishop, vi, 97. Shippen, Edw., viii, 451. Shirley, Gov. Wm., v, 142. Simcoe, J. G., viii, 141. Simpson, Sir George, viii, 14. Simpson, Thos., viii, 35. Small, Maj. John, vi, 197. Smallwood, Gen., viii, 453. Smith, Capt. John, iii, 198, 211. Smith, Sir Thos., iii, 94. Solis, A. de, ii, 423. Solorzano-Pereira, J. de, viii, 247. Soto, Hernando de, ii, 252. Sotomayer, ii, 562. Sparks, Jared, viii, 419. Spotswood, Alex., v, 266. Stark, John, vi, 301. Steuben, Baron, vi, 497; vii, 36; viii, 448. Stewart, Com. Chas., vii, 404. Stiles, Ezra, vi, 187. Stirling, Gen. Lord, vi, 280; viii, 448. Stormont, Lord, vii, 41. Strachan, Dr. John, viii, 153. Stuyvesant, P., iv, 441. Sullivan, James, vii, 319. Sullivan, Gen. John, vi, 68, 637. Sydenham, Lord, viii, 164.

Tallmadge, B., vi, 457. Tarleton, Col., vi, 517. Taylor, Gen. Zachary, vii, 441. Thomas, Gen. John, vi, 167. Thomson, Chas., vi, 272. Tomo-chi-chi, v, 371, 395. Toribio, viii, 368. Townsend, Gen., v, 607. Trumbull, Col. John, viii, 443. Trumbull, John (poet), viii, 495. Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan, viii, 443. Truxtun, Com., vii, 456. Tylor, E. B., i, 376.

Vaca de Castro, ii, 535. Vadianus, ii, 181. Van Buren, Martin, vii, 351. Van Dam, Rip, v, 241. Velasquez de Cuellar, ii, 350. Vergennes, vii, 93. Vernon, Adm. Edw., viii, 292. Vespucius, ii, 72, 74, 75, 139, 140, 141. Vinci, Da, iii, 14, 214.

Waldeck, F. de., i, 186. Ward, Artemus, vi, 159, 192. Warren, Gen. James, viii, 436. Warren, Gen. Jos., vi, 54, 193, 194, 197. Warren, Mercy, viii, 473. Washington, Geo., vii. Watson, Elkanah, viii, 484. Wayne, Gen., Ant., vi, 385. Webster, Daniel, vii, 181, 325. Wesley, John, v, 404. Wheatley, Phillis, viii, 495. Whitefield, Geo., v, 288. Whittlesey, Col. Chas., i, 399. Wilkes, John, viii, 503. Williams, O. H., viii, 454. Wilson, Sir Daniei, i, 375. Wilson, John, of Boston, iii, 313. Winslow, Edw., iii, 277, 293; v, 456. Winslow, Gen. John, v, 455. Winslow, Gov. Josiah, iii, 282; v, 456. Winsor, Justin, i, frontispiece. Winthrop, John, Jr., iii, 331. Winthrop, R C., vii, 354. Wirt, William, vii, 207. Wolfe, Gen. James, v, 541. Wooster, Gen., vi, 225. Wyman, Jeffries, i, 392.

Xuares, Juan, ii, 287.

Yale, Elihu, v, 102.

Portraitists (a selection only): Copley, J. S., v; vi; vii. Durand, A. B., vii. Houdon, sculptor, vi; vii. Norman, J., engraver, vi; vii; viii. Peale, C. W., artist, vi; vii; viii, 434. Peale, Rembrandt, vi; vii. Pine, R. E., vii; viii, 452. Reynolds, Sir Joshua, v; vi; vii; viii, 136. Savage, Edw., artist, vii; viii, 434. Sharpless, James, artist, vii. Simitière, G. P. du, artist, vi; vii. Smibert, the artist, v; vi. Stuart, Gilbert, vi; vii; viii, 419, 433. Sully, Thomas, artist, vii; viii, 419. Vandelyn, artist, vii. Vanloo, artist, vii. Wertmüller, A. N., artist, vii. West, Benj., vi; vii. Winstanley, artist, vii. Wright, Jos., artist, vii.

Portsmouth, R, I., records, viii, 440.

Portugal, ii; iv; its royal family flees to Brazil, viii, 324; returns to Portugal, viii, 341; Braganza on the throne, viii, 353; Brazil Company viii, 354; invaded in Napoleon's time, viii, 357; Joan VI leaves the Kingdom, viii, 357; rights under the line of demarcation, viii, 371 (*see* Alexander VI); sends out Cabral, viii, 371; confirmed in the possession of the Moluccas, viii, 383.

Portuguese early discoveries, ii; iv; war with the Dutch in Brazil, viii, 351; histories of their discoveries, viii, 372. *See* Discoverers.

Posadas, *Informe*, viii, 253.

Posey, Thos., life by J. Hall, viii, 475.

Post, Lydia M., *Personal Recoll.*, viii, 489.

Postel, Wm., *Compendium*, viii, 376.

Potosi, mines, viii, 298, 360; troubles at, viii, 299, 304, 338; sources of its history, viii, 348.

Potter, I. R., *Life*, viii, 485.

Potts, Dr. Jonathan, viii, 488; papers, viii, 451.

Poudenx, H., *Mémoires*, viii, 367.

Poussin, G. T., *États Unis*, viii, 506.

Poutré, Felix, *Échappé de la potence*, viii, 182.

Powell, Capt. Daniel, viii, 188.

Powell, Chief Justice (Canada), viii, 150.

Powers, G., *Coos County*, viii, 438.

Powers, Hiram, vii; bust of Sparks, viii, 419.

Pownall, Gov. Thomas, v; vi; letters, viii, 432; papers, viii, 477; aids Almon, viii, 498.

Poyer, John, *Barbadoes*. viii, 290.

Poyntz, Capt. John, *Tobago*, viii, 291

Pratt, Mary, viii, 435.
Preble, Com. Edw., vii; papers, viii, 435; life by L. Sabine, viii, 475.
Preble, G. H., v; vi; vii; *Our Flag*, viii, 483.
Prentice, G. D., viii, 497.
Presbyterians and the Amer. Rev., viii, 486.
Prescott, B. F., *Stars and Stripes*, viii, 484.
Prescott, General, Governor of Lower Canada, viii, 140.
Prescott, W. H., ii; life of C. B. Brown, viii, 475.
Preston, T. R., *Canada*, viii, 180.
Preston, Wm., *Letter to B. Edwards*, viii, 272.
Price, Dr. Richard, vi; viii, 422.
Priest, Wm., *Travels*, viii, 491.
Prieur, *Condamné politique*, viii, 182.
Prince, Thomas, i; iii; v; papers, viii, 435; *Catalogue*, viii, 435.
Prince Albert Land, viii, 109.
Prince Edward Island, iii; viii, 137; land tenure, viii, 140; Highlanders at, viii, 147; accounts of, viii, 177; map, viii, 178.
Prince Regent's Inlet, viii, 120.
Prince Rupert's Land, viii, 5.
Prince of Wales Island, viii, 109.
Printing, early, ii; iii; history of, v.
Prior, *Burke*, viii, 503.
Prisoners, exchanges, v; vii; viii, 465.
Proctor, Robt., *Across the Andes*, viii, 567.
Protestant Church. *See* Religious Bodies.
Prudhomme, L. A., viii, 78.
Pruvonena. *See* Agüero, J. de la Riva.
Ptolemy, i; ii; viii, 349.
Puchatlus, viii, 261.
Puebla, viii, 200.
Puendo, Joseph, *F. del Castillo*, viii, 368.
Puisaye, Comte de, in Canada, viii, 142.
Puisent, Judge, on Newfoundland, viii, 177.
Pulaski, vi; life by Sparks, viii, 475.
Pullen, Capt., viii, 97.
Pullen, W. J. S., *Boat Expedition*, viii, 121; *Proc. toward Cape Bathurst*, viii, 121.
Pumacagua, M. G., viii, 327, 328; revolt of, viii, 344; hanged, viii, 328.
Puno, viii, 305, 318.
Puruaran, viii, 222.
Purviance, Robt., *Baltimore Town*, viii, 453.
Purple, S. S., viii, 446.
Putnam, Gen., Israel, v; vi; letters, viii, 444; life by Peabody, viii, 475.
Putnam, Gen. Rufus, vii; papers, viii, 435.
Puyrredon, J. M. de, viii, 332.

QUAKERS, iii; v; vi; of Penna., their relations to the Amer. Rev., viii, 486; their tracts at the time, viii, 486; sent to Virginia, viii, 486; Sutcliff among, viii, 492.
Quebec Act (1774), vi; viii, 134, 138, 171, 446.
Quebec, iv; v; vi; vii; Constitutional Club of, viii, 139; council at (1778–84), viii, 461; map of the harbor, viii, 182; of the town, viii, 183; views, viii, 184, 185; Lit. and Hist. Soc., viii, 187; series of MSS., viii, 462, 464.
Queen's Rangers, vi; vii; viii, 141, 502.
Queenston, battle, vii; viii, 144.
Quérard, *La France littéraire*, viii, 490.
Quiches, Country of, viii, 261.
Quicksilver mines in Peru, viii, 297.
Quijada in Yucatan, viii, 194.
Quincy, Edmund (Elder), letter book, viii, 435.
Quincy, Edmund (b. 1808), vii; viii, 431; *Haunted Adjutant*, etc., viii, 469.
Quincy, E. S., viii, 435.
Quincy, Josiah (b. 1775), *Life of Quincy*, viii, 435; his character, viii, 435; papers, viii, 435; portrait, viii, 435; as orator, viii, 485.
Quincy, Josiah (b. 1802), *Figures of the Past*, viii, 489.
Quinté, Bay of, settled by loyalists, vii; viii, 137.
Quito, audiencia, viii, 295; annexed to Colombia, viii, 335; entered by Bolivar, viii, 335.
Quinua, viii, 337.

RAE, DR. JOHN, viii, 62, 91; descends the Coppermine River, viii, 96; sent to Repulse Bay, viii, 100; his Arctic explorations, viii, 119; his *Narratives*, viii, 119, 121, 126.
Raffles, T. S., viii, 426.
Rafinesque, C. S., vii; *Travels*, viii, 492.
Rafter, *Gregor M'Gregor*, viii, 325, 367.
Rainsford, Marcus, *Hayti*, viii, 283; *Memoir of Transactions*, viii, 286; *St. Domingo*, viii, 286; *Black Empire*, viii, 286.
Rale (Rasle), Sebastian, v; life by C. Francis, viii, 475.
Ramirez, Gen., viii, 327, 328; diary of his army's marches, viii, 344.
Ramirez, J. S., revolt of, in St. Domingo, viii, 287.
Ramirez, Luis, viii, 384.
Ramsay, David, vi; corresp. with Rush, viii, 451; *Revolution of South Carolina*, viii, 471; in congress, viii, 472; *Amer. Revolution*, viii, 472; criticised, viii, 472; *Hist. United States*, viii, 472: his corrections, viii, 472; portrait, viii, 472; oration, viii, 472; Memoir, viii, 472.
Rancagua, battle, viii, 326, 330.
Randolph, Edmund, vii; letters to Madison, viii, 421; MS. Hist. of Va., viii, 455.
Randolph, John (Virginia loyalist), viii, 416.
Randolph, John, of Roanoke, vii; as orator, viii, 485; *Letters to a young relative*, viii, 489.
Randolph, Sarah N., on Jefferson papers, viii, 421; *Domestic Life of Jefferson*, viii, 489.
Rantoul, R. S., vii; adjudicates in the case of the Hutchinson papers, viii, 432.
Raphael de Jesus, Father, *Castrioto Lusitano*, viii, 354.
Rattray, W. J., *Scot in Brit. N. America*, viii, 183, 184.
Ravenstein, E. G., Arctic maps, viii, 108.
Ray, Catharine, viii, 423.
Raymond, H. J., life, viii, 497.
Raymundo, F., *Antilles*, viii, 270.
Raynal, Abbé, v; *Rév. de l'Amérique*, viii, 505; *Tableau*, viii, 505; *Letter to*, viii, 505; *Hist. philosophique*, viii, 250, 259; *Isles Françaises*, viii, 271.
Rayon, I. L., in the Mexican revolution, viii, 219, 222, 223; portrait, viii, 219; surrenders, viii, 223.
Read, Col. Chas., viii, 479.
Read, Geo., vi; corresp. with Rodney, viii, 452; papers, viii, 452; life, viii, 452; portrait, viii, 452.
Read, J. Meredith, viii, 447.
Read, W. T., viii, 452; *Geo. Read*, viii, 452; *Life of Geo. Read*, viii, 452.
Read, *Chief Justices of Upper Canada*, viii, 186.
Reade, John, on Canadian history, viii, 180.
Rebellions. *See* Military Events.
Recife, the Dutch at, viii, 352; plans, iii, 353; taken by the Portuguese vii, 354.
Red River country, books on, viii, 183.
Red River, junction with Assiniboin River, map, viii, 40, 41; view, viii, 44; settlement, viii, 40, 147; plan of, viii, 40; character of, viii, 43; acquired by the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 48; asks for a minister of their faith, viii, 51; the region held to be sterile by the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 62; fertility, viii, 63; authorities on, viii, 75; extent of the grant, viii, 78; conflict in accounts of, viii, 78; trials arising, viii, 78; map of the region, viii, 78; report of Hind's *Survey*, viii, 79; insurrection at, viii, 79.
Redemptioners, iii; v; viii, 494.
Reed-Cadwalader controversy, viii, 478.
Reed, Henry, *Life of Jos. Reed*, viii, 475; edits Mahon's *History*, 504.
Reed, Jos., vi; corresp. with Washington, viii, 418; *Life*, viii, 418, 475; letters to Quincy, viii, 435; intended to write a history of the Amer. Revolution, viii, 441; on John Dickinson, viii, 451; papers, viii, 451; charged by John Cadwalader with defection in 1776, viii, 478; *Remarks*, viii, 479; charges revived (1842) by "Valley Forge," viii, 479.
Reed, Judith, viii, 489.
Reed, Sylvanus, viii, 438.
Reed, W. B., *Discourse*, viii, 415; *Joseph Reed*, viii, 418, 479; *Orig. letters from Washington*, viii, 418; has Reed papers, viii, 451; *Address*, viii, 469; on Gordon's history, viii, 471; *President Reed*, viii, 478; *Valley Forge forgeries*, viii, 479; *Rejoinder*, viii, 479.
Reeves, John, *Newfoundland*, viii, 177, 190.
Régis, A., *Toussaint*, viii, 286.
Reichsshoffer, A., *Reise*, viii, 353.
Reigart, J. F., *First U. S. Flag*, viii, 484.
Religious bodies, including missions, orders, institutions, and divisions of the Catholic and Protestant churches: —
  Antinomian controversy, iii. Augustin friars, ii, 399; viii, 249.
  Baptists, iii; v; viii. Benedictines, viii, 197, 249. Bethlehemites, viii, 249, 264, 265. Brownists, iii, 219, 248, 261.
  Cambridge Platform, iii, 314, 334, 354. Canada, religious controversies, viii. Capuchins, iv, 273, 300; v, 43, 44. Carmelites, v, 43; viii, 197. Congregationalism, iii; viii.
  Dissenters, iii, 148, 221. Dominicans, ii; iv, 263; viii, 197, 210, 249, 368. Dunkers, v.
  Episcopacy, v; vi, 19, 38, 241; viii.
  Franciscans, i; ii; iv; viii, 197, 210, 214, 248, 343, 344.
  Half-way Covenant, iii, 354, 359. Hudson Bay missions, viii. Huguenots, ii; v; viii.
  Inquisition. *See* Inquisition.
  Jesuits and their missions, i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii, 197, 314, 363. *Lettres Édifiantes*, iv; v; viii. *See* Jesuits. Labadists, iv, 429.
  Mathurins, vii, 359. Mennonists, iv, 423, v. Mexico, viii. Missions, iv; viii. Moravians, v; vi, 456; vii, 456.
  Presbyterians, v; vi; viii. Puritans, iii.
  Quakers, i; iii; v; during the Rev., vi; vii; viii.
  Ragueneau, iv. Recollects, i; iv; viii. Rogerenes, v, 112. Roman Catholics, iii; v; viii.
  San Filipe Nevi, fathers of, viii, 314. Separatists, iii. Seventh-day Baptists, v, 112; viii. Sulpitians, iv.

Society for the propagation of the Gospel, v; viii. Synods, iii.
Universalists, v; viii. Ursulines, iv.
Walloons, iv, 400.
Persons (selections): Biard, Pierre, iv. Brebeuf, Jean de, iv. Bressani, Père, iv. Creuxius, iv. Dablon, Claude, iv. Druillettes, G., iv. Fox, Geo., iii. Heckewelder, John, i; v; vi; vii; viii. Jogues, i; iv; v Kino, viii Labat, viii. Landa, Bp., i; ii; viii. Le Clercq, C., iv. Le Jeune, iv. Lemercier, iv. Rasle, Sebastian, iv; v; viii. Serra, Junipero, viii. Toribio, viii. Wesley, John, v. Whitefield, Geo., v. Zeisberger, David, i; v; vi. Zumárraga, Bp., i; viii.
Remer, J. A., *Americanisches Archiv.*, viii, 507.
Rendon, Francisco, letters, viii, 468.
Rengger, J. R., on Francia, viii, 360.
Renouard, A. C., viii, 422.
Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, viii, 382.
Renwick, J., *Life of Rittenhouse*, viii, 475; *R. Fulton*, viii, 475; *Benj. Thompson*, viii, 475.
Reuny, Robt., *Jamaica*, viii, 279.
Repertorio Americano, viii, 267.
Repulse Bay, viii, 81.
"Resolute," Arctic-ship, abandoned, viii, 98; restored to England, viii, 98.
Restrepo, J. M., *Colombia*, viii, 367.
Réveillaud, Eugène, *Canada*, viii, 173.
Reveley, Wm., translates Costanso's Journal, viii, 212.
Revista de Hist. e Geog., viii, 350.
Reybaud, C., *Brésil*, viii, 350.
Reyes, Diego de los, viii, 309.
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, paints Gen. Haldimand, viii, 136. *See* Portraitists.
Rhode Island, archæology, i; early history, iii; colonial, v; revolutionary, vi; later, vii; campaign in (1779), viii, 438; Archives, viii, 440; papers in the Carter Brown library, viii, 440; *Colonial Records*, viii, 440; Narragansett land controversy, viii, 440; bibliog., viii, 440; local records, viii, 440; arming slaves in the Rev., viii, 440; in the Continental Congress, viii, 440; *Revolutionary Correspondence*, viii, 442; bounds with Massachusetts, viii, 445. *See* United States.
Rhoads, T. Y., *Battlefields*, viii, 481.
Riaña, viii, 216.
Ribas, Andrés Perez de, *Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fé*, viii, 249.
Ribault, J., ii; life by Sparks, viii, 475.
Ribera, T. H. de, viii, 302.
Ribero, Diego, Cartographer, viii, 376. *See* Maps.
Ricaut, Sir Paul, viii, 266.
Rich, Obadiah, i; viii, 279, 457.
Richardson, Abby Sage, *Hist. of our Country*, viii, 482.
Richardson, Sir John, on the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 62.
Richardson, Sir John, in the search for Franklin, viii, 91; *Polar Regions*, viii, 108, 119; life by M'Ilraith, viii, 108; *Arctic Searching Exped.*, viii, 121.
Richardson, Maj., *Army of Upper Canada*, viii, 179; *Personal Memoirs*, viii, 179.
Richthofen, K. H. von, *Mexico*, viii, 270.
Rideau Canal, viii, 180.
Rideout (Md.), viii, 453.
Rider, S. S., iii; v; vi; vii; collection of Rhode Island books, viii, 440; *Reg. of Slaves by R. I. in the War of the Rev.*, viii, 440; his MSS., viii, 442.
Ridley, Matthew, account of his papers, viii, 453.
Ridpath, J. C., *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 482.
Riedesel, Baron, vi; vii; letters to Heath, viii, 431; letters, viii, 468; Journal, viii, 468.
Riel, Louis, his revolt, viii, 76.
Rigaud, viii, 285.
Ringrose, Basil, *Voyage of Sharp*, viii, 251; *South Sea Waggoner*, viii, 251.
Rio de Janeiro (San Sebastian), capital of Brazil, viii, 351, 356; attacked by Guay.-Trouin, plan, viii, 355, 356; sources, viii, 356; gains importance from neighboring gold mines, viii, 356; the Braganzas arrive, viii, 357; discovered by Sousa, viii, 390; but this is questioned, viii, 390; Villegagnon at, viii, 391; attacked (1560) by the Portuguese, viii, 394; (1567) they got permanent possession, viii, 394; bird's-eye view of bay (1599), viii, 402; view from Coreal (1722), viii, 403.
Ripley, Geo., viii, 487.
Ritch, W. G., *Aztlan*, viii, 254; *Bluebook*, viii, 254.
Ritchie, Thos., *Enquirer*, viii, 497.
Ritchie, Wm., *William Black*, viii, 184.
Rittenhouse, D., life by J. Renwick, viii, 475.
Riva Aguero, José de la, viii, 324.
Rivero, L. M. del, *Méjico*, viii, 270.
Rivera, Manuel, *Jalapa*, viii, 248; *Mexico*, viii, 248.
Rivera at San Francisco, viii, 211.
Rivers and their Valleys: Amazon, ii; viii, 319, 343. Assiniboin, viii. Cape Fear, v. Chagres, viii. Chaudière, vi. Connecticut, iii; iv; v; vi. Coppermine, viii, 34. Delaware Bay, iv; River, v; in the Rev., vi. Essequibo, viii, 363. Hayes, viii, 29. Hudson, iv; v; vi. Kennebec, iii; iv, 108, 383; expedition up the, vi. La Plata, viii, 344, 375, 384. Maragnon, viii, 397, 399, 408. Mississippi, ii; iv; v; as U. S. boundary, vi, 730; later history, vii. Missouri River, iv; v. Mobile Bay, v. Mohawk River and Valley, iv; v. Nelson, viii, 29. Niagara, iv; (cataract), iv; v; during the Rev., vi. Ohio River and Valley, iv; v; vii; Céloron on, i, 286, 310; v; Company of, v. Orinoco River, ii. Ottawa River, v. Penobscot River, iii; Bay, iv; during the Rev., vi. Potomac River, vii; Company, vii. Rappahannock River, v. Rapidan River, v. Red River (Mississippi affluent), v; (Manitoba), viii. St. Croix River, vii. St. John River (N. B.), vii; viii. St. Lawrence, Gulf and River, ii; iii; iv; v; vii. St. Mary's River (Florida), vii. Shenandoah River, v, 274. Susquehanna Valley, v. Thames (Canada), viii, 142. Wabash River, iv. Winnipeg, viii. Wisconsin River, iv. Yazoo River country, vii.
Rivington, Editor, viii, 497.
Robbins, Dr. C., edits the Mather papers, viii, 435.
Robbins, Peter, viii, 252.
Robbins, Rev. Thos., *Diary*, viii, 489.
Roberts, Chas., viii, 426.
Roberts, Edw., *With the Invader*, viii, 254.
Roberts, Lieut. Henry, viii, 112.
Roberts, W. C., *Orators*, viii, 485.
Robertson, Geo., *George III*, viii, 503.
Robertson, J., *Secession Church in Nova Scotia*, viii, 184.
Robertson, Gen. James, vii; correspondence, viii, 458.
Robertson, J. P. and W. P., *Paraguay*, viii, 360; *Francia*, viii, 360; *Letters on So. America*, viii, 348, 360.
Robeson's Straits (in the Arctic regions), viii, 109.
Robin, C. C., Abbé, *Louisiane*, viii, 288; *Nouveau Voyage*, viii, 490.
Robinson, Alfred, *California*, viii, 259.
Robinson, Beverly, corresp. with Ethan Allen, viii, 400.
Robinson, Christopher, viii, 150.
Robinson, C., viii, 454.
Robinson, G., viii, 464.
Robinson, H. M., *Great Fur Land*, viii, 77.
Robinson, Sir John Beverly, portrait, viii, 150.
Robinson, Thos., viii, 265.
Robinson, W. D., *Mexican Revolution*, viii, 269.
Robson, Joseph, *Six years in Hudson's Bay*, viii, 70.
Rochambeau, vi; vii; assists Soulès in his *Histoire*, viii, 505; *Mémoires*, viii, 505; *Mémoire sur la guerre*, viii, 505; Correspondence in the French war office, viii 467; papers bought by Congress, viii, 467; correspondence with Luzerne, viii, 467; with Washington, viii, 467.
Rochambeau (the younger) in St. Domingo, viii, 285, 286.
Rocha Pitta, S. da, *America Portugueza*, viii, 349.
Rochas, V. da, *Cuba*, viii, 272.
Rochefort, César, de, *Isles Antilles*, viii, 236, 270; *Tobago*, viii, 291.
Rochefoucault-Liancourt, Duc de la, *Travels*, viii, 174; on Franklin, viii, 422; *Voyage*, viii, 491; his errors, viii, 491.
Rochemont, P. de, *Tableau*, viii, 491.
Rockingham, vi; vii; *Memoirs*, viii, 503.
Rocquefeuil, C. de, *Voyage*, viii, 259.
Rodil, Gen., viii, 336, 337.
Rodney, Adm., in the West Indies, viii, 290.
Rodney, Cæsar, vi; corresp. with Geo. Read, viii, 452; papers, viii, 452.
Rodney, C. A., viii, 452; report on So. America, viii, 362.
Rodney, J. M. C., viii, 452.
Rodney, Capt. Thos., papers, viii, 452.
Rodriguez, M., *Compendio*, viii, 368.
Roe's (Sir Thomas) Welcome, viii, 81.
Roger, C., *Ottawa*, viii, 183.
Rogers, Josiah, *Memoirs*, viii, 502.
Rogers, Capt. Woodes, finds Alex. Selkirk, viii, 205; *Cruising Voyage*, viii, 252, 257.
Rojas, J. M., *Escritores Venezolanos*, viii, 366.
Rolph, Dr. John, viii, 151; and the rebellion in Canada, viii, 181.
Rolt, R., South America, map, viii, 342; *South America*, viii, 342.
Roosevelt, Theo., vii; on the naval records, viii, 414; on Gouv. Morris, viii, 447; *Winning of the West*, viii, 458.
Roquette, M. de la, on Sir John Franklin, viii, 118.
Rosa Figueroa, F. A. de la, viii, 248.
Rosario, plan, viii, 360.
Rosas, Dr., in Chile, viii, 325.
Rosbrugh, Rev. John, viii, 485.
Rose, G. M., *Cyclop. of Canadian Biog.*, viii, 185.
Rosignon, Julio, *Vera Pas*, viii, 259.
Ross, Alex., *Red River Settlement*, viii, 75, 79, 183.
Ross, Betsy, viii, 484.
Ross, Capt. Henry, viii, 332.
Ross, James C., in the Arctic seas, viii, 87; discovers magnetic pole, viii, 88, 119; searches for Franklin, viii, 90, 119.
Ross, John, viii, 62.
Ross, Capt. John, and Arctic exploration, viii, 84, 95; portrait, viii, 88, *Voyage of Discovery*, viii, 115; *Nar. of a Second Voyage*, viii, 110, 119; controversy with Sabine, viii, 117; *Narrative and Causes*, viii, 126.
Rotz, *Idrography*, ii; viii, 386.

Rotterdam, old view of the city of, viii, 401.
Roubaud, Pierre, in Canada, v; vi; viii, 138, 171; makes extracts of Parliamentary debates, viii, 499.
Rounce, Thos., viii, 265.
Roundhead, Wyandot Chief, viii, 145.
Royal African Company, v, 328.
Royal Colonial Institute, viii, 177.
Royal Greens in Canada, viii, 143.
Royce, Josiah, vii; *California*, viii, 260.
Royville in Guiana, viii, 363.
Rubiner, W., *Die Entdeckungsreisen*, viii, 108.
Rubio, A. G. M., *El Phenix*, viii, 367.
Ruggles, Timothy, vi; vii; letters, viii, 435.
Rumford, Count, letters, vi; viii, 461.
Runnel, *Sanbornton*, viii, 438.
Rupert's Land (*see* Prince Rupert's Land), rights of France in, viii, 25, 28.
Rupert, Prince, portrait, viii, 4.
Rupp, I. D., *Relig. Denominations*, viii, 486.
Ruschenberger, W. S. W., *Voyage*, viii, 259.
Rusdorfer, B., *Paraguay*, viii, 360.
Rush, Benj., vi; papers, viii, 451; corresp. with David Ramsay, viii, 451; his anon. letter to Patrick Henry, viii, 453; thought to be the "Brutus" of the Cadwalader charges, viii, 479.
Rush, Benj. (younger), *Wm. B. Reed*, viii, 479.
Rush, B., *Christ. Ludwick*, viii, 483.
Rush, Richard, *Washington in domestic life*, viii, 489.
Russell, Alex. J., *Red River Country*, viii, 38, 79.
Russell, Amelia, on Brook Farm, viii, 488.
Russell, Col. Benj., *Mass. Centinel*, viii, 497.
Russell, Lord John (Earl Russell), viii, 503; and the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 53; *C. J. Fox*, viii, 503; *Life and Times of Fox*, viii, 503.
Russell, *America*, viii, 251.
Russia, archives, viii, 477; maps made in, viii, 257; relations with the United States, vii; her people at Alaska, viii, 211; in California, viii, 214; build Fort Ross, viii, 229; seek a cession of land, viii, 231; abandon California, viii, 231; explorations of the North West Coast, viii, 110. *See* Discoverers.
Rutherford MSS., viii, 449.
Rutledge, Edw., papers, viii, 458.
Rutledge, Maj. Edw., viii, 441.
Rutledge, Henry, viii, 441.
Ryerson, Egerton, viii, 154, 159, 164; *Loyalists*, viii, 174; *Story of my life*, viii, 185.
Ryerson, John, *Hudson's Bay*, viii, 74.
Rymer, *Fœdera*, viii, 459.
Ryswick. *See* Treaties.

SABINE, EDW., *Voyage by Ross*, viii, 117.
Sabine, Lorenzo, vi; vii; *Life of Edw. Preble*, viii, 475.
Sable Island. *See* Oceans.
Sackville, Mrs. Stopford, viii, 461.
Saco, J. A., *Cuba*, viii, 272.
Sæghman, *Journalen*, viii, 410.
Saffrel, W. T. R., *Records of the Rev. War*, viii, 416.
Sagra, Ramon de la, *Cuba*, viii, 272.
Sainsbury, M. W Noel, his interests in American history, viii, 456; his service to Amer. history, viii, 459; *Col. Series of State Papers*, viii, 459.
Saint Amand, *Haiti*, viii, 283.
Saint Augustine, ii; iii; v; vi; vii; viii, 196.
Saint Brandan's Island. *See* Oceans.
Saint Catharine's Island (Brazil), viii, 356, 408.
Saint Christopher. *See* St. Kitts.
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, vi; papers, viii, 451.
Saint Domingo. *See* San Domingo *and* West Indies.
Saint François, sacked, viii, 281.
Saint Jago de la Vega, viii, 273.
Saint John River (New Brunswick), settled by the loyalists, viii, 136.
Saint Kitts (San Cristóbal; St. Christopher's), becomes a buccaneer nest, viii, 233; map, viii, 234; divided between the French and English, viii, 234; De Poincy's chateau, viii, 235; surrendered by Great Britain, viii, 236; occupied by the English and French, viii, 306; authorities, viii, 252; repossessed by the English, viii, 280. *See* West Indies.
Saint Lucia, settled by the English, viii, 290; *Memorials of the Commissaries*, viii, 290; Caribs in, viii, 290.
Saint Mary's Strait, map, viii, 78.
Saint Méry, Moreau de, *Colonies Française*, viii, 271.
Saint Rémy, Jos., *Étude*, viii, 285; *Toussaint*, viii, 286; *Gen. Toussaint*, viii, 286; *Pétion et Hayti*, viii, 288.
Saint Vincent, viii, 290.
Saint. *See* San, Santo, etc.
St. Vincent Straits, viii, 412.
Salaberry, Col. De, at Chateauguay, viii, 146; statue, viii, 146.
Salaberry, Comte C. M. de, viii, 505.
Salcedo, Gaspar de, viii, 304.
Saldanha da Gama, J. de, *Catalogo*, viii, 349.
Salinas, Marquis of, viii, 296.
Salisbury, Marquis, calendar of his MSS., viii, 460.
Salisbury, S., viii, 484.
Salta, viii, 329.
Salteaux Indians, viii, 42.
Saltillo, Hidalgo at, viii, 220.
Saltonstall, Gurdon, v; letters, viii, 444.
Salvatierra, Count of, viii, 303.
Salvaterra, Father, viii, 205.
Samana, taken by the English, viii, 287.
Sampson, Deborah, viii, 488.
San Antonio (California), viii, 210.
San Antonio de Squillace, silver mine, viii, 297.
San Borja, college of, viii, 247.
San Carlos (California), viii, 210; mission ruins, viii, 213; college, viii, 319.
San Cristóbal. *See* Saint Kitts.
San Diego (California), founded, viii, 210.
San Domingo (island). (*See* Hispaniola, ii; iii; iv.) Canadians in, viii, 133; French pirates at, viii, 205; occupied by the French, viii, 280, 307; bibliog., viii, 279, 386; maps, viii, 279; buccaneers, viii, 280; insurrections, viii, 282; English and Spanish conquer most of the island, viii, 285; controlled by the French, viii, 285; independent, viii, 285; taken by the English, viii, 287; bibliog., viii, 289. *See* West Indies.
San Domingo (town), trade, viii, 281; bird's-eye view, viii, 283; other views, viii, 283; Toussaint enters, viii, 285; captured by the French, viii, 285; the French besieged, viii, 287; plan, viii, 289.
San Filipe Neve, fathers of, viii, 314.
San Francisco, ii; harbor named, viii, 211; plan of, viii, 212; histories, viii, 261.
San Gabriel (California), viii, 210.
San Jacinto, battle, vii; viii, 229.
San José, viii, 261.
San Juan de Ulúa, fortress, vii, 411; viii, 204-5; surrendered by Spain, viii, 228; captured by the French, viii, 229.
San Lorenzo captured by Morgan, viii, 236; plan of, viii, 237; attacked by Vernon, viii, 237; attacked by Morgan (1671), viii, 244.
San Lucas, Cape (California peninsula), viii, 256.
San Marcos, University of, viii, 314.
San Martin, Gen. José de, statue of, viii, 329; account of, viii, 329; bibliog., viii, 329; portraits, viii, 329; organizes an army, viii, 329; crosses the Andes, viii, 330; in Chile, viii, 331; victor at Maypu, viii, 332; enters Lima, viii, 334; conference with Bolivar, viii, 335; resigns, viii, 335; dies, viii, 335; accounts of, viii, 346; *Revelaciones*, viii, 347.
San Nicolas, A. de, on the Augustines, viii, 368.
San Salvador. *See* Bahia.
San Sebastian. *See* Rio de Janeiro.
Sanders, Prince, viii, 288.
Sandford, Ezekiel, *United States*, viii, 481.
Sandham, A., *Montreal*, viii, 183.
Sandoval, F. T. de, in Mexico, viii, 192.
Sandys-Southampton faction in early Virginia history, viii, 454.
Santa Anna, vii; in revolt at Vera Cruz, viii, 226; portraits, viii, 227, 228; heads revolt, viii, 227; conquers Barradas, viii, 228; enters Mexico, viii, 229; his leg reburied, viii, 229; flies from Mexico, viii, 229; defeated at San Jacinto, viii, 229; bibliog., viii, 270.
Santa Barbara founded, viii, 212.
Santa Cruz de la Canada, viii, 254.
Santa Cruz, Dutch driven out, viii, 280.
Santa Cruz, Gen. Andres, viii, 335, 336, 340.
Santa Fé, Archives at, destroyed, viii, 253; trade of, viii, 253; settled, viii, 254.
Santa Rosa of Lima, canonized, viii, 305.
Santander, Gen., viii, 246.
Santiago de Chile, plans of, viii, 321.
Santistevan, Count of, viii, 303.
Santo Bono, Prince of, viii, 307.
Saragossa, convention of, confirms the Moluccas to Portugal, viii, 383.
Saratoga, papers of the convention of, vi; viii, 464.
Sargent, C. S., viii, 491.
Sargent, Epes, *Arctic Adventure*, viii, 108; *Wonders of the Arctic World*, viii, 108.
Sargent, Winthrop, viii, 429; on the Rev. army, viii, 482; *Loyalist Poetry*, viii, 496.
Sargent, *Public Men, etc.*, viii, 489.
Sarmiento, D. F., *Civilizacion i barbarie*, viii, 362; other eds, viii, 562; *Life in the Argentine Republic*, viii, 362.
Sarmiento, F. L., *Our Flag*, viii, 484.
Saunders, Frederick, *Our Nat. Cent. Jubilee*, viii, 481.
Saunders, W. L., *Col Rec. No. Carolina*, viii, 456.
Savage, Jas., ii; iii; v; vii; ed. Winthrop's Journal, viii, 437; induces the publication of Hutchinson's last volume, viii, 469.
Savage, J. W., viii, 253.
Sawtelle, *Townshend*, viii, 427.
Scadding, Dr. Henry, *Toronto*, viii, 174, 183; *Dr. Strachan*, viii, 186.
Scammell, Alex., vi; letters, viii, 439; portrait, viii, 439.
Scandia, ii.
Schaff, Philip, on Church and State, viii, 486.
Scheffer, *États Unis*, viii, 505.
Schlatter, M., viii, 485.
Schley, W. S., *The Rescue of Greely*, viii, 129.
Schlözer, *Correspondenz*, vii; viii, 507.
Schmidel, Ulrich *or* Huldericus, in

Brazil, viii, 389; *Vera Historia*, viii, 407; frontispiece, viii, 409.
Schmidtmeyer, P., *Chile*, viii, 367.
Schoff, S. A., viii, 419.
Schomburgk, R. H., *Barbadoes*, viii, 290.
Schondia, iii, 18, 101.
Schöner, Johann, cartographer, ii; viii, 377; note book, viii, 377; *Luculentissima Descriptio*, viii, 378; his connection with the *Copia* and the Nordenskiöld gores, viii, 380; work on, by Henry Stevens, viii, 412; newly discovered gores of 1523, viii, 412. *See* Maps.
Schott, C. A., on the variation of the needle, viii, 257.
Schouten, Van Hoorn, W. C., doubles Cape Horn, viii, 384, 409; *Journael*, viii, 409; his track, viii, 410; *Wonderful Voyage*, viii, 410.
Schouler, James, *United States*, vii; viii, 481; examined the Monroe papers, viii, 421.
Schroeder, J. F., *Washington*, viii, 481.
Schröter, J. F., *Völker von Amerika*, viii, 200.
Schultz, C., jr., *Travels*, viii, 492.
Schuyler, Geo. L., viii, 447; *Corresp. and Remarks on Bancroft's History*, viii, 478.
Schuyler, Gen. Philip, vi; letters, viii, 435, 439; letters to Trumbull, viii, 443; papers, viii, 447; charges against, by Bancroft, viii, 478; defended by G. L. Schuyler, viii, 478; and by Lossing, viii, 478; corresp. with Hamilton destroyed, viii, 448.
Scoresby, Dr., *Journal*, viii, 129; *Arctic Regions*, viii, 129.
Scoresby, Wm., *Arctic Regions*, viii, 120; his approach to the north pole, viii, 129; in the Greenland Seas, viii, 107.
Scotch highlanders settle the Red River Country, viii, 39; in Canada, viii, 142.
Scotland, immigration from, to America, iii; iv; v; in Canada, viii, 142; in Red River settlement, viii; in the Hudson Bay regions, viii, 37; in Prince Edward Island, viii, 147; in Darien, viii, 239-41, 265; company of, viii, 266; MS. sources, viii, 459.
Scott, Mrs. Dorothy (Hancock), viii, 431.
Scott, E. G., v; vi; *La Nouvelle France*, viii, 173.
Scribner's *Statistical Atlas*, viii, 482.
Scrope, G. L., *Sydenham*, viii, 185.
Scudder, H. E., v; vi; vii; School *Hist. of the U. S.*, viii, 482; *Men and Manners*, viii, 489; *Noah Webster*, viii, 497.
Scudder, S. H., i; *Winnipeg Country*, viii, 39.
Scull, G. D., on Haldimand, viii, 461.
Seabury, Samuel, first Amer. Episc. bishop, viii, 487.
Seabury, W. I., viii, 487.
Seaton, W. W., life, viii, 497.
Sedgwick, Catherine M., *Life of L. M. Davidson*, viii, 475.
Sedgwick, Theo., *Wm. Livingston*, viii, 458.
Sedgwick, Theo., Jr., viii, 449, 453.
Sedition Act in Canada (1804), viii, 149.
Seeman, Berthold, *Voyage of the Herald*, viii, 121; *Panama*, viii, 265.
Seeley, *Expansion of England*, viii, 481.
Ségur, Comte de, *Œuvres*, viii, 505; *Mémoires*, viii, 505; correspondence with Rochambeau, viii, 467.
Selkirk, Alex., found on Juan Fernandez, viii, 205.
Selkirk, Earl of, viii, 147; and the Red River Colony, viii, 39; portrait and autograph, viii, 42; sells the Red River grant, viii, 61; validity of the grant, viii, 78; sketch of the British fur trade, viii, 78; dies, viii, 79; *On Emigration*, viii, 177; papers, viii, 187.
Sellar, Robert, *Huntingdon*, viii, 183.
Semple, R. B., *Baptists in Va.*, viii, 487.
Semple, Gov., massacred, viii, 40, 42; plan of it, viii, 41.
Senecas, viii, 461. *See* Indians.
Septenville, Ed. de, *Bresil*, viii, 350.
Serna, José de la, the last Viceroy of Peru, viii, 329, 334, 337.
Serra, Father Junipero, viii, 211; portrait, viii, 214; *Vida*, viii, 258.
Seton, Wm., on Crèvecœur, viii, 490.
Sevelinges, M. de, viii, 466; edits Botta, viii, 507.
Seventy Six Soc., viii, 496.
Sevier, Col., vii; papers, viii, 458, 459.
Seville, Archives at, viii, 246. *See* Treaties.
Sewall, Jona., of Mass., vi; viii, 174.
Sewall, Samuel, v; diary and letter books, viii, 435; *Letter Book*, viii, 265.
Sewell, Jona, of Canada, portrait, viii, 174.
Seybert, Adam, *Statistical Annals*, viii, 474, 494.
Shaftesbury papers, viii, 456, 457, 460.
Shaler, Wm., viii, 347; *Voyage*, viii, 259.
Sharan, James, viii, 485.
Sharp, Capt. Bart. attacks Panama, viii, 238; *Dangerous Voyage*, viii, 251, 252; his journal, viii, 251; his *Waggoner*, viii, 251.
Sharpe, Gov. Horatio (Md.), v; instructions, viii, 453; letter books, viii, 453; correspondence, viii, 453.
Shaw, Norton, viii, 248.
Shea, J. G., i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; *Peñalosa*, viii, 253; *French Fleet*, viii, 496; *Roman Cath. Church*, viii, 486; *Catholic Missions*, viii.
Sheddon, Robert, in the Arctic Seas, viii, 92.
Shelburne, Earl of, vii; life, viii, 503; papers, viii, 460.
Shelburne, Nova Scotia, viii, 136.
Shelby, Isaac, vii; autobiog., viii, 458.
Sheldon, Geo., viii, 427.
Shelvock, Geo., *Voyage*, viii, 257.
Shepherd, T., *Amer. Rev.*, viii, 501.
Shepherd, *Samuel Tucker*, viii, 435.
Shepherd, *Van Buren*, viii, 448.
Sheppard, Chas., *St. Vincent*, viii, 290.
Sherman, J. H., *Miranda's Exped.*, viii, 346.
Sherman, Oliver, viii, 444.
Sherman, Roger, vi; letters, viii, 443; papers, viii, 444.
Sherwood, Capt., in Vermont, viii, 465.
Shippen, Edw., vii; viii, 451; acc. of, viii, 451; likeness, viii, 451; mansion, viii, 451; papers, 451.
Ships, and ship building, ii; iii; iv, v; vi; viii, 381; pictures of (1720), viii, 273.
Shirley, Governor (Mass.), v; letters, viii, 439; as Commander-in-chief, in N. Amer., viii, 448.
Sieges. *See* Military Events.
Sierra Leone, receives negroes from Nova Scotia, viii, 140.
Siguenza, C. de, map of Mexican Valley, 199.
Silliman, B., *Tour*, viii, 493.
Silliman, Gen., papers, viii, 444.
Silliman, G. S., viii, 443.
Silva, J. C. de, *L'Oyapoc et l'Amazone*, viii, 369, 371.
Silver mines, Champlain's picture of one, viii, 192.
Simancas, archives at, ii; viii, 459, 468.
Simcoe, J. G., in the American Revolution, vi; vii; viii, 141; Governor of Upper Canada, viii, 141, 174; *Mil. Journal*, viii, 502.
Simmonds, P. L., *Sir J. Franklin*, viii, 108.
Simms, W. G., *Corresp. of Col. John Laurens*, viii, 458, 496; papers burned, viii, 458.
Simond, P. L., *Franklin and the Arctic Regions*, viii, 126.
Simonds, Col. Benj., viii, 437.
Simpson, Sir George, portrait, viii, 14; knighted, viii, 35; his statements, viii, 62; his character, viii, 73, 74; governor, viii, 79; *Journey*, viii, 259.
Simpson, Matthew, *Cyclop. of Methodism*, viii, 487.
Simpson, Thomas, portrait, viii, 35; his Arctic Explorations, viii, 35; death, viii, 35; *Life and Travels*, viii, 35, 73.
Singleton, A., viii, 493.
Six Nations, loyalists of, settle in Canada, viii, 137. *See* Indians.
Skelford, W., viii, 79.
Skinner, Jos., *Peru*, viii, 319, 367.
Slade, Wm., Jr., viii, 440.
Slaughter, Dr. Philip, viii, 455.
Slavery in Spanish America, ii; in the English colonies, iii; iv; v; and the Declaration of Independence, vi; in the United States, vii; under the Assiento treaty, viii, 208. *See* United States.
Slidell, sent to Mexico, to settle the Texas boundary, viii, 232; authorized to negotiate for the purchase of California, viii, 232.
Sloane, Sir Hans, in Jamaica, viii, 277; *Voyage*, viii, 277; MSS., viii, 461.
Sloat, Com. at Monterey, viii, 232.
Slocum, Joshua, *Life*, viii, 485.
Smallwood, Gen., papers, viii, 453; portrait, viii, 453.
Smellie, Dr., *John Bayne of Galt*, viii, 184.
Smith, A., *Peterborough*, viii, 438.
Smith, Buckingham, ii; iii; iv; viii, 270; *De Soto*, viii, 496.
Smith, Chas., *Monthly Mil. Repository*, viii, 473; *Amer. War*, viii, 473.
Smith, C. C., iii; iv; v; vi; vii; on Arctic Explorations, viii, 81.
Smith, D. M., *Arctic Expeditions*, viii, 108; *Recent Polar Voyages*, viii, 108.
Smith, Col. D. W., in Canada, viii, 175; his papers, viii, 175.
Smith, Capt. Francis, viii, 81, 112.
Smith, Goldwin, in Canada, viii, 172.
Smith, Hezekiah, papers, viii, 442; life by R. A. Guild, viii, 442.
Smith, Horace W., *Nuts for future historians*, viii, 479.
Smith, Jas., his tours, viii, 459.
Smith, Capt. John, iii; Life by G. S. Hillard, viii, 475.
Smith, J. J., viii, 451; *Amer. hist. and lit. curiosities*, viii, 489.
Smith, Moses, *Miranda Exped.*, viii, 346.
Smith, Lieut. M. L., viii, 200.
Smith, Sam., Gen., viii, 479; MSS. viii, 449; *Memoirs*, viii, 485.
Smith, Sir Sidney, blockades the Tagus, viii, 357.
Smith, S. F., "America," song, viii, 484.
Smith, S. S., viii, 472.
Smith, T. W., on the loyalists, viii, 174.
Smith, W. H., *Canada*, viii, 186.
Smith, William Henry, vii; on Spark's editing, viii, 419; edits St. Clair papers, viii, 451.
Smith, W. J., viii, 503.
Smith, *Pittsfield, Mass.*, viii, 427.
Smith's Sound, viii, 108, 114, 122, 125.
Smollett, Tobias, *Roderic Random*, viii, 292; *Compendium of Voyages*, viii, 292; *Works*, viii, 292.

used, viii, 483; uniforms, viii, 483; commissary department, viii, 483; expenses, viii, 483; cannon used, viii, 483; prisoners and prison ships, vi; vii; barbarities, viii, 504; secret intelligence, viii, 484; surgeons, viii, 488; frontier life and warfare, vi; cowboys, vi; Conway cabal, vi; viii; pensioners, viii, 483; Cincinnati Society, vii.

English troops, vi; German auxiliaries, vi; vii; convention troops (Burgoyne's), vi.

Naval Aspects: Continental navy, vi; viii; whale boat warfare, vi; admiralty courts, vi; privateers, vi; vii; viii.

Moral and Literary Aspects: Clergy, viii, 485; Episcopal, viii, 485; Catholic, viii, 486; Presbyterian, viii, 486; Baptists, viii, 486; Methodists, viii, 486; Quakers, 486; Women, viii, 488; oratory, viii, 485; newspapers, vi; vii; viii; editors, viii, 497; caricatures, viii, 489; literature, viii, 494; poets, viii, 494, 495, 496; bibliography, viii, 494; songs and ballads, viii, 496; loyalist verse, viii, 496; colleges, viii, 496; club publications concerning, viii, 496.

Historical Sources: Manuscript and printed sources, viii, appendix; records of the Continental Congress, viii, 415; correspondence, viii, 420; intercepted letters, viii, 464; general references in the army, viii, 482; foreign documents, viii, 464; speeches in the English Parliament, viii, 499; English pamphlets, viii, 499; English Histories, viii, 500; *Detail and Conduct of the American War*, viii, 502; French printed works, viii, 505; German, viii, 507. ⁂ The indexes of Vols. VI and VII must be consulted for further items.

HISTORY SINCE 1783: In general, vii; Ordinances of 1784 and 1787, vii.

Constitutional Aspects: Federal Convention, vii; Constitution, vii.

Military and Naval Aspects: War Department, vii; viii; Army of the U. S., vii; West Point Academy, vii; Navy, vi; vii; French spoliations, vii; Civil War, viii.

War of 1812: Causes etc., vii; viii; Embargo Act, vii; impressment of seamen, vii; rights of neutrals, vii; non-intercourse act, vii; right of search, vii; Hartford convention, vii.

Political Aspects: Congress of the U. S., vii; viii; political parties, and their factions, in general, vii; abolitionists, vii; Albany Regency, vii; Anti-federals, vii; Antimason, vii; anti-rent, vii; Barnburners, vii; Bucktails, vii; Democrats, vii; Essex junto, vii; Federalists, vii; Free soil party, vii; Jacobins, vii; Liberty party, vii; Loco-foco party, vii; Republican party, vii; States Rights, vii; Whigs, vii.

Political issues: Alien and sedition laws, vii; fishery disputes, vi; vii; force bill; free trade, vii; internal improvements, vii; Monroe doctrine, vii; nullification, vii; Panama Congress, vii; slavery, vii; spoils system, vii; squatter-sovereignty, vii; tariff and protection, vi; vii; Wilmot proviso, vii; era of good feeling, vii; kitchin cabinet, vii; gerrymander, vii.

HISTORICAL CHARACTERS CONNECTED WITH THE COLONIAL AND FEDERAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES:—

Abercrombie, Gen., v. Acland, Maj., vi. Adams, John, his early career, v; in the Amer. Rev., vi; his later career, vii; his papers, viii. Adams, J. Q., iii; vii; papers, viii. Adams, Samuel, at college, v; in the Revolution, vi; his later career, vii; papers, viii. Alden, John, iii. Alexander, Sir Wm., iii. Allen, Ethan, vi; vii. Ames, Fisher, vii. Amherst, Gen. Jeffery, v; vi. André, Maj. John, vi. Andros, Sir Edmund, iii; iv; v. Arbuthnot, Admiral, vi. Argall, Samuel, iii; iv. Arnold, Gen. Benedict, vi; papers, viii. Armstrong, Gen., vi; vii. Asgill, Capt., case of, vi, 744. Astor, J. J., vii. Attucks, Crispus, vi, 85.

Bainbridge, Com. Wm., vii. Baltimore, Lord. *See* Calvert. Barlow, Joel, vii; papers, viii. Barney, Com. Joshua, vi; vii; viii. Barnwell, Col., v. Barron, Com. Jas., vii. Barry, Com. John, vi; vii. Bartlett, Josiah, vi; viii. Baum, Col., vi. Bedell, Col. Timothy, vi; papers, viii. Belcher, Gov., v. Bellomont, Earl of, iv; v; vi. Benton, Thomas H., vii. Berkeley, Bp., in Rhode Island, v; vi. Berkeley, John, iii. Berkeley, Sir Wm., iii. Bernard, Francis, v; vi; his papers, viii. Biddle, Com. Nic., vi. Blair, Jas., v. Bland, Col. Theodorick, vi; vii; papers, viii. Blennerhassett, Herman, vii. Bollan, Wm., v; vi. Boone, Daniel, vi; vii; papers, viii. Boscawen, Admiral, v. Bouquet, Col. Henry, v; vi; papers, viii. Bowdoin, James, vi; vii; papers, viii. Braddock, Gen., v. Bradford, Wm., printer, iii; v; viii. Bradstreet, Col. John, v; vi. Bradstreet, Simon, iii; iv; v. Brewster, Wm., Elder, iii. Brodhead, Col., vi. Brooks, Col. John, vi. Brown, Gen. Jacob, vii. Brown, Col. John, vi. Buchanan, Jas., vii. Burgoyne, Gen., vi; vii; viii. Burnet, Gov. Wm., v. Burr, Aaron, on the Canada exped., vi; political career, vii; papers, viii. Butler, James D., vi. Butler, Col. John, vi. Butler, Col. Richard, vi. Butler, Walter N., vi. Butler, Col. Wm., vi. Butler, Col. Zebulon, vi. Byles, Mather, v; vii. Byrd, Col. Wm., iii. Byron, Admiral, vi.

Cabot, Geo., vii; papers, viii. Cadwalader, Col. L., vi. Calhoun, J. C., vii; papers, viii. Calvert (Lord Baltimore), iii; v; vi; papers, viii. Carleton, Guy, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Carroll, Chas., vi; vii. Carteret, Sir Geo., iii. Carteret, Philip, iii. Cass, Lewis, vii; papers, viii. Castin, the Younger, v, 122. Chauncey, Chas., v; vi. Choate, Rufus, vii. Church, Col. Benj., iii; iv; v. Church, Dr. Benj., vi. Clark, Geo. Rogers, vi; vii; papers, viii. Clay, Henry, vii; papers, viii. Clayborne, Wm., iii. Clinton, De Witt, v; vi; vii. Clinton, Geo., vi; vii; papers, viii. Clinton, Adm. Geo., v. Clinton, Sir Henry, vi; vii; papers, viii. Clinton, Gen. James, vi. Cobb, David, vi; vii. Coddington, Wm., iii. Colden, Cadwallader, i; v; papers, viii. Collier, Sir Geo., vi. Colman, Benj., v. Conway, Gen. Thos., vi. Conyngham, Gustavus, vi. Cooke, Elisha, v. Cooper, Dr. Samuel, vi. Cornbury, Lord, v. Cornwallis, Lord, vi; vii; viii. Cotton, John, iii. Crawford, W. H., vii. Cresap, Capt. Michael, vi. Cresap, Col. Thos., v; vi. Croghan, Col. Geo., i; v; vi; vii. Crockett, David, vii. Culpepper, John, v. Culpepper, Lord Thos., v. Cushing, Caleb, vi; vii. Cushing, Thos., vi. Cushman, Robt., iii. Cutler, Manasseh, vi; vii.

Dale, Capt. Richard, vi; vii. Dale, Sir Thos., iii. Dane, Nathan, vii. Dana, Francis, vi; vii; papers, viii. Davenport, John, iii. Deane, Silas, vi; vii; papers, viii. Dearborn, Gen. Henry, vi; vii; papers, viii. De Brahm, J. G. W., v. Decatur, Stephen, vii. De Grasse, Comte, vii. De Kalb, vi; vii. De Lancey, Jas., v. Delaware, Lord, iii. Dermer, Capt., iv. De Vries, iv. Dexter, Samuel, vii. Dickinson, John, vi; papers, viii. Dieskau, Baron, v. Dinwiddie, Gov., v; papers, viii. Dix, Gen. John A., vii. Dongan, Gov., iii; iv; v. Donop, Count, vi. Duane, Jas., v. Duane, Wm., vi; vii; viii. Duché, Jacob, vi. Dudley, Jos., iii; v. Dulany, Daniel, vi. Dumas, C. W. F., v; vii; viii. Dummer, Jeremy, v. Dunmore, Lord, vi. Du Portail, vi; vii. Dustin, Hannah, v.

Eaton, Theophilus, iii. Eaton, Wm., vii. Edwards, Jona., v. Ellery, Wm., vi; papers, viii. Elliott, Com. Jesse, vii. Ellsworth, Oliver, vii; papers, viii. Endicott, John, iii. Estaing, Comte, d', vi.

Fairfax, Lord, v. Faneuil, P., v. Febiger, Col. C., vi. Fenwick, John, iii. Fergusson, Col. P., vi. Fitch, John, vii. Fletcher, Gov. B., v. Fleury, Maj. Louis, vi. Forbes, Gen. John, v. Franklin, Benj., i; iii; v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Frankland, Sir H., vi. Fraser, Gen., vi. Frémont, J. C., vi; vii; viii. Fulton, Robt., vii.

Gadsden, Christopher, vi. Gage, Gen. Thomas, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Gallatin, Albert, vi; vii; papers, viii. Galloway, Joseph, vi; vii. Gansevoort, Col., vi. Garrison, W. L., vii. Gates, Gen. Horatio, v; vi; papers, viii. Gates, Sir Thomas, iii. Gerry, Elbridge, vi; vii; papers, viii. Gist, Christopher, v; vi. Glover, Gen. John, vi; papers, viii. Goffe and Whalley, iii, 374, 375. Gore, Christopher, vii; papers, viii. Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, iii; iv. Gorton, Samuel, iii. Goswold, Capt. B., iii. Grasse, Comte de, vi. Graves, Admiral Samuel, vi. Greene, Gen. Nathanael, vi; papers, viii. Grey, Gen., vi. Gridley, Richard, v; vi. Gyles, Capt. John, v.

Haldimand, Gen., in the Amer. Rev., vi; papers, viii. Hamilton, Alex., iv; vi; vii; papers, viii. Hamilton, Gov., vi. Hancock, John, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Harper, R. G., vii. Harrison, W. H., vii. Harmar, Gen. Josiah, vii. Hawley, Jos., vi. Heath, Gen., vi; papers, viii. Henry, Patrick, vi; vii; papers, viii. Herkimer, Gen. Nic., vi. Hooker, Thomas, iii. Hopkins, Esek, vi; papers, viii. Hopkins, Stephen, v; vi; viii. Hopkinson, Francis, vi; vii; viii. Houston, Samuel, vii; viii. Howe, Lord, killed, v. Howe, Richard, Lord, vi; vii; viii. Howe, Gen. Robert, vi. Howe, Gen. Sir Wm., vi; vii; viii. Hull, Com. Isaac, vii. Hull, Gen. Wm., vii. Hunter, Robert,

v. Huntington, Jed., vi; viii. Hutchinson, Thomas, v; vi; papers, viii.

ckson, Andrew, vii; papers, viii. Jasper, Sergt. Wm., vi. Jay, John, vi; vii; papers, viii. Jay, John (b. 1817), vii. Jefferson, Thomas, vi; vii; papers, viii. Johnson, Col. Guy, vi; vii. Johnson, Sir John, vi; vii. Johnson, Sir Wm., i; v; vi; papers, viii. Jones, John Paul, vi; vii; viii. Jones, Thomas, vii; viii. Jumel, Madam, vi, 284.

eith, Sir Wm., v. Keppel, Admiral, v. King, Rufus, vii; papers, viii. Knowles, Commodore, v; viii. Knox, Gen. Henry, vi; vii; papers, viii. Knox, Wm., vi. Kosciusko, Gen., vi. Knyphausen, Gen., vi; vii.

afayette, Gen., vi; vii; papers, viii. Landais, Capt., vi. Lane, Ralph, iii. Larkin, T. O., vii; viii. Laurens, Henry, vii; papers, viii. Laurens, Lt. Col. John, vi; viii. Lawrence, Capt. James, vii. Learned, Gen., vi. Lee, Arthur, vi; vii; papers, viii. Lee, Gen. Chas., v; vi; papers, viii. Lee, Gen Henry, vi; vii. Lee, R. H., vi; vii; papers, viii. Lee, Wm., vii. Leisler, Jacob, iii; iv; v. Leonard, Daniel, vi; vii. Leslie, Gen., vi. Leverett, John, iv, 145. Lewis, Gen Andrew, vi. Lincoln, Gen. Benj., vi; vii; papers, viii. Livingston, Edward, v; vii; papers, viii Livingston, Philip, vi. Livingston, R. R., vi; vii. Livingston, Wm., v; vi; papers, viii. Logan, James, i; v. Loudon, Earl of, v. Lovell, James, vi. Lovell, Gen. Solomon, vi. Lovewell, Capt. John, v. Lyman, Gen. Phineas, v.

McCrea, Jane, vi, 627. Macdonough, Thomas, vii. Macomb, Gen. Alex., vii. McKean, Thomas, vi; vii. Mackemie, Francis, v. Madison, James, vi; vii; papers, viii. Manly, Capt. John, vi. Marion, Francis, vi. Marshall, John, Chief Justice, vii. Martin, Luther, vii. Mason, Geo., vi; vii; papers, viii. Mason, Jeremiah, vii. Mason, John (of N. H.), iii; viii. Mason, John (Pequot War), iii. Mauduit, Israel, vi. Maverick, Samuel, iii. Mayhew, Jonathan, vi; viii. Meigs, Return J., vi; vii. Mercer, Gen. Hugh, vi; vii. Mifflin, Gen. Thos., vi. Monroe, James, vi; vii; papers, viii. Montgomery, Rich., v; vi. Montgomery, Sir Robert, v. Montresor, James, v. Montresor, Col. John, v. Morgan, Gen. Daniel, v; vi; papers, viii. Morris, Gouverneur, vi; vii; papers, viii. Morris, Robert, vi; vii. Morris, Robert Hunter, v. Morris, Roger, v; vi. Moultrie, Gen. Wm., vi. Muhlenberg, Gen., vi. Murray, Gen. James, v; viii.

Nicholson, Gen. Francis, v. Nicholson, Capt. Jas., vi. Norton, John, iii.

Oglethorpe, Gen. James, v; vii. Oliver, Andrew, vi. Oliver, Peter, vi. Otis, H. G., vii. Otis, James, v; vi; vii; papers, viii.

Paine, Thomas, vi; vii. Parker, Sir Peter, vi. Parsons, Gen. S. H., vi; vii; viii. Parsons, Theophilus, vii. Penn, Wm., iii; v; papers, viii. Pepperell, Sir Wm., iii; v. Percy, Earl, vi. Perry, Com. M. C., vii. Perry, Com. O. H., vii. Peters, Richard, v; vi; vii. Phips, Spencer, v. Phips, Sir Wm., iv; v. Pickens, Gen. Andrew, vi. Pickering, Col. Timothy, vi; vii; papers, viii. Pigot, Gen., vi. Pike, Gen. Z. M., vii. Pinckney, C. C., vi; vii. Pinkney, Wm., vii. Pitcairn, Maj., vi. Pitcher, Moll, vi, 446. Plowden, Sir Edmund, iii; iv. Polk, J. K., vii. Pollock, Oliver, vi; vii; viii. Pomeroy, Seth, v; vi. Porter, Com. David, vii. Pownall, Thomas, i; v; vi. Preble, Com. Edw., vii; viii. Prescott, Gen. Richard, vi, 403. Prescott, Col. Wm., vi. Prevost, Gen. Augustine, vi. Pulaski, vi; vii. Putnam, Gen. Israel, v; vi; vii. Putnam, Rufus, v; vi; vii.

Quincy, Josiah (d. 1775), vi; papers, viii. Quincy, Josiah (d. 1864), v; vi; vii.

Rahl, Col., vi. Raleigh, Sir Walter, iii; v. Randolph, Edmund, vii. Randolph, John, of Roanoke, vii. Rawdon, Lord, vi. Reed, Joseph, vi; vii; viii. Revere, Paul, vi. Ribault, iii. Riedesel, Baron, vi; vii. Rochambeau, vi; papers, viii. Robinson, Beverly, vi. Robinson, John, of Leyden, iii. Rodgers, Com. John, vii. Rodney, Admiral, vi; vii. Rodney, Cæsar, vi; papers, viii. Rogers, Robert, v; vi; vii. Rolfe, John, iii. Ross, Gen., vii. Ruggles, Timothy, v; vi; vii. Rumford, Count, vi; vii. Rush, Benj., vi; papers, viii. Rush, Richard, vii. Rutledge, Edw., vi. Rutledge, John, vii.

St. Castin, Baron, v. St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. St. Leger, Col. Barry, vi. Saltonstall, Com. Dudley, vi. Saltonstall, Gurdon, v. Schuyler, Peter, v. Schuyler, Philip, v; vi; papers, viii. Scott, Gen. Winfield, vii. Sedgwick, Theo., vii. Sevier, Col. John, vi; vii; viii. Sewall, Jonathan, vi; viii. Shelby, Col. Isaac, vi; vii; viii. Shepard, Thomas, iii. Sherman, Roger, vi; vii; papers, viii. Shirley, Gov. Wm., v; vi. Shute, Col. Samuel, v. Simcoe, Col. J. G., vi; viii. Smith, Joshua Hett, vi. Spotswood, Alex., v; papers, viii. Standish, Miles, iii, iv. Stanwix, Gen., v. Stark, Gen. John, v; vi; papers, viii. Steuben, Baron, vi; vii; papers, viii. Stewart, Com. Chas., vii. Sterling, Gen. Lord, vi; papers, viii. Stockton, Com. R. F., vii. Story, Jos., vii. Stoughton, Wm., v. Strong, Caleb, vii; papers, viii. Stuyvesant, Peter, iii; iv. Sullivan, James, vi; vii; viii. Sullivan, Gen. John, vi; vii; viii. Sumpter, Gen., vi.

Talbot, Capt. Silas, vii. Tallmadge, B., vi. Tarleton, Col., vi. Taylor, Gen. Zachary, vii. Thomas, Gen. John, vi; papers, viii. Thomson, Charles, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Townsend, Gen., v. Trott, Nicholas, v. Truxtun, Com. Thomas, vii. Tryon, Gov., vi; viii. Tucker, Com. Samuel, vi; vii; papers, viii. Tyler, John, vii; viii.

Van Buren, Martin, vii. Van der Donck, iv. Van Rensselaer family, v. Varick, Col. R., vi. Varnum, Gen., vi; viii.

Wadsworth, Gen. Peleg, vi; viii. Walker, Sir Hoveden, v. Walley, John, iv. Ward, Gen. Artemas, vi; viii. Warner, Col. Seth, vi. Warren, Gen. Jas., vi; papers, viii. Warren, Gen. Jos., vi; viii. Warren, Mercy, viii. Warren, Com. Peter, v. Washington, Geo., his opinion of Deighton Rock, i, 104; in the French War, v; in the Revolution, vi; later life, vii; papers, viii. Wayne, Gen. Ant., vi; vii; papers, viii. Webb, Col., v. Webster, Daniel, iii; vi; vii; viii Weiser, Conrad, i; v. Wentworth, Benning, v, viii. Wheelock, Rev. Eleazer, vi; viii. Wheelwright, John, iii. Whipple, Abraham, vi. White, John, of Va., iii. Wickes, Capt. Lambert, vi. Wigglesworth, Michael, iii, 319. Wilkinson, Gen. Jas., vi; vii; viii. Willet, Col. Marinus, vi. Williams, Col. Eph., v. Williams, Col. Israel, v. Williams, Gen. O. H., vi; viii. Williams, Roger, i; iii; iv. Williams, Col. Wm., v. Winslow, Edw., iii. Winslow, Gen. John, iii; v. Winthrop, Fitz John, iv; viii. Winthrop, Gov. John, iii; iv; viii. Winthrop, Gov. John, Jr., iii; viii. Winthrop, R. C., iii; vi; vii; viii. Wirt, Wm., vii. Wolcott, Oliver, vi; vi; viii. Wolfe, Gen. James, his career, v. Wool, Gen., vii. Woodford, Gen., vi. Woodhull, Gen., vi. Wooster, Gen., vi. Worth, Gen., vii. Wright, Sir James, vi.

York, Duke of, viii, 3.

STATES AND REGIONS:—

Alaska, i; ii; vii. Aleutian Islands, i; ii. *See* Alaska. Alabama, vii; Mobile, vii. Arizona, i; ii; vii; viii; Gadsden Purchase, vii. Arkansas, vii.

California, aboriginal, i; age of discovery, ii; iii; viii; later history, vii; viii; records, viii; Drake's new Albion, iii; San Francisco Bay, ii; iii: viii. *See* California. Colorado, i; ii; vii. Connecticut, settlement, iii; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Blue Laws, iii; Hartford, vi; New Haven, iii; Archives, viii. *See* Connecticut.

Delaware, settlement, iii; iv; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Archives, viii.

Florida, aboriginal, i; explorations and settlements, ii; iii; iv; v; under the treaty of 1763, vi; later history, vii; Pensacola, ii; v; vii; St. Augustine, ii; iii; v; vi; vii; viii. Franklin (abortive state), vii.

Georgia, aboriginal, i; early history, v; Urlsperger and the Salzburgers, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Savannah, v; St. Catharine's Island, v; St. Simon's Island, v; Archives, viii. Great American Desert, vii.

Illinois, aboriginal, i; early explorations and settlements, iv; v; during the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Chicago, iv; vii; Kaskasia, iv; sources, iv. Indiana, aboriginal, i; later periods, vii. Iowa, aboriginal, i; later periods, iv; vii.

Kentucky, aboriginal, i; early history, iv; v; vi; later history, vii; Transylvania, vi; sources, vii.

Louisiana, aboriginal, i; early history, iv; v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; New Orleans, v; vi; vii; sources, v; vii.

Maine, aboriginal, i; discovery and settlement, iii; French disputes, iv; in the French wars, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Agamenticus, iii; Monhegan, iii; Mount Desert, iii; iv; Norembega (?), ii, iii; v; Pemaquid, iii; iv; Pejebscot patent, iii; Plough patent, iii; Popham Colony, iii; Sagadahock, v; Waldo patent, iii; established by England as New Ireland, vi; vii; northeastern boundary controversy, vii; Archives, viii. Maryland, aboriginal, i; settlement, iii; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history,

of Bolivia, viii, 338; assassinated, viii, 340; Grand Marshal of Ayacucho, viii, 340.
Sue, Eugène, *La Marine Française*, 233, 356, 364.
Sugar islands, viii, 271, 307.
Sugar, manufactured in Brazil, viii, 353.
Sulcedo, José de, viii, 305.
Sullivan, Daniel, viii, 478.
Sullivan, Mrs. George, viii, 429.
Sullivan, James, vii; on Gordon's history, viii, 471.
Sullivan, Gen. John, vi; vii; Staten Island exped., viii, 438; papers, viii, 439; letters, viii, 442; and Clinton's secret service, viii, 463; life by Peabody, viii, 475; his character animadverted upon by Geo. Bancroft, viii, 478; life by Peabody, a defence, viii, 478; his papers then used, viii, 478; defended by T. C. Amory, viii, 478; borrows money of Luzerne, viii, 478; at Staten Island, viii, 478; at the Brandywine, viii, 478.
Sulte, Benj., *Canadiens*, viii, 172; *Chronique Trifluvienne*, viii, 183.
Sumner, Chas., vii; viii, 490.
Sumner, W. G., vii; on the monetary development of the U. S., viii, 482.
Superunda, Count of, viii, 311, 312, 342.
Surinam, accounts of, viii, 363; English plan, viii, 363; Jews in, viii. 366; Maroons in, viii, 279, 365; occupied by the French, viii, 363; by the English, viii, 363.
Sutcliff, Robert, *Travels*, viii, 492.
Sutcliffe, T., *Chile and Peru*, viii, 367.
Sutherland, Dr. P. C., *Voyage in Baffin's Bay*, viii, 121.
Sutter, in California, viii, 231; buys the Russian post, viii, 231.
Swain, D. L., v; on No. Carolina history, viii, 456.
Swaine, Capt. Chas., viii, 81.
Swann, Samuel, viii, 457.
Sweden. Colony in the Delaware, known as New Sweden, iii, iv; v; Campanius, iv; Gustavus Adolphus, iv; Oxenstjerna, iv; Usselinx, iv; relations with the United States, vii.
Swett, Col. Samuel, vi; *Defence of Pickering*, viii, 478.
Swiney, G. H., on Toussaint, viii, 286.
Switzerland. Emigration to the United States, iv; v; vii.
Sydenham, Lord (*see* Thomson, J. P.), portrait, viii, 164; in Canada, viii, 164, 172; life, viii, 185.
Sylvester family (Shelter Island), viii, 437.
Symons, John, viii, 462.

TABASCO, map, viii, 262.
Taboada y Lemos, F. G. de, viii, 319.
Tacna, viii, 324.
Tahiti, viii, 314; named Amat, viii, 314.
Talbot, E. A., *Canadas*, viii, 180.
Talbot, Col. Thomas, in Canada, viii, 142, 147.
Talbot Street, Canada, viii, 142.
Talca, viii, 331.
Talcahuano, viii, 326.
Talleyrand-Périgord, Marquis de, *États Unis*, viii, 506.
Tallmadge, Benj., vi; corresp. with Silas Deane, viii, 444.
Tanguay, Abbé, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, viii, 185.
Tannock, *England*, viii, 501.
Tapicura, battle, viii, 354.
Tarbox, I. N., vi; edits Robbins' *Diary*, viii, 489.
Tardieu, viii, 200.
Tarma, viii, 319.
Taruma, viii, 360.
Tassé, Jos., *Canadiens*, viii, 173.
Taylor, A. S., bibliog. of California, viii, 254; on California, viii, 260.
Taylor, C. B., *Cent. Hist. U. S.*, viii, 481, 482.
Taylor, C. C., *Toronto*, viii, 183.
Taylor, Fannings, *Brit. Canadians*, viii, 185; *Last Three Bishops*, viii, 186; *Portraits Brit. Americans*, viii, 174.
Taylor, Col. Wm., viii, 432.
Tea, a factor in the Amer. Rev., vi; use of, among the Indians, viii, 19.
Tecumseh, vii; papers on, viii, 459.
Tefft (of Savannah), papers, viii, 458.
Tehuacan, viii, 221.
Tehuantepec Isthmus, ii; viii, 262.
Tejada, Lerdo de, *Vera Cruz*, viii, 250; *Comercio de México*, viii, 250.
Teller, D. W., *Ridgefield*, viii, 444.
Temple, Edmund, *Peru*, viii, 344, 367.
Temple, Sir John, viii, 429.
Teran surrenders, viii, 223.
Ternaux-Compans, *Recueil*, i; ii; iv; viii, 246.
Ternaux, *Guayne*, viii, 363.
Terraube, Gallard de, *Cayenne*, viii, 366.
Terragas, viii, 348.
Tertre, J. B. du, *Saint Christophe*, etc., viii, 270; *Antilles*, viii, 250, 270.
Tètu, Henri, *Les Évêques de Québec*, viii, 185.
Texas, vii; crisis in, viii, 229; immigration from the U. S., viii, 229; Houston's career, viii, 229.
Thacher, B. B., *Mem. of Phillis Wheatley*, viii, 496.
Thatcher, Dr. James, *Amer. Med. Biog.*, viii, 488; *Mil. Journal*, viii, 488.
Thacher, J. B., viii, 426.
Thacher, Oxenbridge, papers, viii, 437.
Thames River (Canada), battle of the, vii; viii, 146.
Thatcher, Adm. H. K., viii, 433.
Thatcher, Miss, *Seashore and Prairie*, viii, 334.
Theller, E. A., *Canada*, viii, 182.
Thevet, André, i; ii; iii; iv; at Rio, viii, 391; acc. of, viii, 391; *Singularitez de la France antarctique*, viii, 391; his mendacity, viii, 392.
Thibault, C., *Tupper*, viii, 186.
Thomas, A. C., *Cent. of Universalism*, viii, 487.
Thomas, C., *Eastern Townships*, viii, 182; *Shefford*, viii, 182.
Thomas, David, *Travels*, viii, 493.
Thomas, Gen. John, vi; secures Hutchinson's papers, viii, 431; papers, viii, 435; *Life*, viii, 435.
Thomas, Mrs. Isabella G., viii, 444.
Thomas, Isaiah, i; iii; vi; viii, 497; *Hist. Printing*, viii, 497.
Thomas, Pascoe, *Journal*, viii, 25
Thomas, W. A., viii, 435.
Thomas, *Handbook of the Pub. Records*, viii, 459.
Thompson, Benj. (Rumford), vi; vii; life by J. Renwick, viii, 475.
Thompson, J. P., *Church and State*, viii, 486.
Thompson, M. B., *Ebenezer Thompson*, viii, 438.
Thompson, Dr. W., said to have written Stedman's *Amer. War*, viii, 501.
Thomson, Chas., vi; Sec. of the Continental Congress, viii, 415; notes on the Stamp Act Congress, viii, 415; letters from Franklin, viii, 423; papers, viii, 451; minutes of debates, viii, 451; letter books, viii, 451; urged to write a hist. of the Amer. Revolution, viii, 469; on Ramsay, viii, 472.
Thomson, John, viii, 452.
Thomson, J. L., *Wars of the U. S.*, viii, 481.
Thomson, John Poulett, viii, 163; becomes Lord Sydenham, viii, 163. *See* Sydenham.
Thongo, Lake of, viii, 112.
Thornbury, Walter, *Buccaneers*, viii, 251.
Thornton, J. Wingate, iii; vi; his MSS., viii, 430, 431; *Pulpit of the Rev.*, viii, 485.
Thornton, Matthew, no papers, viii, 440.
Thorpe, Judge (Canada), viii, 149.
Thwaites, R. G., viii, 459.
Tierra Firme, viii, 343.
Tierra del Fuego, ii; insular character discovered, viii, 384.
Tiffany, Osmond, viii, 454.
Tilghman, Oswald, viii, 453.
Tilghman, Col. Tench, papers, viii, 453.
Tillinghast, W. H., i; on the Nordenskiöld gores, viii, 380.
Timlow, H. R., *Southington*, viii, 444.
Tinta, viii, 316.
Tirion, Isaak, map of California, viii, 254; map of South America, viii, 342.
Tobago, bibliog., viii, 291.
Tocque, Philip, *Newfoundland*, viii, 177.
Tod, John, viii, 79.
Todd, C. B., vii; *Joel Barlow*, viii, 494; *Redding, Conn.*, viii, 444, 494.
Todd, Col. John, record book, viii, 459.
Toledo, Fadrique de, viii, 351.
Toledo, Francisco de, viii, 296.
Tolmie, W. F., viii, 79.
Tomes, Robt., *Battles of America*, viii, 481.
Tompkins, D. D., papers, viii, 448.
Toner, Dr. J. M., *Medical Men of the Rev.*, viii, 488.
Tonge, Cottnam, viii, 139.
Toribio, archbp. of Peru, lives, viii, 367; portrait, viii, 368; canonization, viii, 368.
Torijos, J. M. de, viii, 348.
Toronto, viii, 142, 174; works on, viii, 183; *Toronto Globe*, viii, 168.
Torquemada, i; ii; *Monarquia Ind.*, viii, 248.
Torrente, M., *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, viii, 366.
Torres, Diego de, *Relatione*, viii, 368.
Torrey *versus* Gardner, viii, 440.
Tortuga (Tortue), viii, 279, 307; buccaneers at, viii, 250.
Touron, *Hist. gen. de l'Amérique*, viii, 249.
Toussaint L'Overture, submits to the French, viii, 285, sent to France, viii, 285; dies, viii, 285; bibliog., viii, 286.
Townsend, Marquis, papers, viii, 461.
Townshend, C., *Mem. Ho. of Commons*, viii, 499.
Trade winds, viii, 197.
Transcendentalism in the U. S., viii, 487.
Transylvanus, Maximilianus, ii; viii, 412.
Treaties, Conventions, and Conferences, places, nations, tribes, etc: Collections of, ii, 178; iv, 129, 166; vii; viii, 208; history of those of the U. S., vii; Calvo's, viii.
  Aix la Chapelle, i, 306; v; vi; viii, 475. Albany, i, 304; v; vi. Algiers, vii. Amiens, vii; viii, 366. Anhalt-Zerbst, vii, 23, 84. Anspach-Bayreuth, vii, 84. Aranjuez, vii, 108, 120. Arrowsick island, v, 424. Assiento (Spain and England), viii, 208. Augusta, Ga., vii, 446.
  Basle, ii, 80. Bavaria, vii, 512. Breda, iii, 395, 415, 421; iv, 146, 408; v; viii, 363.
  Cahokia, vi. Cambrai, iv, 47. Carlisle, v, 245. Casco Bay, v, 432. Cherokees, v. Chippewas, vii, 450. Chili, vii, 504. China, vii, 525. Colombia, vii, 504. Col-

raine, vii, 447. Conestoga, v, 212.

Delawares, v, 596. Denmark, vii. Detroit, vii. Dewitt's Corner, vi. 679.

Easton (Pa.), v. England and the Caribs, viii, 290.

Falmouth, Me., v. Fort Harman, vii, 450. Fort Industry, vii. Fort Jackson, vii; Fort McIntosh, vii. Fort Schuyler, vii. Fort Stanwix, vi; vii. Fort Wayne, vii.

Galphinton, vii, 446. Ghent, vii; viii. Great Miami River, vii. Greece, vii. Greenville, vii, 453. Guadalupe Hidalgo, vii; viii.

Hesse, vii, 511. Hesse-Cassel, vii, 83. Hesse-Hanau, vii, 83. Holston, vii, 447. Hopewell, vii, 447.

Ildefonso, vii, 478.

Kloster-Zeven, vi, 322.

Lancaster, i, 305. Logstown, v. London, v.

Madrid (1670), viii, 275. Miami rapids, vii, 454. Montreal, v, 560. Morocco, vii. Muscat, vii, 508.

Nimégue, v, 476. Nootka Sound, vii, 555; viii.

Oneidas, vii, 447. Onondagas, vii, 447. Ottawas, vii, 450.

Paris, i, 312, 313; (1712), v, 476; (1763), v, vi, vii, viii; (1783), vi, vii, viii, 463, 466, 475; (1814), viii, 287. Passamaquoddy, v. Pejebscot, v. Pemaquid, v. Prussia, vii, 461, 504.

Russia, vii. Ryswick, iv, 149, 356; v; viii, 28, 240, 281, 307.

Sagadahock, v, 420. Saginaw, vii, 454. St. George's (Me.), v, 430. St. Germaine-en-Laye, v, 476; viii. St. Mary's, vii, 454. Saragossa, ii, 442. Saxony, vii, 512. Senecas, vii, 447. Seville, v; viii, 244. Shawnees, vii, 450. Shoulderbone, vii, 446. Siam, vii, 508. Spain, vii; viii. Suze, v. Sweden, vii.

Tioga Point, vii. Tordesillas, ii, 14, 45, 592. Tripoli, vii, 375. Tunis, vii. Turkey, vii. Two Sicilies, vii.

United States and England, convention (1818), vii, viii; with Canada, reciprocity treaty, viii, 167. Utrecht, iv, 135; v, 408; vii; viii, 206, 236, 307, 356.

Versailles, vii. Vincennes (Ind.), vii, 452.

Waldeck, vii, 84. Washington City, vii. Wells (Me.), v, 420. Westminster, iv, 145; v. Würtemberg, vii, 512. Wyandots, vii, 450.

Trescott, *Diplomacy*, viii, 458.

Trevelyan, Geo. O., *Fox*, viii, 503.

Trevet, John, viii, 485.

Trinidad, accs. of, viii, 291. *See* West Indies.

Tripoli. *See* Barbary Powers.

Tristao, M., *Indios do Brazil*, viii, 349.

Tross gores, viii, 382. *See* Maps.

Trowbridge papers, viii, 429.

Troyes, Chev. de, attacks posts on Hudson Bay, viii, 7, 13.

Trübner, *Bibl. Hispano-Americana*, viii, 342; *Bibl. Brazilica*, viii, 349.

Trujillo, Gen., viii, 217.

Truman, Edw., viii, 433.

Trumbull, Rev. Benj., MSS., viii, 444; *Hist. of Connecticut*, viii, 444; *Hist. United States*, viii, 474; sermon, viii, 485.

Trumbull, David, viii, 443.

Trumbull, James Hammond, iii; v; (with others), *Mem. Hist. Hartford, County*, viii, 444; on Geo. Greive, viii, 491; on the origin of *McFingal*, viii, 495

Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan, vi; papers, viii, 437, 443; letters, viii, 442; autog., viii, 443; selection of papers, printed by the Mass. Hist. Soc., viii, 443; some burned, viii, 443; portraits, viii, 443; corresp. with Silas Deane, viii, 444.

Trumbull, Col. John, vi; vii; drawings, viii, 444.

Trumbull, John (the poet), *McFingal*, viii, 494; origin of the poem, viii, 495; *Poet. Works*, viii, 495; memoir, viii, 495; portrait, viii, 495; bibliog., viii, 495.

Trumbull, Jos., viii, 444.

Truxillo, viii, 321.

Tryon, Gov., vi; carries off N. Y. records, viii, 445; corresp., viii, 446; governor of N. Carolina, viii, 457; letter book, viii, 457.

Tucker, Geo., *United States*, viii, 480; *Prog. of the U. S.*, viii, 494.

Tucker, Com. Samuel, vi; paper, viii, 435; *Life*, viii, 435.

Tuckerman, Bayard, *General Lafayette*, viii, 468.

Tuckerman, H. T., v; vi; vii; on Gouv. Morris, viii, 475; *America and her Commentator*, viii, 489.

Tudor, W., *Eastern States*, viii, 493.

Tudor MSS., viii, 433.

Tulford, Bishop, viii, 186.

Tunis. *See* Barbary Powers.

Tupac Amaru (inca), ii; viii, 315.

Tupac Amaru (the younger), his revolt, viii, 315; executed, viii, 317; sources, viii, 344.

Tupac Amaru, Diego, viii, 318; executed, viii, 318.

Tungasuca, viii, 315.

Tupper, Sir Chas., viii, 186.

Tupper, C. F., *Life of Brock*, viii, 179.

Turcotte, L. P., *Canada*, viii, 172; *Biographies*, viii, 172.

Turkey, relations with the United States, vii.

Turnbull, Gordon, *Revolt in Grenada*, viii, 291.

Tuthill, F., *California*, viii, 260.

Tuttle, C. R., *Our North Land*, viii, 79; *Manitoba*, viii, 184; *The Dominion*, viii, 186.

Tuttle, C. W., iii; *Capt. John Mason*, viii, 190.

Two Sicilies, relations with the United States, vii.

Tyler, M. C., iii; vi; *Amer. Literature*, viii, 494; *Patrick Henry*, viii, 455.

Tyson, E. E., viii, 129.

Tyson, Job R., viii, 450.

Tytler, P. F., *Progress of Discovery*, viii, 107.

Ulloa, J. J., and Ant., viii, 310; *Voyage*, viii, 311; their scientific exped., viii, 343; *Noticias Secretas*, viii, 343.

Umachiri, viii, 328.

Umfreville, Edw., *Present State of Hudson's Bay*, viii, 70.

Unanue, Hipolito, viii, 319, 324.

Unitarianism in the U. S., viii, 487.

United Empire loyalists, vii; viii, 149.

United States of America: Age of discovery, ii; iii; iv; v; vii; settlements, iii; iv; v; vii; Colonial period, iii; iv; v; general sources of their history, viii, App. i; Congress of 1754, vi; Mason and Dixon's line, iii, v; slavery introduced and its results, ii; iii; v; vi; vii; viii; Common Law, v; education, growth of, in Colonial times, iii; v; the flag, vi; viii; boundaries, vii; public lands, vii.

Details in Vol. VIII: Early interest in securing California, viii, 231; seeks to buy it, 232; MS. sources of their history, 413; federal archives, 413; destruction of, 413, 414; Department of State made the chief department of Archives, 413; prize cases, records of, 413; records of the postal department, 413; papers in the library of Congress, 413; in the Dept. of State, 414; in the Navy Department, 414; neglect of papers in times past, 414; in the War Department, vii; viii, 414; in the Pension Bureau, 414; in the Land Office, 414; in the office of Indian Affairs, 414; diplomatic correspondence, 414; appropriations to publish it, 414; papers of the Continental Congress, 415; its Records, 415; its Journals, MS. and printed, 415; members, 415; foreign archives elucidating its history, 459; no important Catholic history of, 481; military history, 481, 482; *First Century of the Republic*, 482; Pension Act (1775), 483; flag adopted, 483; seal, 484; its motto, "*E pluribus unum*," 484; seals of the Departments, 484; medals, 484; national songs, 484; orators of, 485; Catholic Church, 486; Presbyterian, 486; religion in, 486; Prot. Episc. Chh., 487; Ecclesiast. hist., 487; Methodists, 487; Baptists, 487; Presbyterians, 487; Congregationalists, 487; Unitarians, 487; Universalists, 487; Transcendentalists, 487; Free Will Baptists, 487; communities, 488; medicine in, 488; medals, 489; life and manners, 489; Colonial architecture, 489; travels in, 489; estimates of English travellers, 493; advance of trade, manufactures, etc., 494; ice trade, 494; censuses, 494; immigration, 494; literature, 494; local hist. lit., 494; poetry, 496; bibliog. of poetry, 496; newspapers, 497; in the West, 497; New England press, 497; earliest daily, 497; earliest penny daily, 497; journalists, 451; foreign blunders respecting, 498, 499; no good general English hist. of, 504; German histories, 507.

FINANCIAL PROGRESS: Coining, iii; v; vii; paper money, v; vi; vii; during the Revolution, vii; banks founded, v; land banks, v; bank of No. America, vii; bank of the U. S., vii; funding system, vii; Sub-Treasury system, vii.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION. *Preliminaries:* Causes, vi; writs of assistance, v; vi; Stamp Act, v; vi; viii, 438, 446; taxation resisted, vi; Sons of Liberty, vi; vii; Suffolk Resolves, vi; Mecklenburg Declaration, v; vi; tea destroyed, vi; non-importation agreements, vi; committees of correspondence, vi.

Political Aspects: Congress of 1774, vi; Congress of 1775, vi; Continental Congress, vi; vii; viii; debates, viii, 468; Confederation, vi; vii; committees of secret correspondence and foreign affairs, viii, 415; diplomacy, vii; viii; Declaration of Independence, vi.

Loyalists: References, vi; general account, vii; in Canada, viii, 136, 137, 141; reaction against them, viii, 143; papers concerning, viii, 464; as troops, viii, 465; satirized in McFingal, viii, 495; verses of, viii, 496; *Centennial souvenir*, viii, 175.

Military Aspects: Continental army, vi; vii; viii; its generals, viii, 416; its officers, viii, 482; its extent, viii, 482; negroes in, viii, 484; councils of war, viii, 417; martial law, viii, 484; military orders, viii, 417; militia, vi; French auxiliaries, vi; viii, 505; Germans in, vi; viii, 507; committee of Congress at the army, viii, 484; flags used, viii, 483; uniforms, viii, 483; commissary department, viii, 483; expenses, viii, 483; cannon used, viii, 483; prisoners and prison ships, vi; vii; barbarities, viii, 504; secret intelligence, viii, 484; surgeons, viii, 488: frontier life and warfare, vi; cowboys, vi; Conway cabal, vi; viii; pensioners, viii, 483; Cincinnati Society, vii.

English troops, vi; German auxiliaries, vi; vii; convention troops (Burgoyne's), vi.

Naval Aspects: Continental navy, vi; viii; whale boat warfare, vi; admiralty courts, vi; privateers, vi; vii; viii.

Moral and Literary Aspects: Clergy, viii, 485; Episcopal, viii, 485; Catholic, viii, 486; Presbyterian, viii, 486; Baptists, viii, 486; Methodists, viii, 486; Quakers, 486; Women, viii, 488; oratory, viii, 485; newspapers, vi; vii; viii; editors, viii, 497; caricatures, viii, 489; literature, viii, 494; poets, viii, 494, 495, 496; bibliography, viii, 494; songs and ballads, viii, 496; loyalist verse, viii, 496; colleges, viii, 496; club publications concerning, viii, 496.

Historical Sources: Manuscript and printed sources, viii, appendix; records of the Continental Congress, viii, 415; correspondence, viii, 420; intercepted letters, viii, 464; general references in the army, viii, 482; foreign documents, viii, 464; speeches in the English Parliament, viii, 499; English pamphlets, viii, 499; English Histories, viii, 500; *Detail and Conduct of the American War*, viii, 502; French printed works, viii, 505; German, viii, 507. ⁂ The indexes of Vols. VI and VII must be consulted for further items.

HISTORY SINCE 1783: In general, vii; Ordinances of 1784 and 1787, vii.

Constitutional Aspects: Federal Convention, vii; Constitution, vii.

Military and Naval Aspects: War Department, vii; viii; Army of the U. S., vii; West Point Academy, vii; Navy, vi; vii; French spoliations, vii; Civil War, viii.

War of 1812: Causes etc., vii; viii; Embargo Act, vii; impressment of seamen, vii; rights of neutrals, vii; non-intercourse act, vii; right of search, vii; Hartford convention, vii.

Political Aspects: Congress of the U. S., vii; viii; political parties, and their factions, in general, vii; abolitionists, vii; Albany Regency, vii; Anti-federals, vii; Anti-mason, vii; anti-rent, vii; Barnburners, vii; Bucktails, vii; Democrats, vii; Essex junto, vii; Federalists, vii; Free soil party, vii; Jacobins, vii; Liberty party, vii; Loco-foco party, vii; Republican party, vii; States Rights, vii; Whigs, vii.

Political issues: Alien and sedition laws, vii; fishery disputes, vi; vii; force bill; free trade, vii; internal improvements, vii; Monroe doctrine, vii; nullification, vii; Panama Congress, vii; slavery, vii; spoils system, vii; squatter-sovereignty, vii; tariff and protection, vi; vii; Wilmot proviso, vii; era of good feeling, vii; kitchin cabinet, vii; gerrymander, vii.

HISTORICAL CHARACTERS CONNECTED WITH THE COLONIAL AND FEDERAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES:—

Abercrombie, Gen., v. Acland, Maj., vi. Adams, John, his early career, v; in the Amer. Rev., vi; his later career, vii; his papers, viii. Adams, J. Q., iii; vii; papers, viii. Adams, Samuel, at college, v; in the Revolution, vi; his later career, vii; papers, viii. Alden, John, iii. Alexander, Sir Wm., iii. Allen, Ethan, vi; vii. Ames, Fisher, vii. Amherst, Gen. Jeffery, v; vi. André, Maj. John, vi. Andros, Sir Edmund, iii; iv; v. Arbuthnot, Admiral, vi. Argall, Samuel, iii; iv. Arnold, Gen. Benedict, vi; papers, viii. Armstrong, Gen., vi; vii. Asgill, Capt., case of, vi, 744. Astor, J. J., vii. Attucks, Crispus, vi, 85.

Bainbridge, Com. Wm., vii. Baltimore, Lord. *See* Calvert. Barlow, Joel, vii; papers, viii. Barney, Com. Joshua, vi; vii; viii. Barnwell, Col., v. Barron, Com. Jas., vii. Barry, Com. John, vi; vii. Bartlett, Josiah, vi; viii. Baum, Col., vi. Bedell, Col. Timothy, vi; papers, viii. Belcher, Gov., v. Bellomont, Earl of, iv; v; vi. Benton, Thomas H., vii. Berkeley, Bp., in Rhode Island, v; vi. Berkeley, John, iii. Berkeley, Sir Wm., iii. Bernard, Francis, v; vi; his papers, viii. Biddle, Com. Nic., vi. Blair, Jas., v. Bland, Col. Theodorick, vi; vii; papers, viii. Blennerhassett, Herman, vii. Bollan, Wm., v; vi. Boone, Daniel, vi; vii; papers, viii. Boscawen, Admiral, v. Bouquet, Col. Henry, v; vi; papers, viii. Bowdoin, James, vi; vii; papers, viii. Braddock, Gen., v. Bradford, Wm., printer, iii; v; viii. Bradstreet, Col. John, v; vi. Bradstreet, Simon, iii; iv; v. Brewster, Wm., Elder, iii. Brodhead, Col., vi. Brooks, Col. John, vi. Brown, Gen. Jacob, vii. Brown, Col. John, vi. Buchanan, Jas., vii. Burgoyne, Gen., vi; vii; viii. Burnet, Gov. Wm., v. Burr, Aaron, on the Canada exped., vi; political career, vii; papers, viii. Butler, James D., vi. Butler, Col. John, vi. Butler, Col. Richard, vi. Butler, Walter N., vi. Butler, Col. Wm., vi. Butler, Col. Zebulon, vi. Byles, Mather, v; vii. Byrd, Col. Wm., iii. Byron, Admiral, vi.

Cabot, Geo., vii; papers, viii. Cadwalader, Col. L., vi. Calhoun, J. C., vii; papers, viii. Calvert (Lord Baltimore), iii; v; vi; papers, viii. Carleton, Guy, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Carroll, Chas., vi; vii. Carteret, Sir Geo., iii. Carteret, Philip, iii. Cass, Lewis, vii; papers, viii. Castin, the Younger, v, 122. Chauncey, Chas., v; vi. Choate, Rufus, vii. Church, Col. Benj., iii; iv; v. Church, Dr. Benj., vi. Clark, Geo. Rogers, vi; vii; papers, viii. Clay, Henry, vii; papers, viii. Clayborne, Wm., iii. Clinton, De Witt, v; vi; vii. Clinton, Geo., vi; vii; papers, viii. Clinton, Adm. Geo., v. Clinton, Sir Henry, vi; vii; papers, viii. Clinton, Gen. James, vi. Cobb, David, vi; vii. Coddington, Wm., iii. Colden, Cadwallader, i; v; papers, viii. Collier, Sir Geo., vi. Colman, Benj., v. Conway, Gen. Thos., vi. Conyngham, Gustavus, vi. Cooke, Elisha, v. Cooper, Dr. Samuel, vi. Cornbury, Lord, v. Cornwallis, Lord, vi; vii; viii. Cotton, John, iii. Crawford, W. H., vii. Cresap, Capt. Michael, vi. Cresap, Col. Thos., v; vi. Croghan, Col. Geo., i; v; vi; vii. Crockett, David, vii. Culpepper, John, v. Culpepper, Lord Thos., v. Cushing, Caleb, vi; vii. Cushing, Thos., vi. Cushman, Robt., iii. Cutler, Manasseh, vi; vii.

Dale, Capt. Richard, vi; vii. Dale, Sir Thos., iii. Dane, Nathan, vii. Dana, Francis, vi; vii; papers, viii. Davenport, John, iii. Deane, Silas, vi; vii; papers, viii. Dearborn, Gen. Henry, vi; vii; papers, viii. De Brahm, J. G. W., v. Decatur, Stephen, vii. De Grasse, Comte, vii. De Kalb, vi; vii. De Lancey, Jas., v. Delaware, Lord, iii. Dermer, Capt., iv. De Vries, iv. Dexter, Samuel, vii. Dickinson, John, vi; papers, viii. Dieskau, Baron, v. Dinwiddie, Gov., v; papers, viii. Dix, Gen. John A., vii. Dongan, Gov., iii; iv; v. Donop, Count, vi. Duane, Jas., v. Duane, Wm., vi; vii; viii. Duché, Jacob, vi. Dudley, Jos., iii; v. Dulany, Daniel, vi. Dumas, C. W. F., v; vii; viii. Dummer, Jeremy, v. Dunmore, Lord, vi. Du Portail, vi; vii. Dustin, Hannah, v.

Eaton, Theophilus, iii. Eaton, Wm., vii. Edwards, Jona., v. Ellery, Wm., vi; papers, viii. Elliott, Com. Jesse, vii. Ellsworth, Oliver, vii; papers, viii. Endicott, John, iii. Estaing, Comte, d', vi.

Fairfax, Lord, v. Faneuil, P., v. Febiger, Col. C., vi. Fenwick, John, iii. Fergusson, Col. P., vi. Fitch, John, vii. Fletcher, Gov. B., v. Fleury, Maj. Louis, vi. Forbes, Gen. John, v. Franklin, Benj., i; iii; v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Frankland, Sir H., vi. Fraser, Gen., vi. Frémont, J. C., vi; vii; viii. Fulton, Robt., vii.

Gadsden, Christopher, vi. Gage, Gen. Thomas, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Gallatin, Albert, vi; vii; papers, viii. Galloway, Joseph, vi; vii. Gansevoort, Col., vi. Garrison, W. L., vii. Gates, Gen. Horatio, v; vi; papers, viii. Gates, Sir Thomas, iii. Gerry, Elbridge, vi; vii; papers, viii. Gist, Christopher, v; vi. Glover, Gen. John, vi; papers, viii. Goffe and Whalley, iii, 374, 375. Gore, Christopher, vii; papers, viii. Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, iii; iv. Gorton, Samuel, iii. Goswold, Capt. B., iii. Grasse, Comte de, vi. Graves, Admiral Samuel, vi. Greene, Gen. Nathanael, vi; papers, viii. Grey, Gen., vi. Gridley, Richard, v; vi. Gyles, Capt. John, v.

Haldimand, Gen., in the Amer. Rev., vi; papers, viii. Hamilton, Alex., iv; vi; vii; papers, viii. Hamilton, Gov., vi. Hancock, John, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Harper, R. G., vii. Harrison, W. H., vii. Harmar, Gen. Josiah, vii. Hawley, Jos., vi. Heath, Gen., vi; papers, viii. Henry, Patrick, vi; vii; papers, viii. Herkimer, Gen. Nic., vi. Hooker, Thomas, iii. Hopkins, Esek, vi; papers, viii. Hopkins, Stephen, v; vi; viii. Hopkinson, Francis, vi; vii; viii. Houston, Samuel, vii; viii. Howe, Lord, killed, v. Howe, Richard, Lord, vi; vii; viii. Howe, Gen. Robert, vi. Howe, Gen. Sir Wm., vi; vii; viii. Hull, Com. Isaac, vii. Hull, Gen. Wm., vii. Hunter, Robert,

v. Huntington, Jed., vi; viii. Hutchinson, Thomas, v; vi; papers, viii.

Jackson, Andrew, vii; papers, viii. Jasper, Sergt. Wm., vi. Jay, John, vi; vii; papers, viii. Jay, John (b. 1817), vii. Jefferson, Thomas, vi; vii; papers, viii. Johnson, Col. Guy, vi; vii. Johnson, Sir John, vi; vii. Johnson, Sir Wm., i; v; vi; papers, viii. Jones, John Paul, vi; vii; viii. Jones, Thomas, vii; viii. Jumel, Madam, vi, 284.

Keith, Sir Wm., v. Keppel, Admiral, v. King, Rufus, vii; papers, viii. Knowles, Commodore, v; viii. Knox, Gen. Henry, vi; vii; papers, viii. Knox, Wm., vi. Kosciusko, Gen., vi. Knyphausen, Gen., vi; vii.

Lafayette, Gen., vi; vii; papers, viii. Landais, Capt., vi. Lane, Ralph, iii. Larkin, T. O., vii; viii. Laurens, Henry, vii; papers, viii. Laurens, Lt. Col. John, vi; viii. Lawrence, Capt. James, vii. Learned, Gen., vi. Lee, Arthur, vi; vii; papers, viii. Lee, Gen. Chas., v; vi; papers, viii. Lee, Gen Henry, vi; vii. Lee, R. H., vi; vii; papers, viii. Lee, Wm., vii. Leisler, Jacob, iii; iv; v. Leonard, Daniel, vi; vii. Leslie, Gen., vi. Leverett, John, iv, 145. Lewis, Gen Andrew, vi. Lincoln, Gen. Benj., vi; vii; papers, viii. Livingston, Edward, v; vii; papers, viii Livingston, Philip, vi. Livingston, R. R., vi; vii. Livingston, Wm., v; vi; papers, viii. Logan, James, i; v. Loudon, Earl of, v. Lovell, James, vi. Lovell, Gen. Solomon, vi. Lovewell, Capt. John, v. Lyman, Gen. Phineas, v.

McCrea, Jane, vi, 627. Macdonough, Thomas, vii. Macomb, Gen. Alex., vii. McKean, Thomas, vi; vii. Mackemie, Francis, v. Madison, James, vi; vii; papers, viii. Manly, Capt. John, vi. Marion, Francis, vi. Marshall, John, Chief Justice, vii. Martin, Luther, vii. Mason, Geo., vi; vii; papers, viii. Mason, Jeremiah, vii. Mason, John (of N. H.), iii; viii. Mason, John (Pequot War), iii. Mauduit, Israel, vi. Maverick, Samuel, iii. Mayhew, Jonathan, vi; viii. Meigs, Return J., vi; vii. Mercer, Gen. Hugh, vi; vii. Mifflin, Gen. Thos., vi. Monroe, James, vi; vii; papers, viii. Montgomery, Rich., v; vi. Montgomery, Sir Robert, v. Montresor, James, v. Montresor, Col. John, v. Morgan, Gen. Daniel, v; vi; papers, viii. Morris, Gouverneur, vi; vii; papers, viii. Morris, Robert, vi; vii. Morris, Robert Hunter, v. Morris, Roger, v; vi. Moultrie, Gen. Wm., vi. Muhlenberg, Gen., vi. Murray, Gen. James, v; viii.

Nicholson, Gen. Francis, v. Nicholson, Capt. Jas., vi. Norton, John, iii.

Oglethorpe, Gen. James, v; vii. Oliver, Andrew, vi. Oliver, Peter, vi. Otis, H. G., vii. Otis, James, v; vi; vii; papers, viii.

Paine, Thomas, vi; vii. Parker, Sir Peter, vi. Parsons, Gen. S. H., vi; vii; viii. Parsons, Theophilus, vii. Penn, Wm., iii; v; papers, viii. Pepperell, Sir Wm., iii; v. Percy, Earl, vi. Perry, Com. M. C., vii. Perry, Com. O. H., vii. Peters, Richard, v; vi; vii. Phips, Spencer, v. Phips, Sir Wm., iv; v. Pickens, Gen. Andrew, vi. Pickering, Col. Timothy, vi; vii; papers, viii. Pigot, Gen., vi. Pike, Gen. Z. M., vii. Pinckney, C. C., vi; vii. Pinkney, Wm., vii. Pitcairn, Maj., vi. Pitcher, Moll, vi, 446. Plowden, Sir Edmund, iii; iv. Polk, J. K., vii. Pollock, Oliver, vi; vii; viii. Pomeroy, Seth, v; vi. Porter, Com. David, vii. Pownall, Thomas, i; v; vi. Preble, Com. Edw., vii; viii. Prescott, Gen. Richard, vi, 403. Prescott, Col. Wm., vi. Prevost, Gen. Augustine, vi. Pulaski, vi; vii. Putnam, Gen. Israel, v; vi; vii. Putnam, Rufus, v; vi; vii.

Quincy, Josiah (d. 1775), vi; papers, viii. Quincy, Josiah (d. 1864), v; vi; vii.

Rahl, Col., vi. Raleigh, Sir Walter, iii; v. Randolph, Edmund, vii. Randolph, John, of Roanoke, vii. Rawdon, Lord, vi. Reed, Joseph, vi; vii; viii. Revere, Paul, vi. Ribault, iii. Riedesel, Baron, vi; vii. Rochambeau, vi; papers, viii. Robinson, Beverly, vi. Robinson, John, of Leyden, iii. Rodgers, Com. John, vii. Rodney, Admiral, vi; vii. Rodney, Cæsar, vi; papers, viii. Rogers, Robert, v; vi; vii. Rolfe, John, iii. Ross, Gen., vii. Ruggles, Timothy, v; vi; vii. Rumford, Count, vi; vii. Rush, Benj., vi; papers, viii. Rush, Richard, vii. Rutledge, Edw., vi. Rutledge, John, vii.

St. Castin, Baron, v. St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. St. Leger, Col. Barry, vi. Saltonstall, Com. Dudley, vi. Saltonstall, Gurdon, v. Schuyler, Peter, v. Schuyler, Philip, v; vi; papers, viii. Scott, Gen. Winfield, vii. Sedgwick, Theo., vii. Sevier, Col. John, vi; vii; viii. Sewall, Jonathan, vi; viii. Shelby, Col. Isaac, vi; vii; viii. Shepard, Thomas, iii. Sherman, Roger, vi; vii; papers, viii. Shirley, Gov. Wm., v; vi. Shute, Col. Samuel, v. Simcoe, Col. J. G., vi; viii. Smith, Joshua Hett, vi. Spotswood, Alex., v; papers, viii. Standish, Miles, iii, iv. Stanwix, Gen., v. Stark, Gen. John, v; vi; papers, viii. Steuben, Baron, vi; vii; papers, viii. Stewart, Com. Chas., vii. Sterling, Gen. Lord, vi; papers, viii. Stockton, Com. R. F , vii. Story, Jos., vii. Stoughton, Wm., v. Strong, Caleb, vii; papers, viii. Stuyvesant, Peter, iii; iv. Sullivan, James, vi; vii; viii. Sullivan, Gen. John, vi; vii; viii. Sumpter, Gen., vi.

Talbot, Capt. Silas, vii. Tallmadge, B., vi. Tarleton, Col., vi. Taylor, Gen. Zachary, vii. Thomas, Gen. John, vi; papers, viii. Thomson, Charles, v; vi; vii; papers, viii. Townsend, Gen., v. Trott, Nicholas, v. Truxtun, Com. Thomas, vii. Tryon, Gov., vi; viii. Tucker, Com. Samuel, vi; vii; papers, viii. Tyler, John, vii; viii.

Van Buren, Martin, vii. Van der Donck, iv. Van Rensselaer family, v. Varick, Col. R., vi. Varnum, Gen., vi; viii.

Wadsworth, Gen. Peleg, vi; viii. Walker, Sir Hoveden, v. Walley, John, iv. Ward, Gen. Artemas, vi; viii. Warner, Col. Seth, vi. Warren, Gen. Jas., vi; papers, viii. Warren, Gen. Jos., vi; viii. Warren, Mercy, viii. Warren, Com. Peter, v. Washington, Geo., his opinion of Deighton Rock, i, 104; in the French War, v; in the Revolution, vi; later life, vii; papers, viii. Wayne, Gen. Ant., vi; vii; papers, viii. Webb, Col., v. Webster, Daniel, iii; vi; vii; viii Weiser, Conrad, i; v. Wentworth, Benning, v, viii. Wheelock, Rev. Eleazer, vi; viii. Wheelwright, John, iii. Whipple, Abraham, vi. White, John, of Va., iii. Wickes, Capt. Lambert, vi. Wigglesworth, Michael, iii, 319. Wilkinson, Gen. Jas., vi; vii; viii. Willet, Col. Marinus, vi. Williams, Col. Eph., v. Williams, Col. Israel, v. Williams, Gen. O. H., vi; viii. Williams, Roger, i; iii; iv. Williams, Col. Wm., v. Winslow, Edw., iii. Winslow, Gen. John, iii; v. Winthrop, Fitz John, iv; viii. Winthrop, Gov. John, iii; iv; viii. Winthrop, Gov. John, Jr., iii; viii. Winthrop, R. C., iii; vi; vii; viii. Wirt, Wm., vii. Wolcott, Oliver, vi; vi; viii. Wolfe, Gen. James, his career, v. Wool, Gen., vii. Woodford, Gen., vi. Woodhull, Gen., vi. Wooster, Gen., vi. Worth, Gen., vii. Wright, Sir James, vi.

York, Duke of, viii, 3.

STATES AND REGIONS: —

Alaska, i; ii; vii. Aleutian Islands, i; ii. *See* Alaska. Alabama, vii; Mobile, vii. Arizona, i; ii; vii; viii; Gadsden Purchase, vii. Arkansas, vii.

California, aboriginal, i; age of discovery, ii; iii; viii; later history, vii; viii; records, viii; Drake's new Albion, iii; San Francisco Bay, ii; iii: viii. *See* California. Colorado, i; ii; vii. Connecticut, settlement, iii; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Blue Laws, iii; Hartford, vi; New Haven, iii; Archives, viii. *See* Connecticut.

Delaware, settlement, iii; iv; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Archives, viii.

Florida, aboriginal, i; explorations and settlements, ii; iii; iv; v; under the treaty of 1763, vi; later history, vii; Pensacola, ii; v; vii; St. Augustine, ii; iii; v; vi; vii; viii. Franklin (abortive state), vii.

Georgia, aboriginal, i; early history, v; Urlsperger and the Salzburgers, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Savannah, v; St. Catharine's Island, v; St. Simon's Island, v; Archives, viii. Great American Desert, vii.

Illinois, aboriginal, i; early explorations and settlements, iv; v; during the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Chicago, iv; vii; Kaskasia, iv; sources, iv. Indiana, aboriginal, i; later periods, vii. Iowa, aboriginal, i; later periods, iv; vii.

Kentucky, aboriginal, i; early history, iv; v; vi; later history, vii; Transylvania, vi; sources, vii.

Louisiana, aboriginal, i; early history, iv; v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; New Orleans, v; vi; vii; sources, v; vii.

Maine, aboriginal, i; discovery and settlement, iii; French disputes, iv; in the French wars, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Agamenticus, iii; Monhegan, iii; Mount Desert, iii; iv; Norembega (?), ii, iii; v; Pemaquid, iii; iv; Pejebscot patent, iii; Plough patent, iii; Popham Colony, iii; Sagadahock, v; Waldo patent, iii; established by England as New Ireland, vi; vii; northeastern boundary controversy, vii; Archives, viii. Maryland, aboriginal, i; settlement, iii; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Baltimore, v; vii; Chesapeake Bay, iii; iv; vi; Kent Island, iii; Archives, viii. Massachusetts, aboriginal, i; early history, iii; in the French Wars, iv; v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Boston, iii; iv; v; vi; vii; Boston massacre, vi; Boston harbor, iii; vi; Shays' Rebellion, vii; Cambridge, vi; Cape Cod, iii; iv; Charlestown, vi; Nantucket, vii; Archives, viii. Michigan, aboriginal, i; early explorations, iv; later history, vii; Detroit, v; vi; vii; Mackinaw, iv; vii; sources, iv. Minnesota, aboriginal, i; early explorations, iv; later history, vii. Mississippi, aboriginal, i; territory and state, vii; Biloxi, v. Missouri, aboriginal, i; territory and state, vii. St. Louis, vii. Montana, vii.

Nevada, vii. New Albion, Plowden's Grant, iii. New England, aboriginal, i; early history, iii; relations with Canada, iv; Provincial period, v; in the Revolution, 6; later history, vii; its town system, iii; v; its commerce, iii. *See* Names of New England States. New Hampshire, aboriginal history, i; settlement, iii; colonial, 5; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; the Grants, v; vii (*see* Vermont); Laconia patent, iii, iv; Piscataqua, iii; Squamscott patent, iii; Archives, viii. New Jersey, aboriginal, i; settlement, iii; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; East and West Jersey, iii; Archives, viii. New Mexico, aboriginal, i; as a Spanish province, ii; viii; as a state, vii; Santa Fé, vii.

New York, aboriginal, i; under the Dutch, iv; under the English, iii; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Manors, vi; Duke's Laws, v; Phelps and Gorham purchase, vii; Massachusetts rights in, vii; anti-rent troubles, iv; Archives, viii, 444; Dutch period, viii, 444; Colonial period, viii, 445; Duke's Laws, viii, 445; Dongon's Laws, 445; Com. of Safety, viii, 445; Council of Appointment, viii, 445; Council of Revision, viii, 445; controversy over the New Hampshire grants, viii, 445 (*see* New Hampshire); *State Archives*, viii, 445; Provincial Congress, viii, 445; troops in the Rev., viii, 445; naval contingent, viii, 445; legislative journals, viii, 445; laws, viii, 445; provincial assembly, viii, 445, 446; records carried off by Tryon, viii, 445; papers from the London Archives, viii, 445; *Calendar of Hist. Docs.*, viii, 445; com. of correspondence, viii, 445; *Colonial Docs.*, viii, 446; copies from the French archives, viii, 446; Edmund Burke, agent, viii, 446; com. of safety, viii, 446; const. convention, viii, 446. Albany, v; vi. Buffalo, vi; vii. Cherry Valley, vi. Long Island, iii; iv: vii. Newburgh, vi. New York City, aboriginal history, i; Manhattan, iv; under the English, iii; under the Dutch, iv; Colonial history, v; negro plot, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii. Oswego, v; vi; vii. Schenectady, iii. Staten Island, vi. Ticonderoga, iv; v; vi. West Point, vi. Archives, viii.

North Carolina, aboriginal, i; early history, iii; iv; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Roanoke, iii; Archives, viii. North West territory, early history, iii; iv; v; under the treaty of 1763, vi; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; archives, viii.

Ohio, aboriginal, i; early history, iv; v; under the Quebec bill, vi; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Ohio Company, vi; vii; Cleveland, vii; Columbus, vii; Marietta, v; vii; Sandusky, vi; vii; Scioto Company, vii; Walpole grants, vi; Western Reserve, v; vii; Archives, viii. Oregon, aboriginal, i; explorations of coast, ii; viii; bounds, vii.

Pennsylvania, aboriginal, i; settled, iii; colonial, v; during the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; whiskey insurrection, vii; Archives, viii; Erie triangle, vii; Lancaster, v; Philadelphia, iii; v; vi; vii; Walking purchase, v. Plymouth Colony, early history, iii; iv; v.

Rhode Island, aboriginal, i; settlement, iii; colonial, v; in the Revolution vi; later history, vii. Block Island, iv; Narragansett Country, iii; v; Narragansett Bay, vi; Newport, v; vi; vii; archives, viii. Rocky Mountains, v; vii; viii, 35.

South Carolina, aboriginal, i; early history, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Charleston, v; vi; Archives, viii.

Tennessee, aboriginal, i; early history, vi; vii; sources, vii. Texas, discovery of coasts, ii; iv; v; later history, vii; viii.

Utah, vii.

Virginia, aboriginal, i; settlement, iii; iv; Virginia Company, iii; colonial, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Bacon's Rebellion, iii; v; Archives, viii. Vermont, settled, v; in the Revolution, vi; later history, vii; Archives, viii.

Washington City and District of Columbia, vii; archives in, viii. Wisconsin, aboriginal, i; settled, v; state, vii; sources, iv; viii. Wyoming Territory, vii.

Yellowstone National Park, vii.

Travellers: Adair, James, i. Atwater, Caleb, i. Bartram, John, i. Bartram, Wm., i. Beatty, Chas., i. Brissot de Warville, vii. Chastellux, vi. Coxe, Daniel, i. Danckers, Jasper, iv. Elliott, Andrew, iv, vi, vii. Henry, Alex., i. Josselyn, John, iv. Kalm, Peter, v. Lewis and Clark, i, vii. Marryatt, i. Robin, C. C., vi, vii. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, v, vi. Smyth, J. F. D., v; vi. Weld, Isaac, vii. Young, Arthur, vi. A general enumeration is in viii, app., 2.

Products and Industries: agriculture, iii; coal, v; copper, i; iii; iv; v; cotton, vii; gold, viii; manufactures, iii; v; vi; vii; silk, v; tin, iv; tobacco, iii; iv; v; vi; whale fishery, v.

Writers on the Colonial and Federal History of the United States: In general, viii; app. Acrelius, iv. Adams, Abigail, vi; viii. Adams, Brooks, vi; vii. Adams, C. F., vii; viii. Adams, Henry, iii; vii; viii. Adams, H. B., iii; vi; vii. Adolphus, E., vi; viii. Alexander, Sir Wm., iv; v. Alison, Sir Archibald, vii. Allen, Ethan, v. Allen, Paul, vi, 664; viii. Allen, English naval historian, vi, 589. Amory, T. C., vi; vii; viii. Andrews, Historian of the Amer. Rev., vii; viii. Archdale, John, v. Arnold, I. N., vi. Arnold, S. G., his studies in Rhode Island history, vi; viii.

Backus, Isaac, iii; v; viii. Baker, W. S. vi; vii. Balch, Thomas, vi; vii; viii. Baldwin, C. C., iv; v; vi; vii. Baldwin, J. D., vii. Barlow, Joel, vi; vii; viii. Barlow, S. L. M., iv; vi; vii; viii. Bancroft, Geo., i; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Bancroft, H. H., i; ii; v; vii; viii. Barry, J. S., iii; v. Bartlett, John R., iii; vi; viii. Beardsley, E. E., v; viii. Beatson, Robert, English naval historian, vi; viii. Belknap, Dr. Jeremy, ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Bell, C. H., iii; vi; viii. Beverley, Robt., iii, v. Bigelow, John, vii; viii. Bisset, English historian, vi, 223; viii. Bowen, Francis, vi; vii; viii. Brackenridge, H. H., vi; vii. Breckenridge, H. M., vi; vii. Bradford, Alden, iii; vi; vii; viii. Bradford, Wm., of Plymouth, Mass., iii; iv; viii. Brevoort, J. C., ii; iii; iv; v: vi; vii. Brinton, E P., naval historian, vii. Brock, R. A., v; vi; viii. Brodhead, J. R., iii; iv; v; viii. Browne, Wm., Hand, v; viii. Bugbee, J. M., vi. Bury, Viscount, vi; vii; viii. Butterfield, C. W., vi; vii; viii. Byrd, Wm., v; viii.

Carrington, H. B., vi; vii; viii. Chalmers, Geo., iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Chamberlain, Mellen, historical studies, v, vi; viii. Chandler, Peleg W., vi. Channing, Edw., vi; vii. Circourt, Comte d', French historian on the Amer. Rev., vii; viii. Clarke, Jas. Freeman, vii. Clark, Gen. J. S., iv; vi. Clark, Peter, naval historian, of the U. S., vi, 589. Clark, Thomas, naval historian of the U. S., vii. Conway, M. D., vii. Cooke, J. L., vi; vii. Cooley, T. M., vii. Cooper, Jas. F., vi; vii. Coxe, Daniel, v. Craig, N. B., v. Cullum, Geo. W., v; vi; vii. Curtis, Geo. T., vii. Curtis, Geo. Wm., vi; vii.

Dallas, A. J., vii. Dana, R. H., Jr., vi; vii. Davis, And. McF., v; vi. Davis, J. C. B., vii. Dawson, H. B., his writings, v; vi; vii; viii. Deane, Chas., ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. De Costa, B. F., i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi. De Lancey, E. F., vi; vii; viii. De Peyster, J. W., iv; v; vi; vii. Devens, Chas., vi. Dexter, F. B., iii; v. Dexter, Geo., iv; vi. Dexter, H. M., iii; v. Dobbs, Arthur, v; viii. Doddridge, Jos., i; vi. Douglass, Wm., iii; v. Doniol, H., vii; viii. Doyle, J. A., v. Drake, S. A., iv; v; vi. Drake, S. G., i; iii; v; vi. Drake, F. S., vi; vii; viii. Draper, L. C., v; vi; viii. Dwight, Theo. F., iv; v; vi; viii.

Eelking, Max von, vi; vii; viii. Eggleston, Edw., iv; v; vii; viii. Eliot tracts, iii; v. Ellet, Mrs. E. F., vi; viii. Ellis, Geo. E., i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Emmet, Dr. T. A., vi; viii. Emmons, G. A., naval historian of the U. S., vi, 589. Entick, John, v; viii. Everett, A. H., vi; vii; viii. Everett, Edw., iii; v; vi; vii; viii.

Felt, J. B., iii; v. Fernow, B., iv; v. Filson, John, vi. Fiske, John, v; vi; vii. Folsom, Geo., iii; iv. Force, M. F., iv; v. Force, Peter, ii; iii; vi; vii; viii. Ford, Paul L., v; vi; vii; viii. Ford, W. C., viii. Foster, W. E., v; vi; vii. French, B. F., v. Freneau, vii; viii. Frothingham, Richard, v; vi; viii.

Gay, S. H., ii; vi: vii. Gayarré, Chas, v; vii. Gilman, Arthur, vi. Gilman, D. C., v; vii. Gilmore, J. R., vi; vii. Gilpin, H. D., vi; vii. Gleig, G. R., vi; vii. Goldsborough, C. W., vi; vii. Goodell, A. C., Jr., v; vi; vii; viii. Gordon, Wm., vi; viii. Grahame, James, iii; v; viii. Gray, Horace, vi; vii. Green, Dr. S. A., iii; v; vi; vii. Greene, G. W., iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Greg, Percy, vi; vii; viii. Griffin, A. P. C., v; viii. Guild, R. A., vi.

Hale, E. E., ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Hale, Nathan, iv; vi. Hall, Hiland, vi. Hamor, R., i; iii. Hariot, Thos., i; iii. Hass, Wills de, vi. Haven, C. C., vi. Hawthorne, Nath., vi; vii. Hazard, Samuel, iii; iv; vi. Headley, Joel T., v; vi; vii; viii. Higginson, T. W., v; vi; vii; viii. Hildeburn, C. R., v; viii. Hildreth, R., iii; vii; viii. Hildreth, S. P., v; vi; vii. Hoadly, C. J., v; viii. Holmes, Abiel, v; viii. Holmes, O. W., v; vi. Holst, Hermann Von, vi; vii; viii. Horsmanden, Daniel, v. Hough, F. B., i; iv; vi; vii; viii. Howells, W. D , vi. Hoyt, A. H., v. Hubbard, J. N., vi. Hubbard, Wm., iii. Hudson, Chas., vi. Hunnewell, J. F., v; vi. Hutchinson, Thomas, iii; vi; vii; viii.

Imlay, Gilbert, vi. Irving, Washington, vii.

Jackson, Helen Hunt, vi. James, Wm., vii. Jay, John, vii. Jay, Wm., vii; viii. Jefferson, Thomas, v; his papers, viii. Johnson, Wm. Samuel, vi; his letters, viii. Johnston, Alex., vi; vii; viii. Johnston, H. P., vi; viii. Jones, C. C., v; vi; vii; viii. Josselyn, John, his writings, iii.

Kapp, F., iv; vi; vii; viii. Keen, G. B., iv. Kidder, Frederic, v; vi; viii.

Lamb, Martha J., v. Lechford, Thomas, iii. Lecky, English historian, vi; vii; viii. Lederer, John, v. Lenox, James, iv. Livermore, Geo., vi; viii. Lodge, H. C., iii; v; vii; viii. Longfellow, H. W., vi. Loring, Geo. B., vi; viii. Lossing, B. J., iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Lowell, E. J., vi; vii; viii. Lowell, Jas. Russell, vi; vii. Lowell, John, vii.

MacMaster, J. B., v; vii; viii. Mahon, Lord (Earl Stanhope), vi; viii. Markham, C. R., ii; iii; viii. Marshall, O. H., iii; iv; v; vi; viii. Marshall, John, v; vi; vii. Martin, F. X., v. Mason, E. G., v; vi. Massey, English historian, vi; vii; viii. Mather, Cotton, i; iii; iv; v; viii. Mather, Increase, i; iii; v. Mather, Samuel, i. Mayer, Brantz, vi; vii. Minot, Geo. R., vi; vii. Moore, Geo. H., iii; v; vi; vii; viii. Morse, J. T., vii; viii. Morton, Nath , iii. Morton, Thos., ii; iii; iv. Munsell, Joel, iii; v; viii. Murphy, H. C., i; iii; iv; viii; Murray, James, vi; viii.

Nason, Elias, v. Neal, Daniel, iii; v. Neill, E. D., iii; iv; v; viii. Norton, C. F., v.

O'Callaghan, E. B., iii; v; vi; viii.

Palfrey, J. G., iii; iv; v; vi; viii. Parker, Theo., vii. Parton, James, vi; vii; viii. Penhallow, Samuel, v. Perkins, Jas. H., iv; vi; vii. Perry, W. S., v; vi; viii. Peyster, J. W. de, v; vi. Phillips, Henry, Jr., v; vii. Pitkin, Timothy, vii; viii. Poole, Wm. F., iii; vi; vii. Porter, E. G., vi. Pouchot, v; vi Preble, Adm. G. H., v; vi; vii; viii. Prince, Thomas, his labors, i; ii; iii; v; viii.

Ramsay, David, v; vi; vii; viii. Raynal, G. T., his history, v; vii; viii. Reed, W. B., vi; viii. Rider, S. S., v; vi; vii; viii. Rivers, W. J., v. Robertson, Wm., iii; viii; Robinson, Conway, iii. Robbins, Chandler, v. Roosevelt, Theo., vii; viii. Russell, Wm., v.

Sabine, Lorenzo, v; vi; vii. Sargent, L. M., vi; vii. Sargent, Winthrop, v; vi; vii; viii. Savage, James, iii; v. Scharf, J. T., v. Schouler, James, vii; viii. Scott, E. G., v; vi; viii. Scudder, H. E., v; vi; vii; viii. Scull, G. D., v; vi. Sewall, Samuel, v; viii. Shaler, N. S., i; iv; v; vii. Shea, J. G., ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Shurtleff, N. B., iii. Sibley, J. L., v. Simms, J. R., v; vi. Simms, W. G., v; vi; viii. Slafter, E. F., ii; iv. Slaughter, Philip, v. Smith, Buckingham, ii; iii. Smith, C. C., iii; v; vi; vii; viii Smith, Col. James, v; vi. Smith, Capt. John, iii. Smith, Philip H., v. Smith, Wm., v; vi. Smith, W. H., vi; viii. Soley, James Russell, vii. Soulés, vi; viii. Sparks, Jared, i; ii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Spencer, J. A., vi; viii. Sprague, W. B., v; vi; viii. Stevens, B. F., vi; vii; viii. Stevens, Henry, i; viii. Stevens, J. A., v; vi; vii. Stillé, C. J., v; vii; viii. Stone, E. M., vi; viii. Stone, F. D., iii; vi. Stone, W. L. (elder), i; iii; iv; v; vi; vii. Stone, W. L. (younger), vi; vii. Strachey, Wm., iii. Streeter, Sebastian F., iii. Stryker, W. S., vi; vii; viii. Sumner, Chas., vii.

Thacher, Dr., iii; viii. Thomas, Gabriel, iii. Thomas, Isaiah, iii, vi. Thomassy, v. Thornton, J. W., iii; iv; vi; viii. Tocqueville, Alexis de, vii; viii. Trumbull, Benj., v; vii; viii. Trumbull, Henry, vi; vii. Trumbull, J. H., iii; v; vi; vii; viii. Trumbull, Jonathan, iii; v; vi; vii; viii. Trumbull, Col. John, vi; vii; viii. Tuckerman, H. T., vi; vii; viii. Tudor, Wm., vi. Tuttle, C. R., iv. Tuttle, C. W., iii; v. Tuttle, J. F., vi; vii. Tyler, M. C., v; vi; viii.

Upham, W. P., vi; viii.

Von Holst, Hermann, vi; vii; viii.

Walsh, Robert, v; viii. Ward, Nathaniel, iii, 350. Warren, Mercy, vi; vii; viii. Watson, John F., v; viii. Webster, Noah, vii; viii. Webster, Pelatiah, vii. Weems, M. L., vi; vii. Welling, J. C., vi. Weise, A. J., v. Welde, Thomas, iii. Wharton, Francis, vii; viii. Wheaton, Henry, vii. Wheildon, W. W., v; vi. Whitehead, W. A., iii; v. Whitmore, Wm. H., iii; v. Whittier, J. G., v; vi. Wilson, Gen. J. G., v. Winsor, Justin, i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; viii. Winter, William, vii. Winthrop, Gov. John, iii; viii. Winthrop, R. C., iii: vii; viii. Wood, Leonard, iii. Wynne, T. H., v. Young, Alex., iii. Yonge, C. D., vi; vii; viii.

United States of Colombia, viii, 339.

Universalists in the U. S., viii, 487.

Universities. *See* Colleges.

Updike, Wm., *Bar of R. I.*, viii, 442.

Upernavik, viii, 125.

Upham, Chas. W., vi; vii; *Life of Pickering*, viii, 434; memoir of, viii, 434; life of H. Vane, viii, 475.

Upham, W. P., vi; viii, 427; *Life of Glover*, viii, 431.

Upper Canada, organized, viii, 141; Simcoe first Gov., viii, 141; first parliament, viii, 141; Gov. Gore, viii, 143; reaction against loyalist rule, viii, 143; military settlers, viii, 143. *See* Canada.

Upper Canada Guardian, viii, 143.

Upper Peru becomes Bolivia, viii, 338. *See* Peru, Bolivia.

Urcullu, M. M., *Rev. del Alto Perú*, viii, 344.

Urdaneta, *Journal*, viii, 384.

Uring, N., *Voyages*, viii, 265.

Ursua reduces the Cimarrones, viii, 232.

Urubamba, viii, 314.

Uruguay, Banda Oriental del, independent, viii, 341; revolution, viii, 302.

Usher, Lt. Gov. John (N. H.), v; letters, viii, 439.

Utrecht, viii, 28, 36. *See* Treaties.

VALDIVIA, viii, 325; captured, viii, 334.

Valdez, Gen., viii, 336, 337.

Valdez, Ramon Sotomayor, *Bolivia*, viii, 348.

Valente, Ambrosio, viii, 272.

Valladolid, Morelos at, viii, 222.

Valle, General del, viii, 316.

Vallejo, Gen , his papers, viii, 260.

Valley Forge, vi; state of the army at, viii, 502.

Valparaiso, view (1766), viii, 312; hist. of, viii, 312; fort at, viii, 340.

Valverde, A. S., *Isla Española*, viii, 281.

Van Buren, Martin, vii; papers, viii, 448; life, viii, 448.

Van Campen, Richard, *Dutch in the Arctic Seas*, viii, 105.

Vancouver, Capt., ii; on the Pacific coast, viii, 214; *Voyage*, viii, 259.

Vancouver's Island, ii; vii; occupied by the Hudson Bay Co., viii, 52; opposition to it, 74; official record, viii, 80.

Van den Broeck, M., *Journael*, viii, 354.

Van der Goes, Mathias, Augsburg printer, viii, 381.

Van der Keere, viii, 410.

Van Gasbeck, viii, 446.

Van Horn and the pirates, viii, 203.

Van Loon, *Zee-Atlas*, viii, 276. *See* Maps.

Van Rensselaer, Gen. Stephen, vii; viii, 144.

Van Schaack, H. C., *Life of P. Van Schaack*, viii, 448.

Van Schaack, Peter, vii; loyalist papers, viii, 448; life, viii, 448.

Van Weert, Sebald, *Verhael*, viii, 407; in Magellan's Straits, viii, 407.

Vane, H., iii; life by C. W. Upham, viii, 475.

Varenius, B., *Geographia*, viii, 376.

Vargas, Diego de, reconquers New Mexico, viii, 253.

Varick, Richard, his work on Washington's papers, viii, 417.

Varnhagen, F. A. de, ii; on the Brazilian Indians, viii, 349; *Hist. do Brazil*, viii, 350; controversy with D'Avezac, 350. *Lutas com os hollandezes*, viii, 356; controversy with Netscher, viii, 356; on the line of demarcation, viii, 371; *Schöner e Apiano*, viii, 378; edits Sousa's *Diario*, viii, 391.

Varnum, Jas. M., letters, viii, 435; papers not known, viii, 442; memoir, viii, 442.

Varnum, John M., viii, 442.

Varnum, Jos. B., papers, viii, 442; autobiog., viii, 442.

Vasconcellos, S. de, *Crónica*, viii, 356, 391; *Brasil*, viii, 356; *J. de Anchieta*, viii, 356.

Vastey, Baron de, killed, viii, 289; *Haiti*, viii, 289.

Vattemare, Alex., viii, 444.

Vaudreuil, iv; carries off (1760) documents from Canada, viii, 465.

Vaughan, Benj., edits Franklin's writ-

ings, viii, 421; has copy of Franklin's autobiog., viii, 422.
Vaughan, Sir Wm., *Golden Fleece*, viii, 188; *Newlander's Cure*, viii, 188.
Vaugondy, map of California, viii, 254. *See* Maps.
Veer, Gerrit de, *Vraye description de trois Voyages*, viii, 112.
Vega, F. Lasso de la, in Chile, viii, 301.
Vega, Juan de, viii, 302.
Veillard, M. Le, viii, 422.
Velasco, Luis de, viii, 193.
Velasco's Lake, viii, 110, 111.
Velasquez, Joaquin, viii, 200.
Venables, Gen., viii, 273.
Venegas, Miguel, ii; map of California, viii, 256; *California*, viii, 257; his MSS., viii, 257.
Venezuela, ii; Capt. General at, viii, 295; the South American revolution begins in, viii, 324; fails, viii, 325; Bolivar in, viii, 334; *Official docs.*, viii, 367; revolution in, viii, 367; publications, viii, 366.
Venice, archives, ii; viii, 459.
Vera Cruz, ii; plans, viii, 203–5; revolt under Santa Anna, viii, 226.
Vera Paz, viii, 261; map, viii, 262.
Vérenderye, iv; v; viii, 27, 78; builds Fort Rouge, viii, 46.
Vergara y Vergara, J. M., *Lis. en N. Granada*, viii, 366.
Vergennes, vii; viii, 466; correspondence with the French ministers in Holland, Russia, etc., viii, 466.
Vermont, as New Hampshire Grants, v; vi; vii; attempts of the British to win over, viii, 438, 440, 461, 463, 465; archives, 440; controversy over the N. H. Grants, viii, 438, 440, 445; *Records*, viii, 440; *State papers*, viii, 440; papers collected by H. Stevens, sen., 445. *See* United States.
Vernon, Adm. Edward, attacks San Lorenzo, viii, 237; attacks Porto Bello, viii, 238, 244; authorities on this attack, 244; campaign in the West Indies, viii, 292; captures Porto Bello, viii, 292; repulsed at Cartagena, viii, 292; portrait, viii, 292; controversial pamphlets on, viii, 292.
Vernon, Thos., papers, viii, 442.
Verplanck mansion, viii, 489.
Verreau, Abbé, iv; viii, 170; on the French archives, viii, 465.
Vertiz, J. J. de, viii, 315.
Vespucius, ii; on the South American coast, viii, 369, 372, 374, 381; his connection with the *Copia* tract, viii, 380, 381.
Vessels of the xviith cent., viii, 206. *See* ships.
Victoria, Guadalupe, holds out, viii, 224.
Victoria Land, viii, 109, 119.
Vidal in Brazil, viii, 354.
Vidaurre, Père, *Compend. della Storia del Chile*, viii, 347.
Vieyra, Ant., viii, 351.
Vieira, J. F., his revolt in Brazil, viii, 354.
Viger, Jacques, viii, 170.
Villagarcia, Marquis of, viii, 310; dies, viii, 311.
Villagrá, Gaspar, *Nueva México*, viii, 253.
Villaret, Admiral, viii, 285.
Villa Señor, J. A., *Theatro Amer.*, viii, 258; *Statistical acc. of Mexico*, viii, 258.
Villegagnon in Brazil, viii, 350, 391; returned to France, viii, 394; *Reponse aux libelles*, viii, 394; references, viii, 394.
Ville Royal (Martinique), viii, 290.
Vinton, J. A., viii, 488.
Virginia, Archæology, i; Colonial history, iii; v; Revolutionary history, vi; later history, vii; her troops in the Cartagena expedition, viii, 292; movements in (1776), viii, 420; Archives, viii, 454; papers of the Virginia Company, viii, 454; conventions (1776, etc.), viii, 454; delegates, viii, 454; Senate, viii, 454; *Acts*, viii, 454; *Report of Revisers*, viii, 454; *Public Acts*, viii, 454; *Code*, viii, 454; *Statutes at Large*, viii, 454; *Virginia State Papers*, viii, 454; loss of papers, viii, 454; Com. of Safety, viii, 454; Council, viii, 454; Com. of Va. navy, viii, 454; Com. of Correspondence, viii, 454; Executive journal, viii, 454; corresp. of the Rev., viii, 454; House of Burgesses, viii, 454; papers in Council Chamber, viii, 454; corresp. of the Royal governors, viii, 454; papers from the Board of Trade, viii, 454; docs. collected by Alex. Brown, viii, 454; sources of her history, viii, 455; parish registers, viii, 455; Bacon's Rebellion, viii, 460; Ninth Reg. of the Continental line, viii, 482; Baptists in, viii, 487; life in, viii, 492. *See* United States.
Viscaino in the Pacific, ii; viii, 198.
Vista Florida, Conde de, viii, 324.
Vitet, *Dieppe*, viii, 374.
Volney, C. F., v; *Tableau*, viii, 492.
Von Holst, H., *Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten*, vii; viii, 507.
Voyages to America, collections of, i.
Voyageurs, iv; viii, 32, 37.
Vroom, G. D. W., papers, viii, 450.

WADSWORTH, GEN. JAMES, viii, 443; corresp. with Silas Deane, viii, 444.
Wadsworth, Jeremiah, viii, 444.
Wadsworth, Gen. Peleg, vi; papers not known, viii, 435.
Wafer, Lionel, *Isthmus of America*, viii, 241, 252; map of the Isthmus of Panama, viii, 241.
Wager Strait, viii, 81.
Wager Bay, viii, 27.
Waggoner maps, viii, 251.
Wait, *Letters*, viii, 182.
Waldo, Samuel, iii; v; papers, viii, 435.
Waldron, Richard, letters, viii, 439.
Waldron, Sec. of N. H., viii, 439.
Waldseemüller, globe, ii; viii, 378.
Walker, Alex., *Colombia*, viii, 367.
Walker, F. A., on the growth of the population of the U. S., viii, 482.
Wallace, Dr., on Darien, viii, 266.
Wallace, J. W., *Col. Wm. Bradford*, viii, 485, 497.
Wallcut papers, viii, 437.
Walloz, M., *Précis historique*, viii, 288.
Walpole, Horace, vi; vii; *George III*, viii, 503; *Last Journals*, viii, 503; *Letters*, viii, 503.
Walrond, Theo., *Lord Elgin*, viii, 185.
Walsh, Robt., *Appeal*, etc., viii, 493.
Walter, Richard, viii, 252.
Walton, Wm., Jr., *Spanish Colonies*, viii, 224, 288, 366.
Wansey, H., *Journal*, vii; viii, 491.
War of 1812, vii; viii, 143; literature of, viii, 179; uniforms, viii, 483. *See* United States.
Wars. *See* Military Events.
Warburton, Eliot, iv; *Darien*, viii, 266.
Ward, Gen. Artemas, vi; letters, viii, 435; papers, viii, 437, 460.
Ward, H. G., *Mexico*, viii, 200, 270.
Ward, John, viii, 441.
Ward, Samuel, Gov. of R. I., papers, viii, 440, 441; life by Gammell, viii, 475.
Warden, D. B., i; *United States*, viii, 493, 494.
Ware, Wm., *Nath. Bacon*, viii, 475.
Warfield, E. D., viii, 459.
Warner and Hayes, *Los Angeles*, viii, 261.
Warren, Geo., *Surinam*, viii, 363.
Warren, James, vi; viii, 274; papers viii, 434, 435; portrait, viii, 436.
Warren, Joseph, vi; viii, 460; letter scarce, viii, 435; papers burnt, viii 436; life by A. H. Everett, viii, 475 as orator, viii, 485.
Warren, Mercy, corresp. with Joh Adams, viii, 428, 474; papers, viii 435; MS. of her *History*, viii, 436 *Amer. Revolution*, viii, 474; poems viii, 496.
Warren, Thomas, receives St. Kitts viii, 233.
Warren, Winslow, viii, 435, 473.
Washburn, C. A., *Paraguay*, viii 359, 384.
Washburne, E. B., on the Eng. settlement in Illinois, viii, 493.
Washington, Bushrod, viii, 417.
Washington, Geo., in the French war v; in the Revolution, vi; vii; late history, vii; purpose to supersede him (1776), by Marshal Broglie, viii 414; MSS. of, viii, 416; used by Marshall, viii, 416; ed. by Sparks viii, 416–419; spurious *Letters* (1777), viii, 416; *Official Letters* viii, 416; *Epistles*, viii, 416; disowned and forged letters, viii, 416 papers bought by Congress, viii 416; early accounts of, viii, 417; hi care of his papers, viii, 417, 470 his orderly book of Braddock's campaign, viii, 417; his corresp. with his wife destroyed, viii, 417; correspondence with Jos. Reed, viii, 418 letters not used by Sparks, viii, 419 corresp. with Bouquet, viii, 419; rewrote his letters, viii, 419; W. C Ford's ed. of his *Writings*, viii 419; letters to, during the Amer Rev., viii, 420; extent of his papers viii, 420; letters written from Moun Vernon, viii, 420; corresp. with Gen Heath, viii, 420, 431; with Langdon viii, 420; with R. H. Lee, viii, 420 with Crawford, viii, 420; with Chastellux, viii, 420; diary, 420 496; his opinions of his fellow officers of the Rev., viii, 420 draft of his expenses during the war viii, 420; *Monuments of Washington's Patriotism*, viii, 420; annotations on Monroe's *View of the Conduct*, etc., viii, 420; letters to Mad son, viii, 421; letters to Knox, viii 433; to James Warren, viii, 435; t John Langdon, viii, 439; to Weare viii, 439; to the Gov. of R. I., vii 442; to Jona. Trumbull, viii, 443 to John Lamb, viii, 447; to Irvine viii, 451; to McHenry, viii, 453; t the gov. of Va., viii, 454; to Patric Henry, 455; to Haldimand, vii 461; correspondence with Rocham beau, viii, 467; with Lafayette, vii 468; his papers examined by Go don, viii, 470; other letters, vii 466, 491; life at his headquarte during the Rev., viii, 482; his boo plate and arms, viii, 483; domest life, viii, 489; receives Jona. Bo cher's dedication, viii, 501.
Washington, H. A., *Va. Conventio* viii, 454.
Washington Land, viii, 109, 125.
Washington, Martha, life, viii, 48 letters, viii, 436.
Washington, Mary, viii, 489.
Washington, N. H., viii, 438.
Washington Land (Arctic regions), vi 100.
Waterhouse, Dr., *Junius*, viii, 471
Watkins, E. W., *Canada and* *States*, viii, 183.
Watson, Elkanah, portrait, viii, 48 *Memoirs*, viii, 485.
Watson, J. F., *Amer. Hist. and L* *Curiosities*, viii, 489.
Watson, H. C., *Campfires*, vi 481.
Watson, R. G., *Span. and Port. S America*, viii, 350, 359.

Watson, W. C., *Elkanah Watson*, viii, 485.
Watts, John, correspondence, viii, 462.
Wayland, Dr. Francis, viii, 487.
Wayne, Gen. Ant., vi; viii, 479; papers, viii, 452, 477; life, viii, 452; letters, viii, 458; life by J. Armstrong, viii, 475.
Wayne, Col. Isaac, viii, 452.
Weare, Meschech, vi; papers, viii, 439.
Webb, B. J., *Catholics in Kentucky*, viii, 486.
Webster, Daniel, vii; papers, viii, 437.
Webster, Noah, political editor, vii; viii, 497; life of, viii, 497.
Weemys, Maj., papers, viii, 448, 502.
Weerdenburg, Gen., viii, 352.
Welby, A., *Visit*, viii, 494.
Weld, Isaac, *Travels*, viii, 174, 491.
Welland Canal, viii, 186.
Weller, on the *Copia* tract, viii, 380.
Wells, D. A., progress in manufacture (U. S.), viii, 482.
Wells, S. A., viii, 428.
Wells, W. V., vi; *Sam. Adams*, viii, 428.
Welsers of Augsburg, viii, 381.
Welsh. *See* Discoverers.
Wemyss, Maj. *See* Weemys.
Wentworth, Sir John, v; vi; in Nova Scotia, viii, 139; gov. of N. Hampshire, viii, 438; corresp. with Gov. Shirley, viii, 439; papers, 439.
Wentworth, Gen., at Cartagena, viii, 292.
Wesson, Col., viii, 427.
West, John, *Journal, Red River County*, viii, 79.
West Indies. *In general:* ii; viii; early cartography of, ii; later, viii; West India Company, iii; iv; viii, 280, 353; France, Spain, and England in the, viii, 206; galleon trade, viii, 209; Moll's map shows the galleon routes, viii, 209; the smaller islands later occupied, viii, 306; map showing tracks of galleons, viii, 308; bibliog., viii, 270; histories, viii, 270; French ones, viii, 271; maps, viii, 276; by Linschoten (Wolfe), viii, 404 (*see* Maps); missions, viii, 363; MS. sources, viii, 459.
Separate Islands: Antigua, viii. Bahamas, ii; iv. Barbadoes, v; viii. Cuba, ii; iv; viii; Havana, ii; viii. Dominica (Dominique), viii. Grenada, viii. Guadaloupe, viii. Hayti. *See* St. Domingo. Hispaniola. *See* St. Domingo. Jamaica, ii; iii; viii. Martinico (Martinique), viii. Porto Rico, viii. St. Domingo, ii; viii. St. Kitts (St. Christophers), viii. St. Lucia, v; viii. St. Vincent, viii. Sugar Islands, vi; viii. Tobago, viii. Tortuga, viii. Trinidad, ii; iii; viii.
West Indische Spieghel, viii, 258.
Westmoreland papers, viii, 461.
West Point, vi; orderly book at (1778–82), viii, 427.
West Sea, viii, 116 (*see* Mer de la Ouest).
Westall, Jeremiah, viii, 112.
Western papers, viii, 461.
Wetzels, viii, 459.
Wharton, Francis, on the U. S. Diplom. Corresp., viii, 415; uses the Franklin papers, viii, 424; *Digest Intern. Law*, viii, 424.
Wheatley, Phillis, vi; portrait, viii; 495; *Poems*, viii, 496; memoir, viii, 496; bibliog., viii, 496.
Wheaton, Henry, assists Sparks, viii, 468; life of W. Pinkney, viii, 475.
Wheelock, Eleazar, v; letters, viii, 439.
Whipple, E. P., on a century of Amer. lit., viii, 482, 494.
Whipple, Wm., vi; papers, viii, 439.
Whitbourne, Capt. Richard, *Newfoundland*, viii, 188; *Westward hoe for Avalon*, viii, 188.
White, G., *Halifax*, viii, 183.
White, I. B., viii, 472.
White, W. J., *Canadiana*, viii, 173.
Whitehead, W. A., iii; on Lord Stirling, viii, 448; MSS., viii, 449.
Whitelocke, Gen., trial, viii, 361.
Whiting, H., *Life of Pike*, viii, 475.
White Plains, battle, vi; viii, 437.
Whitman, G. M., *American Orators*, viii, 485.
Whitney, G. R., viii, 362.
Whitney, Josiah D., i; on California, viii, 260.
Whittlesey, C., i; viii; *Life of Fitch*, viii, 475.
Whyte, Maj Gen., in Guiana, viii, 366.
Wickes, Lambert, vi; naval exploits, viii, 462.
Wieser, Dr. F., ii; *Magalhâesstrasse*, viii, 375.
Wilberforce, Samuel (Bp. of Oxford), iii; *Protest. Episc. Chh. in Amer.*, viii, 487.
Wilcocke, S. H., viii, 361.
Wilcox, W. H., *One hundred years ago*, viii, 484.
Wilkes, Chas., *Expedition*, viii, 259.
Wilkes, John, vi; portrait, viii, 503.
Wilkinson, Eliza, *Letters*, viii, 489.
Wilkinson, Gen. James, *Memoirs*, vi; vii; viii, 480.
Willard, Emma C., *Hist. U. S.*, viii, 481.
Willard, Jos., viii, 433; *Memoir*, viii, 433.
Willard, Samuel, v; sermon, viii, 485.
Willcocks, Jos., viii, 149.
Williams, C. R., *Jamaica*, viii, 279.
Williams, Cooper, *Campaign in the West Indies*, viii, 290.
Williams, Geo. W., *Negro Race*, vi; vii; viii, 484.
Williams, Capt. Griffeth, *Newfoundland*, viii, 190.
Williams, Israel, v; papers, viii, 432, 436, 437.
Williams, Jona., viii, 423.
Williams, Col. Joseph, Journal, viii, 436.
Williams, J. D., viii, 366.
Williams, J. W., *Amer. Oratory*, viii, 485.
Williams, Col. O. H., papers, viii 454; on Gates' defeat at Camden, viii, 454; life, viii, 454; portrait, viii, 454; his papers used by Gordon, viii, 471.
Williams, Roger, iii; life by Wm. Gammell, viii, 475.
Williams, Wm., letters, viii, 443; papers, viii, 436, 437.
Williams, Mrs., *Olney and Barton*, viii, 485.
Willson, Marcus, *Report on Amer. histories*, viii, 481.
Wilmere, Alice, viii, 248.
Wilmington, N. C., vi; Com. of Safety, viii, 457.
Wilson, Alex., life by W. B. O. Peabody, viii, 475.
Wilson, Edw., *Golden Land*, viii, 260.
Wilson, James, papers, viii, 452.
Wilson, Gen. James Grant, viii, 380.
Wilson, Jos. T., *Black Phalanx*, viii, 484.
Wimpffen, Baron, viii, 282.
Winchester, Gen., defeated at Frenchtown, viii, 143.
Wingate, Paine, papers, viii, 440.
Winnipeg River, viii, 11.
Winnipeg (City), plan, viii, 46; its forts, viii, 184.
Winslow, Gen. John, letters, v; viii, 435; papers, viii, 437.
Winsor, Justin, i; ii; iii; iv; v; vi; vii; on the Sources of Hudson's Bay Company's history, viii, 77; notes on Arctic Explorations, viii, 104; on Newfoundland, viii, 188; on Spanish North America, viii, 191; West Indies and the Spanish Main, viii, 270; Bibliog. of Brazil, viii, 349; notes on the Valley of the La Plata, viii, 538; bibliog. notes on Guiana, viii, 363; bibliog. notes on the revolution in South America, viii, 366; on Chile and Peru, viii, 367; Historical Chorography of South America, viii, 369; MS. sources of the history of the U. S., viii, 413; *MS. Sources Amer. Rev.*, viii, 419; *The Kohl Collection*, viii, 425; on an Italian portolano, viii, 441; *Calendar of the Arthur Lee Papers*, viii, 455; authorities upon U. S. history, viii, 469; on the extent of the Continental line in the Amer. Rev., viii, 482; chronological conspectus of American history, viii, 511.
Winterbotham, W., *United States*, viii, 491.
Winthrop, Fitz John, v; letters, viii, 437.
Winthrop, John, Gov. of Mass., iii; viii, 437; *Hist. of New England*, viii, 437.
Winthrop, John, Gov. of Conn., iii; viii, 437.
Winthrop, Prof. John, corresp. with John Adams, viii, 427.
Winthrop, R. C., i; iii; vi; vii; on Stanhope, viii, 419; Bowdoin papers, viii, 429; family papers, 436; *Winthrop Papers*, viii, 437; *Life of John Winthrop*, viii, 437; on Mahon's *History*, viii, 504; at the Chateau of Rochambeau, viii, 505.
Winthrop, R. C., Jr., viii, 429.
Winthrop, Wait, v; letters, viii, 437.
Wirt, Wm., vii; as orator, viii, 485; *British Spy*, viii, 492; *Old Bachelor*, viii, 492.
Witchcraft, iii; v.
Withrow, Dr., *Pop. Hist. Canada*, viii, 186.
Wittenberg, A., viii, 504.
Woedtke, Baron de, letters, viii, 435.
Wolcott, Oliver, vi; vii; letters, viii, 443; papers, viii, 444; used by Gibbs, viii, 444.
Wolfe, Gen., his conquest of Quebec, v; viii, 131.
Wollaston Land, viii, 109, 119.
Wood, Capt. John, *Voyage*, viii, 105.
Wood, Wm., *Jamaica*, viii, 208.
Wood, Col., alleged explorations beyond the Mississippi, viii, 132.
Woodbury, Levi, *Writings*. viii, 483.
Woodward, B. B., *United States*, viii, 504.
Woolsey, T. D., on the Experiment of the Union, viii, 482.
Wooster, David, vi; viii, 443.
Worcester, *Hollis, N. H.*, viii, 438.
Work, John, viii, 79.
Worthington, John, viii, 437.
Wrangell, Russian governor at Fort Ross, viii, 231.
Wraxall, Sir N. W., vii; *Memoirs*, viii, 503.
Wright, Arthur W., viii, 444.
Wright, Carroll D., viii, 427.
Wright, *Caricature Hist. Georges*, viii, 504.
Wright, Frances, *Society in America*, viii, 493.
Wright, J. Ed., Cavendish's *Debates*, vi; vii; viii, 499.
Wright, M. W. E,, English transl. of *Mémoires politiques*, viii, 505.
Wyatt, Thos., *Memoirs*, etc., viii, 489.
Wyman, *Bibliog. of printing*, viii, 381.
Wynne, Capt., Gov. of Ferryland, viii, 188.
Wynne, T. H., iii; viii, 454.
Wythe, Geo., vi; viii, 454.

X Y COMPANY, viii, 38.

YANKEE, origin of the word, viii, 484.

Yankee Doodle, viii, 484.
Yonge, C. D., *Const. Hist. England*, vii; viii, 504.
York factory, viii, 11, 29; and fort (plan), viii, 16.
York (Toronto), Canada, captured, vii; viii, 145.
Yorke, Sir Jos., correspondence, viii, 460.
Young, Capt. Allen, viii, 129.
Young, Jas., *Galt*, viii, 182.
Young, Thomas (Boston), viii, 460.
Young, Capt. Walter, viii, 83.
Young, Wm., on Nova Scotia, viii, 181.
Young, Sir Wm., *Black Charaibs*, viii, 290.
Yucatan, archæology of, i; early history, ii; separated from Mexico, viii, 194; map (1506–1700), viii, 261; map by Faden, viii, 263; bibliog., 261.
Yves d'Evereux, *Brésil*, viii, 351.

Zacatecas, viii, 193.
Zamora, action at, viii, 219.
Zaragoza, Justo, viii, 246.
Zavela, L. de, *Ensayo*, viii, 268.
Zeni. *See* Discoverers.
Zenteno, Ignacio, *Refutacion de memorias de Lord Cochrane*, v 348.
Zepita, battle, viii, 336.
Zerecero, A., *Rev. de* v 269.
Ziegler, *Martin Behaim*, viii, 376.
Zimmermann, E. A. W. von, *Westliche ArctischeWelt*, viii, 1
Zumárraga, ii; died, viii, 193.
Zuñi, i; Spanish ruins near their tow viii, 254.
Zurita, *Aragon*, viii, 372.

Main M-6